

TOWARDS A SHI'Ī MEDITERRANEAN EMPIRE



*Fatimid Egypt and the
Founding of Cairo*

The reign of the Imam-caliph al-Mu'izz,
from al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*

Translated by
SHAINOOL JIWA

TOWARDS A SHĪ'Ī MEDITERRANEAN EMPIRE

The Institute of Ismaili Studies
Ismaili Texts and Translations Series, 11

Editorial Board: Farhad Daftary (general editor), Wilferd Madelung (consulting editor), Nader El-Bizri, Heinz Halm, Abbas Hamdani, Hermann Landolt, Mehdi Mohaghegh, Roy Mottahedeh, Azim Nanji, Ismail K. Poonawala, Ayman F. Sayyid, Paul E. Walker

Previously published titles:

1. Ibn al-Haytham. *The Advent of the Fatimids: A Contemporary Shi'i Witness*. An edition and English translation of Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitāb al-Munāẓarāt*, by Wilferd Madelung and Paul E. Walker (2000).
2. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī. *Struggling with the Philosopher: A Refutation of Avicenna's Metaphysics*. A new Arabic edition and English translation of al-Shahrastānī's *Kitāb al-Muṣāra'a*, by Wilferd Madelung and Toby Mayer (2001).
3. Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman. *The Master and the Disciple: An Early Islamic Spiritual Dialogue*. Arabic edition and English translation of Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman's *Kitāb al-'ālim wa'l-ghulām*, by James W. Morris (2001).
4. Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn. *The Fatimids and their Successors in Yaman: The History of an Islamic Community*. Arabic edition and English summary of Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn's *Uyūn al-akhbār*, vol. 7, by Ayman F. Sayyid, in collaboration with Paul E. Walker and Maurice A. Pomerantz (2002).
5. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. *Paradise of Submission: A Medieval Treatise on Ismaili Thought*. A new Persian edition and English translation of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Rawḍa-yi taslīm*, by S. J. Badakhchani with an introduction by Hermann Landolt and a philosophical commentary by Christian Jambet (2005).
6. al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān. *Founding the Fatimid State: The Rise of an Early Islamic Empire*. An annotated English translation of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Iftitāḥ al-da'wa*, by Hamid Haji (2006).
7. Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn. *Uyūn al-akhbār wa-funūn al-āthār*. Arabic critical edition in 7 volumes by Ahmad Chleilat, Mahmoud Fakhoury, Yousef S. Fattoum, Muhammad Kamal, Ma'moun al-Sagherji and Ayman F. Sayyid (2007–2009).

-
9. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kirmānī. *Master of the Age: An Islamic Treatise on the Necessity of the Imamate*. A critical edition of the Arabic text and English translation of Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī’s *al-Maṣābiḥ fī ithbāt al-imāma*, by Paul E. Walker (2007).
 10. *Orations of the Fatimid Caliphs: Festival Sermons of the Ismaili Imams*. An edition of the Arabic texts and English translation of Fatimid *khuṭbas*, by Paul E. Walker (2009).

Towards a Shi'i Mediterranean Empire: Fatimid Egypt and the Founding of Cairo

The Reign of the Imam-caliph al-Mu'izz from
Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*
al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma
al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā'

Translated by
Shainool Jiwa

I.B.Tauris Publishers
LONDON • NEW YORK
in association with
The Institute of Ismaili Studies
LONDON

Published in 2009 by I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd
6 Salem Rd, London W2 4BU
175 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10010
www.ibtauris.com

in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies
210 Euston Road, London NW1 2DA
www.iis.ac.uk

Distributed in the United States of America and in Canada
Exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 175 Fifth Avenue, NY 10010

Copyright © Islamic Publications Ltd, 2009

All rights reserved. Except for brief quotations in a review, this book, or any part thereof, may not be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

ISBN 978 1 84511 960 7

A full CIP record for this book is available from the British Library
A full CIP record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

Library of Congress catalog card: available

Typeset in Minion Tra for The Institute of Ismaili Studies
Printed and bound in Great Britain by CPI Antony Rowe,
Chippenham



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.

Within the Islamic tradition, the Institute's programmes promote research on those areas which have, to date, received relatively little attention from scholars. These include the intellectual and literary expressions of Shi'ism in general, and Ismailism in particular.

In the context of Islamic societies, the Institute's programmes are informed by the full range and diversity of cultures in which Islam is practised today, from the Middle East, South and Central Asia, and Africa to the industrialized societies of the West, thus taking into consideration the variety of contexts which shape the ideals, beliefs and practices of the faith.

These objectives are realized through concrete programmes and activities organized and implemented by various departments of the Institute. The Institute also collaborates periodically, on a programme-specific basis, with other institutions of learning in the United Kingdom and abroad.

The Institute's academic publications fall into a number of inter-related categories:

1. Occasional papers or essays addressing broad themes of the relationship between religion and society, with special reference to Islam.
2. Monographs exploring specific aspects of Islamic faith and culture, or the contributions of individual Muslim thinkers or writers.
3. Editions or translations of significant primary or secondary texts.
4. Translations of poetic or literary texts which illustrate the rich heritage of spiritual, devotional and symbolic expressions in Muslim history.
5. Works on Ismaili history and thought, and the relationship of the Ismailis to other traditions, communities and schools of thought in Islam.
6. Proceedings of conferences and seminars sponsored by the Institute.
7. Bibliographical works and catalogues which document manuscripts, printed texts and other source materials.

This book falls into category three 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.

Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>Chronology</i>	xv
<i>Map</i>	xvii
INTRODUCTION	1
The Fatimids	2
Origins of the Fatimids. The Fatimids in North Africa.	
Al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh	11
The accession of al-Mu‘izz. Egypt and the founding of Cairo. Al-Mu‘izz and the Qarāmiṭa. Accomplishments of al-Mu‘izz. Al-Maqrīzī’s portrayal of al-Mu‘izz.	
Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids	32
Al-Maqrīzī and the Ahl al-Bayt. Al-Maqrīzī’s scholarship on the Fatimids. A paradoxical Fatimid scion? The Khaldūnian protégé.	
Note on the Translation	49
TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT FROM THE <i>ITTIFĀḌ AL-ḤUNAFĀ’</i>	51
Establishing the Imamate of Al-Mu‘izz	53
Jawhar’s campaign in the Maghrib. Circumcision of the Princes. Al-Mu‘izz’s counsel to the Kutāma.	

Preparations for the Transfer to Egypt	58
Jawhar's march to Egypt. A test of Kutāma loyalty. Al-Mu'izz's advice to Jawhar. Appointment of a viceroy in the Maghrib. Al-Mu'izz exhorts the Kutāma. Al-Mu'izz's departure for Egypt. Episode of the two Slavs. Resolution of a Ḥasanī-Ja'farī feud in the Ḥijāz.	
Fatimid Administration and the Building of Cairo	66
Proclamation of the <i>amān</i> . Revolt of the Ikshidiyya and Kāfuriyya. Jawhar's arrival in Fuṣṭāṭ. The foundation of Cairo. Jawhar's first year in Egypt.	
Then Began the Year 359 [969–970]	86
Jawhar's administration of Egypt. The Fatimid invasion of Syria.	
Then Began the Year 360 [970–971]	96
More on Jawhar's administration. Qarāmiṭa incursion into Egypt.	
Then Began the Year 361 [971–972]	98
The Qarāmiṭa besiege Cairo.	
Then Began the Year 362 [972–973]	101
More on Jawhar's administration. Al-Mu'izz's departure for Egypt.	
The Arrival of Al-Mu'izz in Egypt	104
Al-Mu'izz leads <i>ʿid</i> prayer in Cairo. Inauguration of the Nile Canal. Display of the Fatimid <i>shamsa</i> . Celebration of <i>ʿĪd al-Ghadir</i> .	

Then Began the Year 363 [973–974] 113

The collection of land-tax. Audiences with al-Mu‘izz.

An Account of Some News on the Qarāmiṭa 122

The conversion of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ. The Qarmaṭī leader ‘Abdān. The Qarmaṭī leader Abū Sa‘īd al-Jannābī. Abbasid attempts to curb the Qarāmiṭa.

Al-Ṣanādiqī [Ibn Ḥawshab] 139

The Ismaili-Qarāmiṭa split. The Qarmaṭī leaders Zikrawayh and al-Hasan b. Zikrawayh. The Qarmaṭī leader Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī. The Qarāmiṭa in Iran. Fatimid forces battle the Qarāmiṭa in Syria. Al-Mu‘izz’s letter to the Qarāmiṭa. Defeat of the Qarāmiṭa in Egypt. The Qarāmiṭa defeat in Syria. The Qarāmiṭa defeat in Iraq.

The Final Phase of Al-Mu‘izz’s Reign 187

Turmoil in Damascus.

Then Began the Year 364 [974–975] 195

Demise of Prince ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mu‘izz. The rise of Aftakīn in Syria. The year of the comet. The final year of al-Mu‘izz’s reign. The demise of al-Mu‘izz.

Bibliography 217

Index 227

Acknowledgements

This work has been ten years in the making. Over the course of that time, I have been very fortunate to receive invaluable guidance and support from many scholars and colleagues at The Institute of Ismaili Studies to bring it to fruition. Among these, some deserve special mention and gratitude: Dr Farhad Daftary for encouraging me to embark on the project; Professor Wilferd Madelung and Hamid Haji for their meticulous review and incisive feedback on the entire text; Shiraz Kabani and Dr Aryn B. Sajoo for their perceptive suggestions on its improvement; Professor Ayman F. Sayyid for sharing an advanced copy of his Arabic edition of the *Itti'āz*; and Dr Nader El-Bizri for facilitating access to it. During its lifecycle, the work has also benefited from the assiduous effort of three research assistants: Fayaz S. Alibhai, Dr Christina Phillips and Hasan al-Khoei. I thank each one of them for their diligence and patience in working around my peripatetic schedule. The experience of Shahla Suleman and Iman Soliman in deciphering challenging medieval Arabic grammatical constructions has been extremely helpful, as has been Dr Faquir M. Hunzai's assistance in this regard. Kutub Kassam's painstaking and thoughtful editorial assistance, ably supported by Nadia Holmes, Wendy Robinson and Nancy Hynes, has helped in addressing many inadvertent errors and is much appreciated. The ones that nonetheless remain are my sole responsibility. The steadfast trust and care that my family and close friends continue to provide me is ultimately what sustains my endeavour, in the hope that it contributes to the scholarship on the Fatimids.

SJ

Chronology

280/893	Beginning of Ismaili <i>da'wa</i> activity in North Africa under the <i>dā'ī</i> Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī.
c.286/899	Emergence of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī as Ismaili imam in Salamiyya, Syria.
289/902	Migration of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī and his family from Salamiyya to North Africa.
297/910	Establishment of the Fatimid state in North Africa and proclamation of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī as its first imam-caliph.
301–302/913–915	First Fatimid expedition to Egypt.
307–309/919–921	Second Fatimid expedition to Egypt.
308/920	Founding of al-Mahdiyya as the first Fatimid capital.
317/931	Birth of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh.
322/934	Demise of al-Mahdī and beginning of the reign of al-Qā'im.
323/935	Third Fatimid expedition to Egypt.
332/943	Beginning of the Khārijī revolt of Abū Yazīd.
334/946	Demise of al-Qā'im and beginning of the reign of al-Manṣūr.
336/947	Al-Manṣūr defeats Khārijī rebel Abū Yazīd.
336/948	Appointment of Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Kalbī as the first Fatimid governor to Sicily.
341/953	Demise of al-Manṣūr and beginning of the reign of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh.

- 344–346/955–957 Fatimid fleet defeats Umayyad and Byzantine forces in the Mediterranean, resulting in peace treaties.
- 347/958 The Fatimid commander Jawhar consolidates al-Mu'izz's authority in the Maghrib.
- 358/968 Jawhar leads fourth Fatimid expedition to Egypt.
- 358/969 Jawhar reaches Alexandria and receives an Egyptian delegation from Fustāṭ.
- 358/969 The *amān* document is issued, promising safety and security to the Egyptian populace.
- 358/969 The foundation of the city of Cairo.
- 359/970 The foundation of al-Azhar Mosque.
- 360/970–971 Fatimid general Ja'far b. Falāh leads invasion of Syria.
- 361–362/972–973 The migration of al-Mu'izz to Egypt.
- 362–363/973–974 Qarāmiṭa forces defeated in Egypt and Syria.
- 365/975 Demise of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh.

Introduction

Whenever [our] banners are unfurled over the heads of the believers, God increases their glory by the banners and hails them with His assistance. By contrast, when they are unfurled over the heads of the unbelievers, the banners humiliate their pride and overwhelm them by the power of God who is our benefactor.¹

The unfurling of the white Fatimid banners over the Nile, displacing those of the Abbasid black, evocatively symbolises the triumphant entry of Fatimid forces into Egypt. The fourth Fatimid sovereign, al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh (341–365/953–975), transformed the Fatimid state from a regional power into a Mediterranean empire which, at its height, extended from present-day Morocco in the west to Syria and the Yemen in the east. Among the crowning achievements of this Ismaili imam-caliph was the conquest of Egypt, a cherished goal of the Fatimids, which they ruled for over two centuries. Al-Mu'izz's successful move to Egypt and the founding of Cairo marked a high point of the Fatimid empire with a lasting impact on the country and the region as a whole.

One of the most comprehensive accounts of the Fatimid era is to be found in the writings of Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, the erudite Sunni Mamluk scholar. His *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā'* (Lessons for the Seekers of Truth in the History of the Fatimid Imams and Caliphs)² focuses almost exclusively on the Fatimid age, and therefore is a particularly

1. Epistle of al-Mu'izz to his *dā'ī* Jalam b. Shaybān in Sind, written 19 Ramaḍān 354/18 September 965, from 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs, *'Uyūn al-akhbār wa funūn al-āthār*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī as *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā' al-Fāṭimiyyīn bi'l-Maghrib: al-qism al-khāṣṣ min kitāb 'uyūn al-akhbār* (Beirut, 1985), vol. 6, p. 214; tr. Samuel M. Stern in *Studies in Early Ismā'īlism* (Leiden, 1983), p. 182.

2. Ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1967), vol. 1; ed. Muḥammad Ḥilmī M. Aḥmad (Cairo, 1971–1973), vols. 2–3.

valuable historical source on this dynasty. Al-Maqrīzī carefully compiled his narrative from a wide range of materials then available to him, many of which are no longer extant, demonstrating a scholarly discernment regarding the value and limitations of his sources that was unusual among medieval Muslim historians. Moreover, he records a number of official documents, letters and sermons of the Fatimids in their entirety, often making his works the only surviving source for this material. As such, it is a rare work of its kind. Al-Maqrīzī devotes a long chapter in the *Itti'āz* to the reign of al-Mu'izz, whom he held in considerable regard as an exemplary leader and statesman. This book provides a translation of that chapter, which is especially pertinent for the study of the Fatimid era.

THE FATIMIDS

Origins of the Fatimids

The Fatimids established their caliphate in the 4th/10th century, a period that has been characterised as the century of Shi'ī Islam owing to the proliferation of Shi'ī dynasties in the Muslim world at this time.³ Advantageous circumstances enabled some of them to rise to power in the peripheral parts of the Muslim world, among them the Idrīsids in Morocco (172–314/789–926) and the Zaydī imams in the Yemen and the Caspian littoral (246–454/860–1062). Originating also from the Caspian region, the Buyids (320–454/932–1062) are a notable example of a Shi'ī clan that succeeded in establishing its sway in the Muslim heartland, as *amīrs* to the Sunni Abbasids. The Fatimid dynasty (296–567/909–1171) emerged as part of this Shi'ī renaissance, establishing itself first in North Africa and then Egypt, one of the core regions of the Muslim world. From there they radiated their influence to neighbouring regions such as Syria, Iraq and the Ḥijāz. The Fatimid empire constituted Shi'ism's first sustained experience of statehood and represents a primary demonstration of the exercise of political authority by the Ismaili imams.

The Fatimid imam-caliphs asserted the legitimacy of their authority in both spiritual and temporal realms by taking the designation of *Amīr al-mu'minīn wa imām al-muslimīn* (Commander

3. Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago, 1974), vol. 2, pp. 36–39.

of the Faithful and Imam of the Muslims). In doing so, they took on the mantle of sovereignty over the Muslim *umma* (community) and challenged the reigning Abbasid caliphs who claimed to be the sole legitimate authority in Islam. Underpinning the Fatimid claim to leadership were certain fundamental ideological imperatives concerning the nature of authority in Islam and its application in the effective organisation of society. These perennial concerns arose in the time of the Prophet Muḥammad and have continued to engage the Muslims to the present time. The Shi'i notion of the imamate is, historically, one of the earliest responses to the question of authority in Islam. It asserts that a just and equitable order can be guaranteed in society only through imams descended from the family of the Prophet Muḥammad, the Ahl al-Bayt.⁴

According to the Shi'a, mankind is in permanent need of a divinely appointed authoritative guide whose primary role is to lead believers to salvation. They assert that before his demise, the Prophet designated 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib, his cousin and son-in-law, as his successor to the temporal and spiritual leadership of the *umma*. All subsequent imams are descended from 'Alī and Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter. The imam is not elected by consensus of society but appointed by the *naṣṣ* (designation) of his predecessor and endowed with '*ilm*' (authoritative knowledge). This '*ilm*' not only invests the imam 'with the wisdom requisite for the effective ordering of society but, above all, with the knowledge of the spiritual realities which enables him to guide his followers to an understanding of the inner meaning of the Islamic message'.⁵ Since the imam continues to guide the believers in every age, recognition of the imam of the time and submission to

4. The notion of Ahl al-Bayt, which has a Qur'anic basis (for example, 3: 33–34) generally refers to families among whom the prophets were chosen. The interpretations of who constituted the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet Muḥammad crystallised over the course of time. For the Shi'a, these eventually centred on the progeny of 'Alī and Fāṭima. See Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 13–15, and Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (New York, 1986), pp. 124–125.

5. Aziz Esmail and Azim Nanji, 'The Ismā'īlīs in History', in S.H. Nasr, ed., *Ismā'īlī Contributions to Islamic Culture* (Tehran, 1977) p. 238. See also W. Madelung, 'Imāmā', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (hereafter referred to as *EI2*).

his authority becomes paramount in Shi'ī Islam. The articulation of the central pillar of imamate took a variety of forms in Shi'ī Islam. There were varied interpretations of who was the legitimate imam, leading to a number of Shi'ī viewpoints, which coalesced into three major groupings: the Zaydis,⁶ the Ismailis and the Ithnā 'Asharīs (Twelvers).

The politically challenging and ideologically charged policies of the early Abbasids, who established their rule in 132/750, drove a number of Shi'ī groups underground, including the later Ismailis. In Ismaili history this phase is known as the *dawr al-satr* (period of concealment), which commenced soon after the death of the early Shi'ī imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in 148/765, when his grandson, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, the seventh imam of the Ismailis, went into hiding to escape Abbasid persecution.⁷ The successors of Ismā'īl are believed to have lived incognito for several generations, their identity camouflaged and their whereabouts known only to their most trusted confidants. The hidden imam was usually referred to by auspicious titles so as to preserve his anonymity during the turbulent environment of the early Abbasid times. This situation continued until the early part of the 3rd/9th century when 'Abd Allāh, the head of the Ismaili *da'wa* (mission) and future founder of the Fatimid caliphate, established himself in Salamiyya,⁸ Syria, and began to organise his followers into a highly disciplined underground movement for dissemination of the Ismaili message. Under his direction, a network of *dā'īs* (emissaries) spread to various regions of the Muslim world, ranging from the Maghrib (present-day Tunisia, Algeria and

6. The Zaydis, followers of Zayd b. 'Alī (d. 122/740), rejected the idea of *naṣṣ* as a pre-requisite for the imamate. For the genesis of various branches of the Shi'a, see W. Madelung, 'Shi'a', *EI2*.

7. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl is known to have emigrated from Medina to southern Iraq and then settled in Khūzistān, south-western Iran, from where he began to organise the Ismaili *da'wa* and died sometime after 179/795–796. On the *dawr al-satr* and Ismaili *da'wa* activities at the time, see Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā'ilīs: Their History and Doctrines* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 2007), pp. 87–128.

8. Salamiyya is a town that lies on the western edge of the Syrian desert, some 30 km to the south-east of the city of Ḥamā and 50 km from the River Orontes. For a history of the town and its long-standing Ismaili links, see Heinz Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi: The Rise of the Fatimids*, tr. M. Bonner (Leiden, 1996), pp. 11–15.

Morocco) in the west to Khurāsān and Sind in the east. The Ismaili *da'wa* appears to have espoused two primary objectives: to establish a state for the Ismaili imam, and to promote his cause as the only legitimate sovereign whose advent would herald a new era of social justice and righteousness.

During the *dawr al-satr*, the Ismaili *da'wa* addressed different social classes in various regions of the Muslim world. In many places it gained support among the people as a social and religious movement against the Abbasids and the ruling urban class. This accounts for the *da'wa*'s early success among the rural inhabitants and bedouin tribesmen of Arab lands, notably in southern Iraq, Bahrain and Yemen. In Iranian lands, however, especially the Jibāl, Khurāsān and Transoxania, the *da'wa* attracted support from the ruling classes and educated elite. This has been attributed to the intellectual message of the Ismaili *dā'īs* which the Iranians found particularly appealing, possibly due to their rich cultural and philosophical heritage dating back to Sassanid times. Another factor was the translation of a large number of Greek philosophical works into Arabic in the late 8th century, which gained avid circulation among the educated classes, including prominent Ismaili *dā'īs* who utilised these ideas creatively to articulate their doctrines.⁹

The rise of the Ismaili *da'wa* was, however, seriously undermined by internal fissures shortly after 286/899 when 'Abd Allāh openly declared himself to be the Ismaili imam. While the majority of *dā'īs* acknowledged his authority, a significant group rejected his claim, for they were committed to awaiting the return of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il from his concealment more than a century earlier. Led by Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ,¹⁰ one of the leading *dā'īs* of Iraq, the dissidents

9. See Daftary, *The Ismā'ilīs*, pp. 115–116, and Paul E. Walker, *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī* (Cambridge, 1993).

10. Following his conversion to the Ismaili cause around 264/877–878, Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ became head of the *da'wa* in southern Iraq where, with the support of his brother-in-law 'Abdān, he won many converts. Although he maintained communication with 'Abd Allāh in Salamiyya, he appears to have enjoyed a measure of autonomy and mounted several revolts against the Abbasids. After his defection, Ḥamdān disappeared and 'Abdān was murdered. According to W. Madelung, however, Ḥamdān later returned to the Ismaili fold and became a loyal follower of 'Abd Allāh. See his 'Ḥamdān

considered 'Abd Allāh to be only a deputy of the hidden imam who, they maintained, was still alive and would emerge as the messianic *mahdī*.¹¹ Ḥamdān and his followers, who came to be known collectively as the Qarāmiṭa (Qarmaṭīs), renounced their allegiance to 'Abd Allāh, established their stronghold in Bahrain and became among the most embittered enemies of the Fatimids. In the 4th/10th century, the Qarāmiṭa grew into a powerful militant force, attacking parts of Iraq and Syria, and posing a severe challenge to both the Abbasid and Fatimid authorities. The activities of the Qarāmiṭa form a significant portion of al-Maqrīzī's chapter on al-Mu'izz in the *Itti'āz*. He devotes almost a third of his chapter to recounting two centuries of Qarāmiṭa activities from their beginnings in the 3rd/9th century to their long, drawn-out militant opposition to the Fatimids.¹²

The Fatimids in North Africa

The rise of the Fatimids in North Africa was aided by the decline of Abbasid power, which was on the wane by the middle of the 3rd/9th century. The Abbasid caliphs' depleting authority in Iraq undermined their ability to govern their vast empire. Complex challenges created by Turkish slave soldiers and their commanders diminished

Qarmaṭ and the Dā'ī Abū 'Alī', *Proceedings of the 17th Congress of the UEA* (St. Petersburg, 1997), pp. 115–124, and 'Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

11. The *mahdī*, or 'divinely guided one', the messianic figure expected by many Muslims to return at the end of time. Among the Twelver Shi'a, the *mahdī* is believed to be their twelfth imam Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan who went into occultation sometime after 260/874. For many early Ismailis, the *mahdī* was expected to be Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, but in the early Fatimid period this doctrine was significantly modified. See W. Madelung, 'al-Mahdī' and 'Ismā'īliyya', in *EI2*.

12. *Itti'āz*, 1: 164–190. There is a divergence of opinion among scholars on the origins of the Qarāmiṭa and their relationship to the Fatimids. For a survey of opinions on this issue, see W. Madelung, 'The Fatimids and the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn', in Farhad Daftary, ed., *Mediaeval Isma'ili History and Thought* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 21–73, where he cogently argues that the Qarāmiṭa were originally Ismaili. For an alternative interpretation see François de Blois, 'The Abu Sa'idis or so-called Qarmatians of Baḥrayn', *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, 16 (1986), pp. 13–21.

the dynasty's control over its outlying provinces, enabling new forces to emerge and assert themselves on the fringes of the Abbasid empire. The impairment of Abbasid power catalysed the burgeoning Ismaili *da'wa* across the Muslim world. This was especially evident in North Africa, one of the earliest regions of *da'wa* activity. The Fatimid jurist, al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān (d. 363/973), reports in one of the oldest extant Ismaili historical works, *Iftitāḥ al-da'wa* (Commencement of the Mission), that in 145/762–763 two *dā'īs*, al-Ḥulwānī and Abū Sufyān, were sent by the Imam Ja'far al-Šādiq to the Maghrib to spread his cause.¹³ More than a century later in 280/893, the pioneering Ismaili *dā'ī* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Šī'ī arrived in the mountainous Berber region of eastern Algeria. He lived among Kutāma tribesmen for nearly sixteen years, preaching the Ismaili doctrine, uniting them under his leadership and launching military operations against the ruling Aghlabid authorities.¹⁴ Thereafter he was able to extend his conquests and eventually overthrow the dynasty,¹⁵ thus making it possible in 289/902 for the Ismaili imam 'Abd Allāh, accompanied by his son and close associates, to undertake a long and hazardous journey from Syria to North Africa.¹⁶

The Fatimid state in North Africa commenced in January 910 (Rabi' II/Jumādā I 297) with the proclamation of 'Abd Allāh as caliph in the former Aghlabid capital of Raqqāda, near Qayrawān. His

13. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Iftitāḥ al-da'wa wa ibtidā' al-dawla*, ed. F. Dachraoui (Tunis, 1975); tr. Hamid Haji as *Founding the Fatimid State: The Rise of an Early Islamic Empire* (London, 2006), pp. 42–44.

14. The Aghlabids (183–296/800–909) ruled this region of North Africa after their founder, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab (d.196/812), was appointed hereditary governor by the Abbasids to keep the Khārijī rebels in check. Successive members of the dynasty were instrumental in bringing Sicily under Muslim rule, though by the time 'Abd Allāh al-Šī'ī arrived in 280/893 the dynastic power was in decline. G. Marçais, 'Aghlabids', *EI2*.

15. See al-Nu'mān, *Iftitāḥ* (trans. pp. 45–201), for a detailed account of the activities and battles of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Šī'ī. A more intimate and personal memoir of the *dā'ī* is that of Ibn al-Haytham, *Kitab al-munāẓarāt*, ed. and tr. W. Madelung and Paul E. Walker as *The Advent of the Fatimids: A Contemporary Shi'i Witness* (London, 2000).

16. For an analysis of the background to al-Mahdī's migration, see Shainool Jiwa, 'The Initial Destination of the Fatimid Caliphate: The Yemen or the Maghrib?', *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 13 (1986), pp. 15–26.

assertion to be the legitimate and righteous ruler over the *umma* is demonstrated in the regal title that he chose for himself of al-Mahdī bi'llāh, 'the one rightly guided by God'.¹⁷ 'Abd Allāh's donning of the mantle of caliphate represented a direct challenge to the authority of the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad, as well as the other major Muslim power in the region, the Umayyads of Spain, who despite establishing a thriving, autonomous principality in Andalusia from 154/750 onwards, limited themselves by referring to their rule as an amirate, not a caliphate.¹⁸

According to the Maghribī historian, Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī (d. 711–712/1312),¹⁹ al-Mahdī instituted several measures to assert his authority immediately upon his proclamation as caliph. The caliph had a seal engraved for himself and ordered the names of previous rulers to be excised from monuments and public buildings. He appointed a governor for Qayrawān, and others to the *dīwān al-kharāj* (land tax bureau), the mint, the treasury, the *dīwān al-ʿaṭāʾ* (salary bureau) and the judiciary, thereby creating an entirely new administration. He also endeavoured to establish the Ismaili Shi'ī imprint on public life from the very beginning of his reign by decreeing that the Shi'ī formula of the *adhān* (call to prayer) be announced from all the mosques. Al-Mahdī further directed the jurists in his realm to adjudicate in accordance with the Shi'ī principles of jurisprudence, derived from the teachings of the early Shi'ī imams Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.

The assertive expression of Fatimid authority and Shi'ī rites inevitably caused reverberations in the diverse and fragmented milieu of

17. The preferred Fatimid term for their state was *dawlat al-ḥaqq* (the righteous reign), as is evident in early Fatimid literature, thus asserting their claim to spiritual and temporal leadership of the Muslim community.

18. Umayyad influence in Spain began in the 2nd/8th century when 'Abd al-Raḥmān I escaped Abbasid persecution to found an independent amirate at Cordova, but it was only twenty years after the rise of the Fatimids that the Umayyad ruler 'Abd al-Raḥmān III felt the need to stake his claim to the caliphate in 216/929, thus creating a hitherto unique circumstance of three caliphates ruling simultaneously in the Muslim world.

19. Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa'l-Maghrib*, ed. G.S. Colin and E. Levi-Provençal (new ed., Leiden, 1948), vol. 1, pp. 158–160. Ibn 'Idhārī's primary source for early Fatimid history was the Andalusian 'Arīb al-Qurṭubī (d. 370/980).

the North African state, provoking resistance from its non-Ismaili Muslim population. Ethnically, the region was populated by Arabs residing mainly in the urban centres, with the Berbers holding sway in the rural and mountainous areas. While a small number of the Arabs were Twelver Shi'i by faith and generally sympathetic to the Fatimids, the majority were Sunnis of the Mālikī *madhhab* (legal school) who deeply resented the introduction of Shi'i law and rituals. It required considerable prudence and sagacity on the part of al-Mahdī and his successor imam-caliphs to assuage their fears. Eventually, the Fatimids developed a more inclusive policy, allowing all communities to practise their faith freely according to the *madhhab* of their choice, provided they did not contravene the authority of the Fatimid caliphs or state.²⁰ This was further evident in the appointment of non-Ismaili judges, 'which suggests that the administration of the law, despite its close connection to religious policy, accommodated the other *madhhabs* and was generally tolerant'.²¹

A much more formidable challenge to the Fatimids came from the Berbers, who comprised two major rival tribal confederations, the Zanāta and the Ṣanhāja, with the majority following the Khārijī form of Islam. The rise to power of the Kutāma,²² who were the mainstay of Fatimid support in the region and belonged to the Ṣanhāja, fuelled the fury of the dispossessed Zanāta. Consequently, one of their leaders, the Khārijī Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī,²³ fomented

20. W. Madelung, 'The Religious Policy of the Fatimids towards their Sunni Subjects in the Maghrib', in M. Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide, son art en son histoire* (Paris, 1999), pp. 97–104.

21. Paul E. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources* (London, 2002), p. 42.

22. The Kutāma formed the backbone of the Fatimid army and commanded considerable political influence. They were appointed to key positions in the Fatimid state and accorded the status of *awliyā'* (friends) of the Fatimids (R. Basset, 'Kutāma', *EI2*). The support and military experience of the Kutāma were crucial to the Fatimid invasion of Egypt, as noted by Sumaiya A. Hamdani in her *Between Revolution and State: The Path to Fatimid Statehood* (London, 2006) p. 104. In the *Itti'āz*, al-Maqrīzī often refers to the Kutāma contingents in the Fatimid army as 'Maghribīs'.

23. Abū Yazīd's rebellion began in 332/943 during the final years of al-Qā'im's reign. Over the next few years he tried repeatedly to take the Fatimid capital, al-Mahdiyya. Finally the caliph al-Manṣūr forced Abū Yazīd to retreat and, after several encounters on the battlefield, defeated

a serious revolt that shook the very foundations of the Fatimid state during the reigns of al-Mahdī's successors al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh (322–334/934–946)²⁴ and al-Manṣūr bi'llāh (334–341/946–953).²⁵ Eventually, the Fatimids emerged victorious over their rivals. Their experience of dealing with the entrenched social, political and economic forces of the region made them seasoned statesmen who deployed a combination of diplomacy and warfare to ensure their hegemony. During this North African phase of Fatimid rule which lasted some sixty years, the Fatimids established the foundation of their state and extend effective control over much of Ifrīqiya, from Morocco to the borders of Egypt.

From the inception of their reign, the primary political goal of the Fatimids was to extend their rule into Egypt and beyond into the central Islamic lands controlled by the Abbasids. To this end, they created a powerful army and naval fleet to contend with the Umayyads of Spain and the Byzantines who had vested political, military and economic interests in the Mediterranean region. In 308/921, al-Mahdī founded his new capital city of al-Mahdiyya,²⁶ where he also established a shipyard and naval base. From here he was able to dispatch naval fleets across the Mediterranean, assert-

and captured him at the fortress of Kiyāna, where he died of his wounds in 335/947. S. M. Stern, 'Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī', *EI2*.

24. Al-Qā'im was in his youth when he migrated with his father to the Maghrib, where he assisted in suppressing several revolts in the early days of the Fatimid state. For the most part, his reign was peaceful, except during the last two years when Abū Yazīd's revolt plunged the realm into crisis, and he died before the rebel was defeated. F. Dachraoui, 'al-Qā'im', *EI2*.

25. Al-Manṣūr's succession to al-Qā'im was kept a secret until he had defeated Abū Yazīd. He then proceeded to contain other recalcitrant groups among the Berbers. F. Dachraoui, 'al-Manṣūr bi'llāh', *EI2*.

26. Al-Mahdiyya, a coastal town in modern-day Tunisia, was founded by al-Mahdī to provide him with a secure capital. Palaces, administrative buildings, mosques and storehouses were constructed and surrounded by a thick defensive wall, along with the arsenal and a fortified and sheltered inland port. The Fatimid capital was subsequently transferred to al-Muhammadiyya and then to al-Manṣūriyya, founded by al-Mahdī's successors al-Qā'im and al-Manṣūr respectively as their capitals. See Mohamed Talbi, 'Mahdiyya', *EI2*, and Ayman F. Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya fī Miṣr: tafsīr jadīd* (2nd ed., Cairo, 2000), pp. 124–125.

ing control over Sicily and raiding Byzantine bases in southern Italy. On two occasions, in 301/913–914 and 307/919, he sent expeditions to take Egypt which succeeded in occupying Alexandria briefly before being repulsed by Abbasid forces.²⁷ Following al-Mahdī's demise in 322/934, the same policies were energetically pursued by his successors, al-Qā'im and al-Manṣūr, under whom the Fatimid state emerged as a major maritime power, competing with Byzantine and Umayyad fleets throughout the Mediterranean Sea. A third expedition to take Egypt, launched in 323/935 by al-Qā'im, was also unsuccessful. It was to take another three decades before the fourth Fatimid imam-caliph was able to accomplish this feat in 358/968 and thus establish his suzerainty across the whole of North Africa from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. It is this outstanding achievement of the Fatimids that forms the main subject of al-Maqrīzī's narrative of al-Mu'izz in the *Itti'āz*.

AL-MU'IZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH

The accession of al-Mu'izz

The Imam Abū Tamīm Ma'add succeeded his father at the age of twenty-one in 341/953, adopting the regal title of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, 'the one who strengthens the religion of God'. During his twenty-two-year reign, he transformed the Fatimid state from a local, North African dynasty into a major Mediterranean empire. The occupation of Egypt in 358/969 marked the pinnacle of al-Mu'izz's reign and represents the culmination of policies instituted by his three predecessor imam-caliphs, all of whom began and ended their rule in the Maghrib. It is a testimony to al-Mu'izz's statesmanship that he built wisely on the edifice established by his forefathers and pursued their vision of a universal empire with single-minded zeal. Before proceeding to Egypt, however, al-Mu'izz instituted a number of political, military and economic measures so as to consolidate Fatimid hold over the Maghrib.

Immediately after his accession, al-Mu'izz set out at the head of a Fatimid army to subjugate the rebellious Hawwāra tribesmen of the Awrās region in the Maghrib. The Banū Hawwāra had been the

27. Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, p. 125; Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 196–213.

mainstay of Abū Yazid's rebellion that had earlier mounted a major challenge to Fatimid rule. Then in 347/958 al-Mu'izz sent his trusted general Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī (d. 381/922)²⁸ on a two-year campaign to bring the strategic Maghribī towns of Tāhart, Sijilmāsa and Fez under Fatimid rule. Jawhar executed this campaign with remarkable success, with the result that all the lands from the Atlantic Ocean to the borders of Egypt recognised Fatimid sovereignty.

Following in the footsteps of his great-grandfather al-Mahdī, al-Mu'izz invested in the expansion and servicing of a formidable fleet. This led to a number of successes at sea, but his efforts to establish Fatimid supremacy were significantly challenged by the Umayyads and the Byzantines. Nonetheless, the assertive Fatimid stance taken by al-Mu'izz proved successful. In 344/955, the Fatimid fleet defeated an Umayyad maritime offensive and launched a counter-attack upon Almeria in Andalusia. As a result, for the first time, the Umayyad ruler, 'Abd al-Rahmān III, felt compelled to seek a truce at the Fatimid court in 346/957.²⁹ Similarly, following a succession of Fatimid victories over Byzantine forces at sea, the Emperor Romanus II made diplomatic overtures to the Fatimid caliph by sending him a high-ranking diplomat.³⁰ Eventually peace treaties were signed on terms that were particularly favourable to the Fatimids, which enabled them to turn their attention to the rebellious Berber factions in the western Maghrib.

28. Abu'l-Ḥusayn Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī (the Sicilian) or Ṣaqlabī (the Slav) was a military general and administrator who played a major role in extending Fatimid rule to Egypt. He began his service in 340/950 as *kātib* (secretary) to the caliph al-Manṣūr. He was selected by al-Mu'izz to head his campaigns in North Africa and later, having proven his talents in battle, was appointed commander of the Fatimid expedition to Egypt. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut, 1968–1972), tr. M. de Slane as *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary* (Paris, 1842–1871), vol. 3, pp. 340–347; Ali Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Tā'rikh Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī* (Cairo, 1933); and H. Monès, 'Djawhar al-Ṣikillī', *EI2*.

29. On Fatimid-Umayyad relations during this time see Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 392–396, and J.M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 71–75.

30. Some deliberations of the Fatimid court on the significance of this occasion have been preserved in al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Kitāb al-majālis wa'l-musāyarāt*, ed. al-Ḥabīb al-Faqī, Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ and Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī (Tunis, 1978), p. 115.

Al-Maqrīzī provides several examples in the *Itti'āz* of the efforts that al-Mu'izz invested in asserting his role as the caliph and undertaking attendant responsibilities. The excerpt below is an instructive illustration of al-Mu'izz's long-term strategic planning in courting the leadership of the prestigious cities of Mecca and Medina. Moreover, his successful resolution of a feud between two of the leading Hāshimid clans in the Ḥijāz, the Banū Ḥasan (descendants of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib) and the Banū Ja'far (descendants of Ja'far b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), highlights al-Mu'izz's recognised status as a leading member of the Prophet's family. This reconciliation between the *ashrāf*³¹ is noted by al-Maqrīzī as follows:

While he [al-Mu'izz] was in the Maghrib, it came to his attention that fighting had broken out [in the Ḥijāz] between the Banū Ḥasan and the Banū Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib. More of the Banū Ḥasan were killed than those of the Banū Ja'far. Al-Mu'izz discreetly sent money and men to negotiate peace between the two sides, and they took upon themselves the responsibility of paying blood money for them both.

Seventy more people from the Banū Ḥasan were killed by the Banū Ja'far. So those appointed by al-Mu'izz paid blood money to the Banū Ḥasan and facilitated reconciliation between the two groups in the Holy Mosque of Mecca. They undertook to pay the blood money from the money that al-Mu'izz had sent. That was in the year 348 [959–960]. Thus, the Banū Ḥasan became favourably inclined to al-Mu'izz.³²

Al-Mu'izz's intervention proved to be far-sighted, for when the Fatimid commander Jawhar entered Egypt, Ḥasan b. Ja'far promptly took possession of Mecca and publicly proclaimed al-Mu'izz as the legitimate ruler. He wrote to Jawhar who sent the news to al-Mu'izz in the Maghrib. The imam-caliph expressed his pleasure by investing Ḥasan with the administration of the holy cities and their environs.

31. *Ashrāf* (sing. *sharīf*) was used in pre-Islamic times to denote a person's nobility or distinction on account of descent from illustrious ancestors. In early Muslim thought it came to be associated with kinship to Prophet Muḥammad, most commonly through the Hāshimid line. C. van Arendonk [W.A. Graham], 'Sharīf', *EI2*.

32. Al-Maqrīzī provides the same account in his *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār*, ed. M. Zaynhum and M. al-Sharqawī (Cairo, 1998), vol. 3, pp. 213–217.

Egypt and the founding of Cairo

Egypt was among the principal regions in which the Ismaili *da'wa* invested considerable effort well before the inception of the Fatimid caliphate in North Africa. In addition to advancing their goal of assuming political and religious leadership of the entire Muslim *umma*, a number of other factors account for the Fatimid interest in Egypt. Geographically, Egypt's strategic location at the crossroads of the continents equipped it with a tactical opportunity to control the trade routes that connected North Africa and Europe to India.³³ Egypt's geocentric position was also reflected in its diverse multi-ethnic and multi-religious populace. Medieval Egyptian society included Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Berbers, Armenians and Sudanese, while in terms of religious persuasion Sunni Muslims represented the majority, with some Twelver and Ismaili Shi'i presence. Egypt also had well-established and sizeable Christian denominations, in particular Copts, Melkites and Nestorians, as well as a number of Jewish groups.

From the time of the Muslim invasion of Egypt in 18/639, Egypt had served as a rich source of grain supplies and substantial revenue to Mecca and Medina, and subsequently to Umayyad Damascus and Abbasid Baghdad.³⁴ But the development of Egypt was not considered a priority; a bare minimum of its resources were reinvested in the land itself so as to ensure its continued viability as a source of revenue. When the ʿTūlūnids (254–292/868–905) established themselves in the country, they made some attempts to reverse this trend. However, they were not powerful enough to discontinue paying titular allegiance to the Abbasids and were therefore obliged to give them a substantial share of Egypt's revenues as tribute, leaving little to invest in the country.

At the time of the Fatimid invasion, Egypt was governed by the Ikshhidids (323–358/935–969), whose founders began their political careers as Abbasid governors of Egypt. Once they had established their rule, their allegiance to the Abbasids became nominal and they effectively reigned as independent rulers. In time, the political hold of these dynasties declined, leading to fractious clashes

33. Abraham L. Udovitch, 'Fatimid Cairo: Crossroads of World Trade – from Spain to India', in Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide*, pp. 681–691.

34. V. Christids, 'Miṣr', *EI2*.

between various local contenders for power. The Abbasid caliph in Baghdad was too weak to address the ensuing political vacuum, which the Fatimids used as an opportunity for intervention. In the early 360s/960s, prior to the Fatimid conquest, Egypt was beset by a number of calamities including the low rise of the Nile for several years in succession. This led to famines and droughts, bringing further catastrophes such as plagues and epidemics in their wake. The massive rise in the price of food and provisions, accompanied by military mutinies and a general breakdown in law and order, further debilitated the Egyptian economy.

The confluence of all these factors catalysed the Fatimid focus on the invasion of Egypt. As we have noted earlier, under the first two Fatimid caliphs, al-Mahdī and al-Qā'im, three naval expeditions were dispatched to secure Egypt. Although these campaigns achieved temporary territorial gains, they did not result in a firm Fatimid foothold. The comprehensive military preparations that al-Mu'izz undertook in preparation for the fourth Fatimid expedition have been vividly portrayed in the sources, including al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. Jawhar, the veteran commander who had recently returned triumphantly from a military campaign in the Maghrib, was chosen to head the considerable Fatimid force of 100,000 horsemen. In a grand ceremony attended by al-Mu'izz dressed in regal attire, with all his sons and court dignitaries around him, Jawhar set off for Egypt on Saturday, 14 Rabī' I 358/6 February 969. It is reported that as a mark of respect to the departing commander, the caliph's sons and entire retinue dismounted to salute him.³⁵

In the meantime, the assertive Fatimid *da'wa* and diplomatic efforts of its *dā'īs*, such as Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Naṣr³⁶ and other

35. The contemporary Egyptian historian Ibn Zūlāq adds: 'After returning to his palace, al-Mu'izz set aside the magnificent clothes which he had been wearing and dispatched them to Jawhar.' Cited by Halm, *Empire of the Mahdī*, p. 411.

36. The Fatimid *dā'ī* Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Naṣr was a rich merchant and prominent member of Egyptian society which allowed him access to government circles. When in 358/968 an Ikhshīdīd prince named al-Ḥasan, a cousin of the ruling *amīr* Aḥmad and until then governor of Ramla in Palestine, seized power in the capital Fuṣṭāṭ, Abū Ja'far encouraged him to seek support from the Fatimids, convincing him that only they had the commitment and wherewithal to overcome rebellious troops. Abū Ja'far

agents, had effectively paved the way for the Fatimid arrival in Egypt. As a result, many prominent government officials and notable merchants were persuaded to support the Fatimids. An index of the measure of success that the *da'wa* had achieved in Egypt lies in the fact that three Fatimid coins in the name of al-Mu'izz were already minted and circulated in Egypt between 341/952 and 353/964.³⁷ The striking of coins, almost two decades prior to the actual occupation of Egypt, was a significant public demonstration of Fatimid aspiration and self-confidence. Equally noteworthy was the mention of 'Alī and Fāṭima on the obverse side of the dinars of the first mint declaring Fatimid descent from the Prophet's family.³⁸ Other expressions of Fatimid power included the production and distribution of *ṭirāz* fabrics woven in royal workshops with the name of al-Mu'izz inscribed on them,³⁹ and the circulation of banners bearing his name which were to be unfurled upon the arrival of the Fatimid army. Rousing verses of poetry were also circulated to gain ideological dominance, such as these lines of Ibn Hānī' cited in the *Itti'āz*:

The Banū 'Abbās say: 'Has Egypt been conquered?'
Say to them: 'The event has been ordained.'⁴⁰

personally brought the letter to al-Mu'izz. See Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 409–410, and Michael Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids: The World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Fourth Century of the Hijra, Tenth Century CE* (Leiden, 2001), p. 96.

37. Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, p. 129.

38. The coin read: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is the nominee of the Prophet and the most excellent representative and the husband of the radiant chaste one (*zawj al-zahrā' al-batūl*). For the full wording see W. Kazan, *The Coinage of Islam: Collection of William Kazan* (Beirut, 1983), no. 446.

39. One such *ṭirāz* fragment, dated 355/966, has survived the vagaries of time (Kazan, *ibid.*, p. 130). On the significance of Fatimid *ṭirāz* generally, see Paula Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany, NY, 1994), and Irene A. Bierman, *Art and Politics: The Impact of Fatimid Uses of Ṭirāz Fabrics* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1980).

40. Of Andalusian origin, the poet Muḥammad b. Hānī' al-Andalusī took up service as a Fatimid court-poet during the reign of al-Mu'izz and his verses extolling the Fatimids won fame across the Muslim world. He flourished for a relatively short period as he was mysteriously murdered en route to Egypt in 362/973. His *Dīwān* has been edited by Zāhid 'Alī (Cairo, 1933) and Karam Bustānī (Beirut, 1952).

Indeed, the circumstances for the Fatimid conquest had become so conducive that when Jawhar and his army arrived at the Nile Delta in Jumādā II 358/May 969, they met with little resistance. A delegation of senior notables, including representatives of the *ashrāf*, the chief *qāḍī* and a senior Fatimid *dā'ī*, set out to receive the Fatimid commander and negotiate a peace treaty. Jawhar was agreeable to a truce on condition that Egyptian laws of ritual, inheritance and divorce be adapted to Fatimid legal rulings.⁴¹ Subsequently, Jawhar issued a comprehensive written *amān* (guarantee of security) on behalf of his master. The document is fortunately preserved in its entirety in al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* and *al-Muqaffā'*, underscoring its importance to the historian.⁴² It vouchsafed the following protection to the Egyptians by al-Mu'izz:

I guarantee you God's complete and universal safety, eternal and continuous, inclusive and perfect, renewed and confirmed through the days and recurring through the years, for your lives, your property, your families, your livestock, your estates and your quarters, and whatever you possess, be it modest or significant.⁴³

The *amān* document is significant for it delineates the principles upon which the Fatimids were to base their policies in Egypt for the next two and a half centuries of their rule. Of particular note are the claim to religious authority and the commitment to just and equitable governance for all subjects, Muslim, Christian and Jew.⁴⁴ As their sovereign, al-Mu'izz guaranteed to restore peace and security within the country and to ensure that the pilgrim routes to Mecca were safeguarded; to resume the *jihād* (in all likelihood against the Byzantines in northern Syria); to reform the Egyptian mints to the

41. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Raf' al-iṣr*, ed. R. Guest, in appendix to Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-umarā' (al-wulāt) wa kitāb al-quḍāt: The Governors and Judges of Egypt* (Leiden and London, 1912), p. 584.

42. It also appears in Idrīs, *Uyūn*, pp. 673–678. I am currently preparing an annotated English translation of Idrīs's substantial chapter on al-Mu'izz.

43. *Itti'āz*, 1: 106.

44. For a further discussion on the significance of the *amān* document in instituting Fatimid rule in Egypt, see Shainool Jiwa, 'Inclusive Governance: A Fatimid Illustration', in Amy B. Sajoo, ed., *A Companion to the Muslim World* (London, 2009).

high standard set by the Fatimids in North Africa; to protect the inheritance of the people; to abolish all unlawful taxes and levies; to renovate mosques and pay regular salaries to their caretakers; and to adhere to the *sunna* (custom) of the Prophet.

Another distinctive feature of the *amān* document is its declaration of a tolerant and inclusive policy towards all Egyptians, regardless of their creed.⁴⁵ The Fatimid caliph assured the Egyptian Muslims, the majority of whom were Sunnis, freedom of worship according to the requirements of their own religious schools:

You shall continue in your *madhhab*. You shall be permitted to perform your obligations according to religious scholarship, and to gather for it in your congregational and other mosques, and to remain steadfast in the beliefs of the worthy ancestors from the Companions of the Prophet, may God be pleased with them, and those who succeeded them, the jurists of the cities who have pronounced judgements according to their *madhhab* and *fatwās* (formal legal opinions).⁴⁶

The same accommodating policy is evident in al-Mu'izz's assurance of safety to the substantial Christian and Jewish minorities of the country. The *amān* document stipulated that their position as Ahl al-Kitāb (People of the Book) would be protected, and they were also permitted privileges such as the building and upkeep of their houses of worship.⁴⁷ Consequently, these communities thrived in the Fatimid state and actively participated in its political and economic life. Many were recruited to serve in the new administrative system, the most notable being Abu'l-Faraj b. Killis, an Egyptian Jew who had converted to Islam. He had earlier joined the service of the Fatimids in North Africa and, owing to his exceptional skills as an administrator, rose through the ranks to be appointed the

45. W. Madelung cites an earlier Fatimid example of such a policy in his 'A Treatise on the Imamate of the Fatimid Caliph al-Manṣūr Bi-Allāh', in Chase F. Robinson, ed., *Texts, Documents and Artefacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D. S. Richards* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 69–77. Madelung postulates that in this treatise, al-Manṣūr adopted a broad and inclusive definition of the imam as protector of all Muslims, including the Sunnis who made up the majority of his realm.

46. *Itti'āz*, 1: 105.

47. See Shainool Jiwa, 'Religious Pluralism in Egypt: The Ahl al-Kitāb in Early Fatimid Times', presented at the MESA Annual Conference in November 2000, and accessible online at www.iis.ac.uk.

first Fatimid wazir in Egypt.⁴⁸ Such inclusiveness and recognition of merit became hallmarks of Fatimid policies towards the diverse communities that populated their empire. Daftary notes that 'with occasional exceptions, the Fatimids pursued a policy of tolerance towards other religious and ethnic communities, a record hardly challenged under any other Muslim dynasty of the medieval period, not to mention the contemporary European experience'.⁴⁹ Indeed, although Ismaili Shi'ism was the official faith of the Fatimid state, there is no evidence to suggest that they sought to forcibly convert the populace in their empire *en masse* to the Ismaili *madhhab*.

On Tuesday, 17 Sha'bān 358/6 July 969, following further negotiations and minor skirmishes between Fatimid and local troops, Jawhar's cavalry and infantry finally crossed the pontoon bridge from Giza into Fuṣṭāṭ,⁵⁰ heralding the transition to a new social and political order. The Fatimid invasion of Egypt was in reality a peaceful conquest, as it was achieved, exceptionally in the dynastic and political culture of the time, not by protracted armed conflict but mainly through strategic planning and peaceful diplomacy.

One of Jawhar's first decrees upon entering Egypt was to remove the name of the Abbasid caliph from the *khutbas* (sermons) delivered in Egyptian mosques, and to publicly proclaim the authority of the Fatimid caliph from the pulpit of the 'Amr b. al-Āṣ congregational mosque of Fuṣṭāṭ.⁵¹ He also prohibited worshippers from wearing black clothing associated with the Abbasids and replaced

48. Solomon D. Goitein provides ample evidence of the active involvement of Christians and Jews in Fatimid society in his *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (Berkeley, 1967–1993), 6 vols.

49. Farhad Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis: Traditions of a Muslim Community* (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 65.

50. On the foundations, development and fluctuating fortunes of Fuṣṭāṭ see al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 790–791, 818–826, 912–926. Al-Maqrīzī uses both Miṣr (Egypt) and Fuṣṭāṭ to indicate the place. To avoid confusion, in this translation I have used Egypt for the country and Fuṣṭāṭ for the town.

51. According to Idrīs ('*Uyūn*, p. 685) Jawhar also removed all vestiges of Abbasid authority in Egypt and its regions from the minarets, coins, banners and official stamps. See also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, tr. de Slane, vol. 1, p. 344.

it with the white of the Fatimids. On the first Friday of his arrival, Jawhar personally led the prayer at the mosque, and the preacher invoked the following benedictions upon the Fatimid caliph and his ancestors in the *khuṭba*, as cited by al-Maqrīzī in the *Itti'āz*:

O God, bless Your servant and your *walī* (friend), the fruit of prophecy and the scion of the rightly-guiding and rightly-guided family, the servant of God, the Imam Ma'add Abū Tamīm al-Mu'izz li Dīn Allāh, the Commander of the Faithful, as you have blessed his pure forefathers and descendants, the righteous imams.

The Friday sermon was subsequently amplified to include the following:

O God, shower Your blessings on Muḥammad, the chosen one, on 'Alī the approved one, on Fāṭima, the pure, and on al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the two grandsons of the Prophet, from whom You have removed all impurity and have sanctified. O God, bless the rightly-guided imams, the ancestors of the Commander of the Faithful, those who guide and are rightly guided.⁵²

The invocation of the Ahl al-Bayt in the *khuṭba* presented a powerful congregational medium for the assertion of Fatimid authority, as it drew upon the collective memory of the believers concerning the lofty status of the Prophet and his family, and it reaffirmed the Fatimid claim to legitimacy stemming from their descent. Similarly, through this invocation, the elevated rank of the Prophet was symbolically and ritually re-enacted and reclaimed for his progeny.

Shortly after his arrival in Egypt, Jawhar laid the foundations of the new Fatimid capital which had been meticulously planned in advance by al-Mu'izz himself. The city was initially named al-Manṣūriyya in honour of al-Mu'izz's father, and later changed to al-Qāhira al-Mu'izziyya (The Victorious City of al-Mu'izz). It was consciously modelled on the Fatimid capitals of al-Mahdiyya and al-Manṣūriyya, thus forging a symbolic link between their lands in North Africa and Egypt.⁵³ A few months later, Jawhar ordered the

52. *Itti'āz*, 1: 114–117.

53. A number of features of al-Manṣūriyya were replicated in the Egyptian counterpart. In both cities the palace mosque was called al-Azhar (the Radiant). A couple of city gates were given the same names of Bāb

construction of the mosque of al-Azhar as the city's main centre of congregational worship.⁵⁴ During the course of the Fatimid era, al-Qāhira (Cairo) grew rapidly into a thriving metropolis and one of the major centres of arts and sciences in the Muslim world. Al-Azhar evolved into a leading institution of Islamic scholarship, attracting students from across the Muslim world. The priority given to the development of al-Azhar, which ranks among the oldest institutions of higher education in the world, is reflective of the Fatimid commitment to the promotion of knowledge, consistent with the teachings of the Qur'an and the Prophet Muḥammad.

Jawhar presided as governor of Egypt for four years, during which he established a new administration and began to repair the country's impoverished economy. At the same time he pursued a vigorous policy of extending Fatimid rule to the Ḥijāz and Syria. The allegiance of Mecca and Medina was easily secured with the help of Ḥasan b. Ja'far whom al-Mu'izz had earlier appointed custodian of the holy cities. In Syria, however, Fatimid influence was checked by fierce resistance from the Qarāmiṭa. Al-Mu'izz finally arrived in Cairo on 7 Ramaḍān 362/10 June 973, together with members of his family, senior *dā'īs* and other dignitaries. His arrival coincided with news from pilgrims returning home from the Ḥijāz that the Fatimid caliph's name had been pronounced from the pulpits of its mosques. This was particularly significant as it meant that for the first time the Fatimid imam-caliph had replaced the Abbasid caliph as the protector of the holy sites of Islam, thus demarcating a new phase in the religious landscape of the Muslim world.

Zuwayla [Zawīla] and Bāb al-Futūḥ. As was the case in al-Mahdiyya, the area between the palaces of the caliph and his heir apparent in Cairo came to be known as Bayn al-Qaṣrayn (now known as Zuwayla).

54. Al-Maqrīzī has interesting information on the establishment of the mosque: 'This was the first mosque to be established in Cairo. It was built by Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī, the *mawlā* (client) of al-Mu'izz when he planned Cairo... On the inside of the dome which was in the first section of the mosque [the right side of the *miḥrāb* and the *minbar*] was inscribed the following: "This building was ordered by the servant of God and his *walī* Abū Tamīm Ma'add the Imām al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, the Commander of the Faithful, may God's prayer be upon him and his ancestors and his honourable progeny, by his servant Jawhar al-Kātib al-Ṣiqillī.'" For a detailed account of al-Azhar see al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 3: 213–217.

The *Itti'āz* contains many illustrations of how Fatimid authority was publicly proclaimed in Egypt through a wide range of media. Coins minted in the name of al-Mu'izz offered a tangible medium to affirm his authority in his own realm. Such coins transmitted and reiterated his status across the trade routes, which in Fatimid times spanned from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans. Viewed in this light, the red dinar minted in al-Mu'izz's name in the very first year of the Fatimid takeover of Egypt is particularly revealing:

The Imam Ma'add summons to the Oneness of God, the Eternal.
Al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, the Commander of the Faithful.
In the name of God, this dinar was minted in Egypt in 358 [968–9].

On the obverse:

There is no god except God and Muḥammad is the messenger of God.
God has sent him with guidance and the true religion to proclaim it
over all other religions, despite the abhorrence of the polytheists. 'Alī is
the best of legatees, the deputy of the best of the messengers.⁵⁵

Al-Mu'izz and the Qarāmiṭa

As noted above, shortly after the occupation of Egypt the Fatimid army began to make incursions into Syria. A large contingent set off for Syria under the command of Ja'far b. Falāḥ al-Kutāmī.⁵⁶ A number of obstacles, however, impeded the success of this campaign, including unfamiliar terrain, inadequate military resources and poor communication between Ja'far and Jawhar. But the greatest opposition came from the Qarāmiṭa who had joined forces with the

55. *Itti'āz*, 1: 116. The final statement alludes to Qur'an 9: 33.

56. Ja'far b. Falāḥ was a prominent member of the Kutāma and one of the senior commanders of al-Mu'izz. His father had also been a well-respected commander and governor of Tripoli, Barqa and Bāja. A companion of Jawhar, Ja'far participated in the Fatimid advance into Egypt and then led the campaign into Syria until his death in 360/970–971 during a battle against the Qarāmiṭa near Damascus. Al-Maqrīzī reports (*Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 94) that 'Ja'far b. Falāḥ considered himself more deserving than Jawhar and tried to vie with him for al-Mu'izz's favours. He stopped corresponding with Jawhar and began writing directly to al-Mu'izz in the Maghrib. This angered al-Mu'izz, who rebuked him for bypassing Jawhar and returned all his letters to him.' For an account of his activities in Syria see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 3: 50–58.

Abbasids to resist the Fatimid advance. The Qarāmiṭa's ideological hostility towards the Fatimids was further fuelled by the latter's refusal to pay the exorbitant protection money they demanded for Egyptian pilgrims. Recognising the serious challenge posed by the Qarāmiṭa, al-Mu'izz responded with assertive military action as well as skilful diplomatic overtures. The *Itti'āz* is one of the rare extant sources that has preserved the entire text of his lengthy letter addressed to the Qarmaṭi leader al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad.⁵⁷ It provides one of the earliest articulations of the Fatimid conception of the imamate written by an imam-caliph himself, since most such writings were composed by Ismaili *dā'īs*. The letter begins by reminding the Qarāmiṭa of the divinely ordained status of the Fatimids:

O people, indeed when God, may He be exalted and glorified, wills a matter He decrees it and when He decrees it, He accomplishes it. Concerning us, it was His decree prior to creation to create us as shapes and manifest us as spirits, possessors of power and precedent, before the heavens were formed, or an earth stretched out; [before there was] a sun radiant, a moon orbiting at night, a star revolving, a night dark, a horizon hiding, a tongue speaking, or a wing fluttering; neither a night nor a day, neither a sphere orbiting, nor a planet revolving.

Thus, we are the first thought and the last act, according to the ordained destiny and a matter approved from pre-eternity. Then, at the integration of the order and soundness of resolve, and at the creation of creatures by God, may He be exalted and glorified, when He brought forth the *ummahāt* (elements) from primordial matter, He moulded us as lights and darkness, motion and stillness.

By His command, which preceded in His knowledge, exists whatever you see of a revolving sphere, a planet, a day, a night, and whatever is in the external world of horizons, of traces of miracles and bright destinies, and whatever is in the region of remains and what is in the souls of *genera*, forms and species of dense and subtle, existent and non-existent, apparent and hidden, perceptible and intangible, near and far, descending and ascending [things].

All that is for us and because of us. They guide to us and point to us, and through them God guides him who has sound understanding and correct opinion, to whom good fortune has proceeded from us, and who believes in the meaning.

Then He, the Exalted and Most High, made manifest from the hidden knowledge and the stored judgement in Adam and Eve, the two

57. Madelung summarises this letter and examines the motives for it in his 'The Fatimids and the Qarmaṭis', pp. 52–54.

parents, a male and a female, as a cause for the creation of mankind and as evidence to manifest [His] mighty power. He paired them and they procreated, and the children and the numbers increased. We were transferred through the chaste loins and pure and approved wombs. Whenever a loin and a womb brought us together, power and knowledge were manifest from us. This continued until our last ancestor, the best father, the chief of the messengers, the leader of the prophets, Aḥmad and Muḥammad, blessings of God be upon him and his progeny in every circle and in every assembly; his family are blessed and his self-sufficiency is evident ...

Let him who has a heart or who can listen and bear witness know that we are the everlasting words of God and His perfect names, His radiant lights, His luminous signs, His evident lamps, His created wonders, His dazzling signs and His effective decrees. No matter passes us by and no age is devoid of us. And we, indeed, are just as God, the Most Sublime, the Most Exalted, has said: 'There is no secret conference of three but He is their fourth, nor of five but He is their sixth, nor of less than that or more but He is with them wheresoever they may be; and afterward, on the Day of Resurrection, He will inform them of what they did. Lo! God is the Knower of all things.'⁵⁸

The letter continues by reminding the Qarāmiṭa leadership of the loyalty and devotion with which their ancestors had served the Ismaili imams. It exhorts, cajoles, rebukes and threatens the Qarāmiṭa in an endeavour to draw them back to the Fatimid fold. This approach appears to have met with some success, for it encouraged a number of their leaders to reaffirm their allegiance to the Fatimids. A notable example was the chief *dā'ī* of Khurāsān and Rayy, Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī (d. 361/971), one of the foremost intellectuals of his time and a pioneer of Ismaili philosophical thought.⁵⁹ His allegiance to al-Mu'izz led to a large number of his followers in Khurāsān, Sijistān, Makrān and Central Asia paying homage to the Fatimid sovereign. Politically, however, these efforts were of little immediate avail, for the Qarāmiṭa continued unabated in their military forays against the Fatimids. Working on the principle that 'my enemy's enemy is my friend', they courted the Abbasids and at times even the Byzantines in drawing the Fatimids into vengeful battles in Syria. Twice they marched to the gates of Cairo in their

58. *Itti'āz*, 1: 190–191. The final sentence comes from Qur'an 58: 7.

59. See S. M. Stern, 'Abū Ya'qūb al-Sidjzī', *EI2*, and Paul E. Walker, *Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī: Intellectual Missionary* (London, 1996).

relentless pursuit of the Fatimids. This left the Fatimid caliphs with little recourse but to engage them militarily as well as diplomatically according to circumstance.

Accomplishments of al-Mu'izz

Al-Mu'izz was to reign in Egypt for only two years and passed away on the eve of Saturday, 16 Rabī' II 365/23 December 975 at the age of forty-four after a short illness. He was buried in the Fatimid royal mausoleum in Cairo near his ancestors whose tombs had been brought over from the Maghrib.

The reign of al-Mu'izz witnessed the momentous transition of the Fatimids from a regional dynasty in a peripheral part of the Muslim world to the most powerful Mediterranean state of the time. Although his time in Egypt was brief, the reforms al-Mu'izz introduced laid the foundation for Egypt's economic recovery and the attainment of a level of prosperity unprecedented since the advent of Islam. It also led to the rise of an empire which promoted 'intellectual and artistic life and initiated the development of a brilliant civilisation which reached its full flowering on the banks of the Nile'.⁶⁰

In rivalry with the Abbasids, who used the Persian Gulf for trading purposes, the Fatimids successfully developed a trade route to India passing through the Red Sea, which came to dominate international trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean basin, thus asserting their status as a Mediterranean power. The vigorous maritime commerce that ensued generated substantial revenues for the Fatimid treasury, second only to the land tax income, from customs duties levied on imports of spices and luxury goods from India, China and other parts of Asia.

Pivotal to the prosperity of Fatimid Egypt was the emergence of Cairo as a thriving metropolis. The founding of Cairo, which has remained the Egyptian capital to this day, constitutes perhaps the most lasting legacy of al-Mu'izz. The Fatimid capital was not only a strategic centre but also an inland port with robust ship traffic along the Nile, as well as being the terminus of trans-Saharan trade in gold, ivory and other products from as far as West Africa. All these factors, together with the Fatimids' substantial investment in

60. F. Dachraoui, 'al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah', *EI2*.

construction, contributed to the city's rapid development. According to the Persian Ismaili poet-philosopher Nāṣir-i Khusraw who visited Cairo in 439/1047, the city had over 20,000 shops, numerous bazaars, caravanserais and bath houses, as well as fine houses and gardens, all of which were eclipsed by the Fatimid palace with its high encircling walls. He also reported with astonishment that the drapers, jewellers and money changers of Cairo did not lock their shops due to the high degree of peace and security that prevailed in the city.⁶¹

Oftentimes, Fatimid commercial activities were interlinked with activities of their *da'wa*. This resulted in considerable expansion of Fatimid spheres of influence to regions as far afield as Andalusia, Yemen and Central Asia, as well as Sind in the lower Indus region where an Ismaili principality was established with its capital in Multān.⁶² The Fatimid *da'wa* was further invigorated by the prolific pen of the jurist al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān (d. 363/974), who functioned as the chief *dā'i* and chief justice of the state under al-Mu'izz. An erudite scholar who joined the service of the first Fatimid caliph al-Mahdī, he reached the apogee of his career in the time of al-Mu'izz. Al-Nu'mān is credited with codifying Fatimid law in his compendium *Da'ā'im al-Islām*.⁶³ Ismaili sources report that this and other legal works of al-Nu'mān were inspired by al-Mu'izz, as well as carefully reviewed and attested by him. The imam-caliph also reviewed the Qāḍī's lectures before they were delivered at the *majālis al-ḥikma* (sessions of wisdom) held regularly for Ismaili audiences at the Fatimid palace. Al-Mu'izz's letter investing al-Nu'mān as chief *qāḍī* is particularly instructive, as it delineates the principles of

61. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma*, ed. M. Dabīr Siyāqī (5th ed., Tehran, 1977), tr. W.M. Thackston, Jr., as *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)* (Albany, NY, 1986), p. 57. See also Alice C. Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, The Ruby of Badakhshan: A Portrait of the Persian Poet, Traveller and Philosopher* (London, 2000), p. 149.

62. The Fatimid *dā'i* Jalam b. Shaybān took over Sind in 347/958–959 and maintained close contact with al-Mu'izz. Although Ismaili rule lasted in the region for over half a century, the faith took permanent root there and survives to the present day. See Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 385–392.

63. Ed. Asaf A.A. Fyzee (Cairo, 1951–1960); English trans. by Asaf A.A. Fyzee and revised by Ismail K. Poonawala as *The Pillars of Islam*, 2 vols. (New Delhi, 2002–2004). On the writings of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, see Poonawala's *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī Literature* (Malibu, CA, 1977), pp. 51–68.

Ismaili jurisprudence:

In your decisions and judgements, you should follow the Book of God ... if you do not find in the Book any text [concerning an issue] nor any [decision] in the *sunna* of the Amīr al-Mu'minīn's forefather, Muḥammad, the messenger of God ... then seek it in the *madhhab* of the imams from the progeny of the Prophet. If a matter appears uncertain or baffling to you, refer it to the Amīr al-Mu'minīn and he will guide you to the proper decision.⁶⁴

It was largely due to the prodigious scholarship of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān and his mentor al-Mu'izz that a comprehensive legal code was established that could effectively administer the range of faith communities inhabiting the Fatimid empire. The Qāḍī is reputed to have composed over sixty works. In addition to his only extant historical work, *Iftitāḥ al-da'wa*, which recounts events leading to the establishment of the Fatimid state in North Africa in 297/909, his other juristic and hagiographical works provide a wealth of information from the Fatimid standpoint.⁶⁵

As well as being a patron of scholarship, al-Mu'izz was an accomplished scholar and linguist with mastery of several languages. He composed a number of treatises⁶⁶ and is also acknowledged to have inspired the invention of the fountain pen. He established a palace library which was, in the words of Heinz Halm, 'unmatched anywhere in the contemporary world'.⁶⁷ A decade before his death, al-Mu'izz commissioned a map of the world that was subsequently

64. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Kitāb ikhtilāf uṣūl al-madhāhib*, ed. S. T. Lokhandwalla (Simla, 1972), p. 55. On the development of Ismaili jurisprudence in Fatimid times, see I.K. Poonawala, 'Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān and Isma'ili Jurisprudence', in Daftary, *Mediaeval Isma'ili History and Thought*, pp. 117–144.

65. Among al-Nu'mān's works, the *Kitāb al-majālis wa'l-musāyarāt* deserves special mention as it is an eye-witness account of 292 audiences with the Fatimid imams, mainly al-Mu'izz, in which al-Nu'mān was present. It therefore 'constitutes a remarkable account of the imam in action, facing the constant duty of receiving his followers, counselling them and ruling on all manner of issues brought before him'. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire*, p. 138.

66. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 68–70.

67. Heinz Halm, *The Fatimids and their Traditions of Learning* (London, 1997), pp. 90–91.

displayed in his mausoleum. Al-Maqrīzī offers the following description of it:

[A] piece of fine blue silk, a magnificent artefact, with gold lettering and with various pieces of silk stitched on – a work of al-Mu'izz. On it were pictured the parts of the earth with all the cities and mountains, seas and rivers, a reproduction of geography; Mecca and Medina were plotted on it, and below it was written: 'Completed at the command of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, out of longing for the sanctuary of God, and in order to make known the places of the Messenger of God, in the year 353/[964]'.⁶⁸

Al-Maqrīzī's portrayal of al-Mu'izz

In the *Itti'āz*, the primary focus of the chapter covering al-Mu'izz is on establishing Fatimid sovereignty and authority in Egypt. The curtain of the opening scene rises with some biographical information on al-Mu'izz before moving swiftly to the sweeping Fatimid conquest across the Maghrib. Among other things, it recounts how a jar of swimming fish from the Atlantic was presented to the Fatimid sovereign in al-Mahdiyya as a symbol of his suzerainty over all the land and waterways of the west. Al-Maqrīzī's special interest in the Fatimids was clearly born out of the fact that they made his homeland the locus of their vast empire, and invested significant resources in its economic and intellectual development. His propensity to accept the Fatimids as legitimate successors to the Prophetic lineage is evident in the *Itti'āz*, as in the following extract from Ibn Zūlāq, a contemporary Egyptian historian:⁶⁹

68. *Itti'āz*, 2: 294, as cited in Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, p. 374.

69. According to al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Zūlāq was a Shāfi'ī scholar with Shi'ī leanings. When al-Mu'izz came from the Maghrib to Egypt, Ibn Zūlāq was amongst those who came out to receive him. He was the author of a continuation of al-Kindī's book on governors and judges of Egypt, and other works including a *khiṭaṭ* (topography) and a book on Egyptian notables entitled *Akhbār sībawayh al-Miṣrī* (ed. M.I. Sa'd and Ḥ. al-Dīb, Cairo, 1933). He also wrote biographies of al-Mu'izz, al-'Azīz and Jawhar, none of which have survived. It is not clear which of these sources were available to al-Maqrīzī. See al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb Muqaffā' al-kabīr*, ed. M. al-Ya'lāwī (Beirut, 1981), vol. 3, pp. 284–286.

One day al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh, upon him be peace, was in his father al-Mahdī's *majlis* (gathering), seated in front of him. His son, al-Manṣūr, was standing in front of his grandfather, when al-Mahdī said to him, 'Bring me your son', that is, al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh. So his nursemaid brought him. He was one year old or a little older. Al-Mahdī took him on his lap and kissed him. Then he said to his son al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh, 'O Abū'l-Qāsim, there is not a gathering more illustrious on earth than this one, as four imams are gathered here', that is, al-Mahdī himself, his son al-Qā'im, his grandson al-Manṣūr, and his great-grandson al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh.

Additionally, the parasol bearer (*ṣāhib al-miẓalla*), Abū'l-Faḍl Raydān, told me that al-Mahdī gathered them in a cloak and said, 'The Prophet of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, gathered in his garment three imams, in addition to himself,⁷⁰ but in this cloak there are four imams.'⁷¹

Recounting from eye-witness accounts, al-Maqrīzī often exemplifies al-Mu'izz as a model caliph who earnestly occupied himself in the care and welfare of his subjects, as in the following passage:

One cold, blustery winter's day in al-Manṣūriyya, al-Mu'izz summoned several of the Kutāma shaykhs. He ordered them to be admitted into his presence through a door that was not customarily used. He stood in a large, square room carpeted in felt, wearing a robe over his clothes. Open doors led to a library. In front of him were a raised dais and an inkpot, and he was surrounded by documents. Then he said:

'Our brothers! On this cold winter's day, I woke up and said to the mother of the princes, who is listening to my words right now, "Do you suppose that on a day like this our brothers imagine that we are eating and drinking, adorned in garments embroidered in gold, of brocade, silk and fur of fennec and sable, with musk, song, wine and revelry as the people of the world do?"

"Then I thought of sending for you so that you could see what I do when I am away from you and far from your eyes. My status exceeds yours only because I have responsibility over your affairs on earth and because God has singled me out as your imam. I busy myself with letters that come to me from the east and the west, to which I respond

70. This refers to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his two sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.

71. The *Itti'āz* (1:122–123) and Idrīs ('*Uyūn*, pp. 524–525) report several other occasions where al-Mu'izz is extolled by his great-grandfather al-Mahdī. Another example is mentioned in al-Qāḍi al-Nu'mān's *Majālis*, p. 541.

in my own hand. My concern with the pleasures of the world lies solely in what protects your lives, makes your lands prosper, vanquishes your enemies and subdues your opponents.

'So when you are on your own, O shaykhs, do as I do. Do not be haughty and imperious, lest God withdraw His favour from you and bestow it on others. Show compassion to your subordinates who have no access to me, just as I am compassionate with you. In this manner benevolence may abound, virtue may prevail and justice may thrive among the people ...

'Know that if you abide by what I have commanded you, I hope God will grant us authority over the east as He has facilitated our authority over the west through you. Arise. May God have mercy on you and give you victory.'⁷²

When reporting the demise of al-Mu'izz in the *Itti'āz*, al-Maqrīzī typically presents a range of views from the sources at his disposal, including Ibn al-Athīr⁷³ (d. 630/1233), Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī⁷⁴ (d. 685/1286), Ibn Zūlāq (d. 386/996), 'Abd al-Jabbār⁷⁵ (d. 415/1025) and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr⁷⁶ (d. 617/1220). He concludes his obituary with a report from Ibn Zūlāq, whom he considers the most authentic

72. For an official account of the relationship between Fatimid authorities and their subjects, see al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, trans., ch. 9, and in particular pp. 446–453, which detail how governors should act with regard to their administrative officials, land-tax payers, merchants, artisans, and the poor and needy.

73. 'Izz al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr was the pre-eminent Arab historian of the 7th/13th century, his most famous work being the annalistic history, *al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rīkh*, which became highly influential across the Muslim world. The work is edited by C.J. Tornberg (Leiden, 1851–1876).

74. 'Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī was an Andalusian historian in Tunis and the author of *Kitāb al-mughrib fī ḥulā al-maghrib*, vol. 1, part 1, on the Ikhshīdids (ed. M. Ḥasan, Cairo, 1953), and part 2, on the Fatimids in Egypt (ed. H. Nassar, Cairo, 1970).

75. 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī was the chief *qāḍī* of Rayy who wrote the theological work *Tathbit dalā'il al-nubuwwa* (ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uthman, Beirut, 1966, 2 vols.), which contains sections on the Fatimids and the Qarāmiṭa.

76. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ṭuwayr was a high-ranking official of the later Fatimids who wrote *Nuzhat al-muqlatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, ed. Ayman F. Sayyid (Beirut and Stuttgart, 1992), an important work drawn upon by Ibn al-Furāt, al-Qalqashandī, Ibn Taghrī Birdī and al-Maqrīzī. See Claude Cahen, 'Ibn al-Ṭuwayr', *EI2*.

source on the matter. He begins with a report from Ibn al-Athīr, which alleges that al-Mu'izz died of despondency engendered by the Byzantine envoy's doomed view of his realm in Egypt, which in the latter's opinion lacked the grandeur of his kingdom in the Maghrib. Al-Maqrīzī follows this with an account from Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, according to which the Fatimid ruler inexplicably takes off to the outskirts of Cairo, repeatedly reciting a particular Qur'anic verse.⁷⁷ He returns a week later, is taken ill and dies in Dhū'l-Qa'da 365/ July 975. 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī's tale follows a similar pattern of the disappearance and reappearance of al-Mu'izz, insinuating that by so doing he was trying to convey something extraordinary about himself.⁷⁸ Al-Maqrīzī then provides the much more substantive testimony from Ibn Zūlāq, which he states is more reliable regarding al-Mu'izz since his was an eye-witness account, according to which al-Mu'izz fell ill on 8 Rabī' I 365/15 November 975, with his illness taking a turn for the worse in the following month. He then appointed his son Nizār as heir apparent, who took the regal title al-'Azīz bi'llāh and assumed all the responsibilities of state on behalf of his father. Al-Maqrīzī follows with Ibn al-Athīr acknowledging al-Mu'izz's statesmanship thus:

[He] was the first of the 'Alid caliphs to conquer Egypt and to immigrate there ... He was learned, meritorious and magnanimous, following his father's footsteps. He was of good conduct and just to his subjects.⁷⁹

In summing up al-Mu'izz's career, al-Maqrīzī recounts Ibn Zūlāq's testimony that 'al-Mu'izz was extremely virtuous, deserving of the imamate and a good leader'. He then enumerates the caliph's achievements and asserts that his reign was the most affluent of the first four Fatimid rulers. It was also the time of great expansion, with 'the people of Iraq, Yemen, Khurāsān, the two holy cities and the Turks corresponding with him, [and] acknowledging his caliphate'. Moreover, he adds, it was 'during his reign that prayers were recited for Fāṭima and 'Alī – peace be upon them both – from the pulpits of

77. Al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat*, p. 227. The verse that al-Mu'izz is reported to have recited was Sūrat al-Faṭḥ (Qur'an 48), revealed to the Prophet after the treaty of Hudaibiyya. According to Shi'i commentators, verse 29 of this sura is a reference to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the imams from his progeny.

78. *Itt'āz*, 1: 231.

79. *Ibid.*, 1: 232.

all his regions and many regions in Iraq'.⁸⁰

AL-MAQRĪZĪ AND THE FATIMIDS

Al-Maqrīzī was born in Cairo in 766/1364 and, after a long and distinguished scholarly career, died in the same city in 845/1449 at the age of eighty-five.⁸¹ A prolific author of the Mamluk period, his writings spanned many facets of Egyptian society, from its political history, topography and economic characteristics to biographical works chronicling its distinguished individuals. He painstakingly penned works that recorded Egyptian history from the time of its Muslim conquest to his own era, displaying particular pride in all things Egyptian. Al-Maqrīzī's monumental work on the topography of Egypt, the *Khiṭaṭ*, continues to be a standard reference on the social, architectural and cultural history of Mamluk Egypt. Similarly, his biographical works such as *al-Muqaffā* have proven vital in reconstructing the lives of many prominent figures of Egyptian society in the medieval era. Egyptian history was by no means al-Maqrīzī's sole interest, as he authored a number of treatises on subjects ranging from a biography of the Prophet and the causes of the early schisms in Islam to the state of the economy in his own lifetime.

Al-Maqrīzī's interest in the Fatimids was inextricably linked to his pride in and loyalty to Egypt, his homeland. His admiration for the dynasty may have been partly aroused by the way they had reversed Egypt's chronic political and economic decline, and its dependence on the Abbasids. As self-proclaimed leaders over the Muslim *umma*, the Fatimids challenged Abbasid authority on every front and at every opportunity. They also made Egypt their principal locus and paid careful and concerted attention to its social, economic and intellectual development. The agrarian and commercial reforms instituted by the Fatimids, along with the politico-military stability they provided, resulted in unprecedented growth of the Egyptian economy, especially in the first century of their rule. As a patriotic Egyptian scholar, al-Maqrīzī held Fatimid commitment

80. Ibid., 1: 230.

81. For sources on al-Maqrīzī see N. Rabbat, 'Who was al-Maqrīzī? A Biographical Sketch', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/2 (2003), p. 4n9, and also Franz Rosenthal's article 'al-Maqrīzī', *EI2*.

and investment in Egypt in high regard, a perspective that is often reflected in his writings.

Al-Maqrīzī and the Ahl al-Bayt

Another factor that accounts for the attention al-Maqrīzī devotes to the Fatimids was, as noted earlier, his implicit recognition of the Fatimids as legitimate descendants of the Prophet, the Ahl al-Bayt, and therefore deserving his respect and admiration. An interesting issue is the extent to which al-Maqrīzī's own eclectic upbringing and training, ranging from Ḥanafī to Ḥanbalī to Shāfi'ī *madhhabs*, fostered his tolerant attitude to the various Muslim *madhhabs*, including the Shi'i ones.

A number of al-Maqrīzī's works express affection for the Ahl al-Bayt, such as his voluminous biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, *Imtā' al-asmā' bi-mā lil-Rasūl min al-Anbā wa-al-amwāl wa-al-ḥafadah wa-al-matā'* (The Listener's Delight concerning stories about the Messenger, his wealth, his offspring and his possessions).⁸² Here he discusses contentious issues regarding succession to the Prophet, the various claimants to leadership of the *umma* and the rights of the Ahl al-Bayt.⁸³ He addresses the same issues in the *Kitāb al-niza' wa-al-takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim* (The Book of Contention and Strife concerning the relations between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim);⁸⁴ *Kitāb fi dhikr mā warada fī Banī Umayyah wa Banī al-'Abbās* (The Book concerning what has been related about the Banū Umayya and the Banū al-'Abbās);⁸⁵ and *Kitāb ma'rifat mā yajibu li-Āl al-Bayt al-Nabawī min al-ḥaqq 'alā man 'adāhum* (The Book of Knowledge about the righteousness of the cause of the House of the Prophet against those

82. Ed. M. Shākir (Cairo, 1941); ed. A. al-Nuwaysī (Beirut, 1999).

83. Al-Maqrīzī's pro-Hāshimī tendencies are examined by P. Cobb in 'al-Maqrīzī, Hāshimism, and the Early Caliphates', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/2 (2003), pp. 69–81.

84. Tr. C.E. Bosworth, 'al-Maqrīzī's Book of Contention and Strife concerning the relations between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Monograph no. 3 (Manchester, 1980).

85. Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus, Alter Fond, 342b of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Flügel 887), cited in Cobb, 'al-Maqrīzī, Hashimism', p. 72n9.

who opposed them).⁸⁶ These treatises illustrate al-Maqrīzī's considerable interest in examining the formative period of Islamic polity and to delineate the rank and status of the Ahl al-Bayt. He articulates his rationale for these works as follows:

When I observed that most people were remiss in acknowledging the legitimacy of the family of the Prophet, that they opposed what legitimacy they possessed, that they tarnished their glory, and were ignorant of their station relative to God Most High, I desired to produce a tract about this matter that demonstrates the greatness of their glory and that guides the God-fearing to the mightiness of their powers.⁸⁷

Al-Maqrīzī maintains a striking fluidity in his definition of the Ahl al-Bayt, which transcends the normalised Sunni and Shi'ī interpretations. Accordingly, in the *Imtā' al-asmā'* he advocates that the Ahl al-Bayt comprise the Banū Hāshim and the Banū Muṭṭalib, to the exclusion of the rest of the Quraysh, whilst refuting the Shi'ī limitation of this group to the Prophet, 'Alī, Fatima and their progeny.⁸⁸ Yet in his *Kitāb ma'rifat*, al-Maqrīzī aligns himself closely to the Shi'ī position regarding the favoured status of the progeny of 'Alī and Fatima as descendants of the Prophet (*dhurriyyāt*) and the guarantee of paradise assured by their blessed lineage.⁸⁹

Al-Maqrīzī notably reserves a distinct, elevated status for the 'Alids which he ascribes to their nearness (*qurbah*) to the Prophet.⁹⁰ This is the basis upon which he critiques the Abbasids as 'supplanters of the 'Alids [and] as disregards of the pious scholars'.⁹¹ It is important to note that al-Maqrīzī's deference to the Ahl al-Bayt is expressly within the Sunni tradition, for al-Maqrīzī remained a practising Sunni of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*.⁹² In addition to the advantage associated with being a proponent of the most dominant Sunni juridical school in Cairo at the time, al-Maqrīzī's adoption of the Shāfi'ī

86. Ed. A. al-Sirāwī (Damascus, 1998).

87. Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb ma'rifat mā yajibū*, cited in Cobb, 'al-Maqrīzī, Hashimism', p. 75.

88. Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-asmā'*, 5: 372, cited in Cobb, *ibid.*, p. 74.

89. *Kitāb ma'rifat*, cited in Cobb, *ibid.*, p. 75.

90. Cobb, *ibid.*, p. 75.

91. C.E. Bosworth, trans., *al-Maqrīzī's Book of Contention*, p. 31.

92. Rabbat, 'A Biographical Sketch', pp. 7–10; Paul E. Walker, 'Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/2 (2003), pp. 83–97.

madhhab in his early adult life could well have been influenced by affinity towards the 'Alids in that tradition. Indeed, al-Maqrīzī had a model precursor in Ibn Zulāq, a practising Shāfi'ī who ranked among the most eminent Fatimid court historians. Conversely, it was this *madhhab* that many Shi'ī scholars of the medieval period preferred to adopt when practising *taqiyya* (precautionary dissimulation) because of its empathy to the Ahl al-Bayt and similarity in legal doctrine to Shi'ī Islam.⁹³

Another important consideration in this regard is al-Maqrīzī's inclination to Sufi ideas and a pronounced interest in Sufi *khānaqas* (hostelries) and *ziyāras* (shrines) in Egypt. This is evident in many of his works, especially the *Khiṭaṭ*, where he provides detailed accounts of Egyptian Sufi spaces of worship and gathering.⁹⁴ He was also buried in the Baybarshāhī Sufi cemetery in Cairo. Al-Maqrīzī's Sufi leanings would also account for his devotion to the Ahl al-Bayt, a sentiment that was widely shared among Egyptian Sufi circles of the time. In the post-Mongol world of the 8th/14th century, the distinctions between Sunni and Shi'ī identities appear to have been far less segregated than had been the case in the preceding centuries. The destruction of Baghdad by Hulegu's Mongol armies in 656/1258 terminated the Abbasid caliphate which had represented institutional Sunnism. The doctrinal fluidity that resulted was harnessed by the Sufi *tariqas* (orders) which sought to fill the void between the legalistic frameworks of the Sunni *madhhabs* and the esoteric ideals of the Shi'a. The eminent rank of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the role of early Shi'ī imams in the *silsila* (genealogical chains) of many Sufi *tariqas* henceforth became apparent. These Sufi attitudes enabled Sunni scholars like al-Maqrīzī to represent Shi'ism in an acceptable mode (*tashayyu' ḥasan*)⁹⁵ without compromising their Sunni identity.

93. Devin Stewart, 'Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Āmili's Treatise for Sultan Suleiman and the Shi'ī Shāfi'ī Legal Tradition', *Islamic Law and Society*, 4 (1997), pp. 156–199.

94. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 572–579.

95. Alessandro Bausani, 'Religion under the Mongols', in *The Cambridge History of Iran: Volume 5, The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 538–549.

Al-Maqrīzī's scholarship on the Fatimids

Chronologically, al-Maqrīzī is among the last of the medieval Muslim historians to produce important studies on the Fatimids, culling valuable information from a comprehensive range of bygone sources. He also has the distinction of being the only one to have produced major works on the Fatimids in the three main categories of medieval historiography: chronicles, topographies and biographies.

Al-Maqrīzī wrote a number of works on the Fatimids, which form a significant part of his prodigious scholarship and are invaluable for a variety of reasons. Firstly, the scope and range of his works give him a distinctive status in Fatimid historiography. Moreover, his works have survived the vagaries of time and religious persecution, unlike the majority of Fatimid sources. This is partly so because he was recognised as a Sunni scholar whose work was therefore regarded as devoid of heretical tendencies, a basis on which many medieval texts were cast aside or simply destroyed. Secondly, several important works such as the *Ta'rikh Miṣr* of Ibn al-Muyassar⁹⁶ (d. 677/1278–1279) are accessible to us only in the form of al-Maqrīzī's copious handwritten notes, for apart from a small fragment of the original work, the rest of *Ta'rikh Miṣr* is not extant. Similarly, the eye-witness accounts of many distinguished Fatimid court historians, such as Ibn Zūlāq, al-Musabbiḥī⁹⁷ (d. 420/1029) and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, are only extant as excerpted quotes in al-Maqrīzī's works. Subsequent scholarship is as such indebted to al-Maqrīzī who chose to draw from the full range of sources that he had at his disposal,

96. The Egyptian historian Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Muyassar lived a century before al-Maqrīzī, and his *Ta'rikh Miṣr* is considered to be the most important work on the Fatimid period prior to al-Maqrīzī's contributions. The work, of which only a set of detailed notes taken from the original by al-Maqrīzī survives, was a major source for the *Itti'āz*. See Ibn Muyassar, *al-Muntaqā min akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1981), and Walker, 'al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids', p. 83.

97. Al-Mukhtār 'Izz al-Mulk Muḥammad al-Musabbiḥī's *Ta'rikh* is said to have comprised some 13,000 folios, most of which have disappeared, covering the period between 368/978 and 415/1025. The surviving portion has been published as *al-Juz' al-arba'ūn min akhbār Miṣr*, Part 1, ed. Ayman F. Sayyid and Thierry Bianquis (Cairo, 1978–1984); Part 2, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣar (Cairo, 1984).

including a number of Ismaili sources.⁹⁸ It is also fortunate that from time to time he provided references to the sources he used in his various works. Nonetheless, it is often the case that once al-Maqrīzī had mentioned a source in one of his writings, he chose not to repeat it in other works where he had written on the same subject.

An interesting feature of al-Maqrīzī's method of writing is that he seems to have worked on a number of his manuscripts simultaneously. He then appears to have developed the various manuscript drafts concurrently, albeit at a varied pace. It is also worth noting that a number of al-Maqrīzī's extant works, particularly on the Fatimids, are draft copies that he, in all probability, would have revised and finalised, had he chosen to go back to them.⁹⁹ This work-in-progress approach is clearly evident in the *Itti'āz*, which in its extant form is essentially a detailed list of events and reports presented chronologically with no clear effort to integrate them into a coherent, continuing narrative.¹⁰⁰ In the final version this disjointedness would have likely been smoothened out. Consequently, it remains the task of modern scholarship to fill in the gaps by correlating al-Maqrīzī's various works and consulting his sources,¹⁰¹ as Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl has sought to do with the *Itti'āz*.

The fact that some of al-Maqrīzī's Fatimid works remained unfinished may raise a question concerning his possible later ambivalence towards the dynasty. Nonetheless, it is clear that he retained a special interest in them to the end of his life. This can be elicited from the

98. See Frédéric Bauden, 'Maqriziana I. Discovery of an Autograph MS of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of his Working Method. Description: Section 1, *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/2 (2003), pp. 21–68.

99. For further discussion of al-Maqrīzī's method of scholarship and the sources he used, see Frédéric Bauden, 'Maqriziana I: Section 2' *Mamluk Studies Review*, 10/2 (2006), pp. 81–139; 'Maqriziana II: Analysis', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 12/1 (2008), pp. 51–119; and 'The Recovery of Mamluk Chancery Documents in an Unsuspected Place', in Michael Winter and Amelia Levanoni, ed., *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society* (Leiden, 2004).

100. See Walker, 'Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids', pp. 93–95, and Ayman F. Sayyid, 'Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the *Kitāb al-khiṭaṭ*', in Y. Dutton ed., *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Second Conference of al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation 1993* (London, 1995) pp. 93–101.

101. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire*, pp. 164–169.

fact that he continued to add glosses in the margins and side sections of his Fatimid manuscripts and, more importantly, does not seem to have discarded or disowned any of these works. Furthermore, even in the twilight years of his life, he did not discourage his family members and colleagues from referring to his supposed genealogical linkage to the Fatimids (see following section).

Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā'

This is the first work that al-Maqrīzī is known to have composed focusing exclusively on the history of the Fatimids in North Africa and Egypt. It contains the most comprehensive extant account of the life and times of al-Mu'izz, including the invasion of Egypt. As Rabbat has pointed out, al-Maqrīzī's choice of the words 'Lessons for the seekers of truth' in the title is significant and worthy of analysis. A *ḥanīf* (pl. *ḥunafā'*), as understood in early Muslim literature, refers to a 'believer in the original and true religion, that is, someone who transcends the sectarian division that prompted the Sunnis to denigrate vehemently both the Ismaili doctrine and the genealogical claim of the Fatimids'.¹⁰² Hence, in the very title used by al-Maqrīzī to address his potential readers, he invites them to rise above the sectarian conflicts that abounded in his time, and which have continued, in evermore narrowly defined parameters, to the present day.

The fact that al-Maqrīzī refers to the Fatimids by that appellation as opposed to calling them the 'Ubaydiyyūn, which was the standard pejorative term adopted by those who denied their 'Alid ancestry, is a significant recognition by him that the Fatimids were the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and therefore amongst his Ahl al-Bayt. More pertinently, al-Maqrīzī reiterates the 'Alid genealogy of the Fatimids in each of his three major works on them. It is also worth noting that in the introductory section of the *Itti'āz*, he garners the writings of the erudite scholar Ibn Khaldūn to re-affirm the 'Alid descent of the Fatimids.¹⁰³ Moreover, al-Maqrīzī's acknowledgement of the Fatimids as imams and caliphs could indicate his implicit support of their claim to be rightful rulers of the Muslim *umma*.

102. Rabbat, 'A Biographical Sketch', p. 9.

103. *Itti'āz*, 1, 44–52.

*Al-Mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār*¹⁰⁴

Al-Maqrīzī's second significant work which provides considerable information on the Fatimids was inspired by the city of Cairo, founded by Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī on behalf of his master al-Mu'izz in 358/969. The *Mawā'iz* is essentially a topographical work on the institutions and monuments of the city. Al-Maqrīzī may have initially begun the *Khiṭaṭ* as a nostalgic effort to document his childhood home in the Barjawān quarter of Cairo and its environs. But by the time he had finished, it had become the most comprehensive topographical account of Cairo since the city was founded.

The *Khiṭaṭ* was the first of al-Maqrīzī's works to be mined by architectural historians, geographers and other scholars who have found it a treasure trove of detailed observations on various aspects of Egyptian institutions. From the historian's point of view, the *Khiṭaṭ* is particularly valuable for educating older sources, through the citations and excerpts that al-Maqrīzī provides liberally throughout his work. The *Khiṭaṭ* also enables one to corroborate and compare information found in his *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā*.

Kitāb al-muqaffā' al-kabīr

Al-Maqrīzī's third and final work on the Fatimids that merits attention is his monumental biographical dictionary, the *Muqaffā*, which aimed to provide biographies of all the prominent people of his time who had either lived in Egypt or traversed it. Regrettably, only a small portion of the entire work has survived. Although less overtly Fatimid than the *Itti'āz*, over 500 of the surviving 3,600 entries are related to the Fatimid era.¹⁰⁵

The *Muqaffā* is a particularly rich source of information for the reign of al-Mu'izz. Al-Maqrīzī uses the biographies of contemporary personalities, such as the Fatimid commander Jawhar, to provide a comprehensive coverage of the extensive negotiations preceding the Fatimid takeover of Egypt, the conditions of the *amān* that Jawhar subsequently offered the Egyptians, and the introduction of Fatimid

104. See Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire*, pp. 164–169, for a discussion on various manuscripts and editions of the *Khiṭaṭ*.

105. Walker, 'Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids', p. 84.

administration and its emblems of authority in Egyptian society.¹⁰⁶

In the biographical entries on the Kutāma commanders Ja'far b. Falāḥ and Abū Maḥmūd who served the Fatimids, al-Maqrīzī provides a detailed narrative and analysis of the complex politico-military dynamics of the Mediterranean region, with the Fatimids battling against the Abbasids, the Byzantines, the Umayyads and the Qarāmiṭa in the shifting configurations of power.¹⁰⁷

As comprehensive as al-Maqrīzī's works are on the Fatimids, they need to be supplemented with other sources, especially from within the Ismaili tradition such as the *Iftitāḥ al-da'wa* by the Fatimid scholar and chief justice al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, and the *Uyūn al-akhbār* by Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468), the chief *dā'i* of the Ṭayyibī Ismaili community in Yemen.¹⁰⁸

The pertinence of Ismaili historical sources notwithstanding, al-Maqrīzī's erudition is all the more remarkable as he wrote in a period when there was intense rivalry among scholars to compose works that focused on the minutiae of events in Mamluk lands. The contentious atmosphere thus engendered was geared to gaining patronage and prominence for appointment to high positions in the state-controlled educational and judicial institutions. This provided the backdrop for much of what was written about al-Maqrīzī by his contemporaries. While there was a consensus amongst his peers concerning his scholarly merits and moral uprightness, opinions diverged regarding his calibre as a historian. Ibn Taghrī Birdī¹⁰⁹ (d.

106. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 3: 83–111.

107. *Ibid.*, 1: 127–136.

108. The *Uyūn al-akhbār* is a valuable source on Fatimid history. As the chief Ṭayyibī *dā'i*, Idrīs had direct access to Ismaili works composed during the course of Fatimid history, but which have subsequently been lost. Hence, even though Idrīs composed his work three centuries after the end of the Fatimid state, his work effectively functions as a primary source.

109. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū'l-Maḥāsīn Yusūf b. Taghrī Birdī studied under al-Maqrīzī. His most important works include *al-Manḥal al-ṣāfi wa'l-mustawfi ba'd al-wāfi*, ed. Muḥammad M. Amin et al. (Cairo, 1984–1990) comprising biographies of the sultans, important *amīrs* and scholars from 650 to 855/1248–1451, and *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira* (Cairo, 1929–1949; 1963–1971), a history of Egypt from 20/641 to his own time. After the deaths of al-Maqrīzī and al-'Aynī, Ibn Taghrī Birdī was Egypt's principal historian. See W. Popper, 'Abū'l-Maḥāsīn Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Taghrībirdī', *EI2*.

814–15/1470) declared that al-Maqrīzī was ‘unquestionably the dean of all historians’¹¹⁰ while other scholars, such as al-Sakhāwī¹¹¹ (d. 902/1497) and al-‘Aynī¹¹² (d. 854/1451), challenged his accuracy and rigour. Some of al-Maqrīzī’s adversaries even questioned his scholarly integrity by accusing him of stealing a manuscript of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Awḥadī, a friend, neighbour and fellow historian, upon the latter’s death and incorporating it into one of his own works without acknowledgement.¹¹³ A notable feature in this environment of personal polemic was his opponents’ reiteration of al-Maqrīzī’s Fatimid lineage, an allegation which in the Sunni world of Mamluk Egypt could have had dangerous repercussions for him.

A paradoxical Fatimid scion?

In the abundant biographical references to al-Maqrīzī by his contemporaries, friends and foes alike mention the enigmatic facet of his descent from the Fatimid caliphs. His opponents would recount this lineage in disparaging remarks, such as al-Sakhāwī who labelled him an ‘Ubaydī,¹¹⁴ an archetypal designation of the Fatimids by those who denied them a legitimate ‘Alid descent. Those more inclined to al-Maqrīzī, such as Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, acknowledged his Fatimid descent by calling him al-Tamīmī, a descendant of Tamīm, a Fatimid prince whose precise identification in the Fatimid genealogical scheme may well have been left ambivalent by al-Maqrīzī himself.

110. Ibn Taghri Birdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14: 150 and 15: 189.

111. Shams al-Dīn Abu’l-Khayr Muḥammad al-Shāfi‘ī al-Sakhāwī, an Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholar and prosopographer, belonged to a prominent family of ‘*ulamā*’ who had settled in Fatimid Cairo two generations earlier. His most important work is *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi‘ fī a’yān al-qarn al-tāsi‘*, ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudṣī (Cairo, 1934–1936), a massive biographical dictionary of notables from the 9th to 15th centuries. See C.F. Petry, ‘al-Sakhāwī’, *EI2*.

112. Abū Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī was from a family of scholars from Aleppo who had settled in Cairo. He participated actively in the intellectual currents of the 9th/15th century and was an adversary of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī. See William Marçais, ‘Abū Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā Badr al-Dīn’, *EI2*.

113. Rabbat, ‘A Biographical Sketch’, p. 7n22.

114. Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi‘*, cited in *ibid.*, p. 7.

Born in Cairo, al-Maqrīzī had the privilege of growing up in a learned environment on both the paternal and maternal sides of his family.¹¹⁵ His maternal grandfather was an eminent Ḥanafī jurist who had held a number of important judicial posts and composed numerous treatises.¹¹⁶ His paternal grandfather was an established Ḥanbalī and *ḥadīth* scholar who had been in charge of a premier Damascene institution.¹¹⁷ Al-Maqrīzī thus had the distinct advantage of being schooled in a variety of Sunni *madhhabs*. Upon gaining stature in the learned circles of his time, al-Maqrīzī chose to adopt the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, the dominant Sunni school of that period.

When relating his genealogy at the beginning of his works, as was the norm in medieval Muslim writings, al-Maqrīzī almost invariably stopped at his tenth ancestor, Tamīm.¹¹⁸ Some historians have extrapolated that to mean Prince Tamīm,¹¹⁹ the eldest son of

115. His curriculum consisted of Qur'anic studies, *ḥadīth*, Arabic grammar, literature and *fiqh*, a standard education for boys of his background. Rosenthal, 'al-Maqrīzī', EI2.

116. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Šā'igh al-Ḥanafī (d. 776/1375) was the author of a number of philological, grammatical and exegetical books, and the most influential figure in al-Maqrīzī's early education. See Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Inbā'*, vol. 1, pp. 95–96; and *al-Durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mī'a al-thāmina* (Hyderabad, 1929–32) vol. 3, pp. 499–500. See also al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat al-mulūk*, ed. M.M. Ziyāda and S.A. 'Ashūr (Cairo, 1934–1972), 3: 92, 198, 245 (cited in Rabbat, 'A Biographical Sketch', p. 10n36).

117. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad (d. 733/1332) was born in Ba'albek but settled in Damascus where he headed the Dār al-ḥadīth al-Bahā'iyya. See Khalīl b. Aybak al-Šafadī, *Kitāb al-wāfi bi al-wafayāt*, ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Leipzig, 1993), 18: 42–43; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, 2: 391f; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2: 365; and Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Manhal*, 7: 324 (cited in Rabat, 'A Biographical Sketch', p. 10n38).

118. For al-Maqrīzī's presentation of his genealogy see the references in Rabbat, 'A Biographical Sketch'.

119. Abū 'Alī Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, Fatimid prince and poet, was born in al-Mahdiyya in 337/949 and died in Cairo in 375/985. Though Tamīm was the eldest son of al-Mu'izz, he was passed over as successor in favour of his brother 'Abd Allāh, and when the latter died during al-Mu'izz's lifetime, his brother Nizār was appointed in his place. Tamīm was a renowned poet of his time and among his compositions, collected in *Dīwān Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh al-Fāṭimī* (ed. M. Ḥ. al-A'zamī, Cairo, 1957; Beirut, 1970), are laudatory poems about the Fatimids.

al-Mu'izz, thus validating al-Maqrizī's Fatimid descent. Ironically, this Tamīm was passed over in the succession to his father for having no sons of his own, an issue which al-Maqrizī himself notes in his writings on the Fatimids. However, there is some evidence of al-Maqrizī's Fatimid ancestry, vouchsafed by his own family members, that points to a namesake whose birth probably lay further down the chain of Fatimid pedigree.

Al-Maqrizī is reported to have remarked to his brother that one day, upon entering the Ḥākim mosque, his father had said to him, 'My son, this is the mosque of your ancestors.'¹²⁰ The allusion here is to the sixth Fatimid imam-caliph, al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (r. 386–411/996–1021), a grandson of al-Mu'izz and thus a nephew of the aforementioned Tamīm.¹²¹ Al-Maqrizī also circulated verses composed by his colleague and neighbour Shihāb al-Dīn al-Awḥadī that proclaimed his Fatimid lineage: 'Boast among the people, Taqī al-Dīn [al-Maqrizī], with full pride in noble Fatimid lineage; when you relate something good about them and when you face opposition, trace your ancestry back to the Ḥākimi.'¹²² Notably, al-Ḥākim's grandson, the eighth Fatimid imam-caliph Abū Tamīm Ma'add al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh (r. 427–487/1036–1094), was similarly known as his eldest son was also called Tamīm. Accordingly, his descendants would be both Tamīmīs and Ḥākimīs, making it plausible that this was the Tamīm from whom al-Maqrizī traced his descent. Indeed, this alignment would also link him genealogically to the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Al-Maqrizī was understandably reticent about widely publicis-

120. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr*, 9: 172; Walker, 'al-Maqrizī and the Fatimids' p. 86n10.

121. On the ambivalence in Mamluk sources regarding the genealogical link between Tamīm and al-Maqrizī, and the reasons for Tamīm's exclusion from the leadership, see Abū 'Alī Maṣṣūr al-'Azīzī al-Jawdhari, *Sirat al-Ustādh Jawdhār*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. 'Abd al-Ḥādī Sha'ira (Cairo, 1954), pp. 139–140, and al-Maqrizī, *Muqaffā*, 2: 588. See also Walker, 'al-Maqrizī and the Fatimids', p. 87, and Pieter Smoor, 'Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh', *EI*2.

122. Al-Maqrizī quotes this verse in the biography of al-Awḥadī in his *Durar al-ūqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a'yan al-mufīda*, ed. M. al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 2001), vol. 1, p. 187, cited in Rabbat ('A Biographical Sketch', p. 7), who notes that these lines are not found in any of the other biographies of either al-Awḥadī or al-Maqrizī.

ing his Fatimid descent, for this could have had detrimental consequences for his carefully established credentials as a prominent Sunni Shāfi'ī scholar. Yet, the continued attestation of such a link by himself, his family members and a range of contemporaries suggests its veracity.

The Khaldūnian protégé

'The elite that the age brings only rarely',¹²³ is al-Maqrīzī's befitting tribute to Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), the pre-eminent philosopher of history in the Muslim world. Among the many teachers, jurists and scholars that al-Maqrīzī encountered in his quest for knowledge and learning, Ibn Khaldūn's seminal scholarship played a formative role in shaping his intellectual consciousness and historical outlook.¹²⁴ Al-Maqrīzī's historical writing is predicated on Ibn Khaldūn's philosophical premise, articulated in the *Muqqadimah*, that 'the inner meaning of history involves speculation and an attempt to get at the truth, subtle explanation of the causes and origins of existing things, and deep knowledge of the how and why of events. History, therefore, is firmly rooted in philosophy.'¹²⁵ Consequently, al-Maqrīzī concludes that his is 'unlike any other work, the essence of knowledge and science, and the product of sound intellect and understanding'.¹²⁶ Moreover, 'it reveals the truth of things, events and news; it explains all the state of the universe and reveals the origin of all beings in an admirable and plain style'.¹²⁷ Ibn Khaldūn's

123. Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, 2: 387, cited in Anne F. Broadbridge, 'Royal Authority, Justice, and Order in Society: The Influence of Ibn Khaldūn on the Writings of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghribirdī', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/2 (2003), pp. 231–247.

124. After arriving in Cairo in 784/1382, Ibn Khaldūn taught courses at al-Azhar and then other *madrasas* where he attracted numerous students, one of whom was al-Maqrīzī who studied under him for over ten years. An extensive literature pertaining to his life and works has been noted in M. Talbi, 'Ibn Khaldūn', *EI2*.

125. Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal as *Prolegomena* (New York, 1958), p. 6.

126. Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, cited in Broadbridge, 'Royal Authority, Justice, and Order', p. 234.

127. Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, cited in R. Irwin, 'Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/2 (2003), pp. 217–231, at p. 223.

novel sociological analysis to account for the rise and fall of dynasties appears to have persuaded al-Maqrīzī that his own period of Mamluk rule was one of historical decline that had been accelerated by societal, administrative and financial weakness. The Khaldūnian notion of a symbiotic link between royal authority, justice and the maintenance of order in society formed the basis of al-Maqrīzī's thesis that 'the financial disarray of the early 9th/15th century is solely a result of the injustice of the ruling class, which results in a corrupt appointment system, excessive taxes and the promotion of a bad currency. In his writings, al-Maqrīzī mentions the summary execution of his patron and mentor to illustrate the injustices of the Mamluk order. This linking of injustice with social trouble echoes Ibn Khaldūn.'¹²⁸ Writing extensively about the malaise of his age, al-Maqrīzī held the Mamluk military and their civilian advisors culpable for Egypt's economic malaise. Al-Maqrīzī also undertook a systematic study of the development of Muslim polity so as to delineate successful models of governance. It is clear that he regarded the Fatimid caliphate as one such viable model which had the additional advantage of being located in Egypt, his beloved homeland.

In his summation of the reign of the Fatimid caliph, al-Maqrīzī provides a review of the personality and the achievements of al-Mu'izz from a wide range of sources. It is at this juncture in the *Itti'āz* that al-Maqrīzī undertakes a critical review of his major sources. He candidly discusses the biases embedded in the reports of 'eastern historians' (that is, from Iraq and Syria) on Fatimid history and explains why this was the case:

The author [al-Maqrīzī], may God have mercy on him, says, the matter is not as Ibn al-Athīr has said, for the esteemed Egyptian legist and historian Abū'l-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Zūlāq, may God have mercy upon him, has related in his work, *Kitāb sīrat al-Mu'izz*, and which I have read in his own handwriting, a day-to-day account from the time when al-Mu'izz entered Egypt until he died ...

Ibn Zūlāq was better informed than Ibn al-Athīr about events in Egypt, particularly those concerning al-Mu'izz, as he was present and witnessed them, as he was among those who came into his [al-Mu'izz's] presence and greeted him ... He narrates in this work the matters he witnessed and the matters reported to him by high-ranking and trustworthy members of the state as mentioned in it [the *Sīra*].

128. Broadbridge, 'Royal Authority, Justice, and Order', p. 238.

Ibn al-Athīr, on the other hand, has based his information on the Iraqi and Syrian historians. It is clear to those who have delved into the study of historical accounts that the latter are much prejudiced against the Fatimid caliphs and say abominable things about them, despite the fact that their knowledge of the conditions in Egypt is extremely limited. Often, I have seen them relating in their histories events in Egypt, stories which are not accepted by intelligent scholars and rejected by those skilled and informed about the history of Egypt. The people of each region know best about their own events, and so the Egyptian historians know best about what took place there.¹²⁹

While al-Maqrīzī had access to a range of sources on the Fatimids which he evaluated carefully, the converse seems to have been the case with his treatment of the Qarāmiṭa. By al-Maqrīzī's time, the vilification of the Qarāmiṭa had become embedded in the fibre of the Muslim psyche and the fabric of its literature. Although al-Maqrīzī provides a detailed account of the origins and activities of the Qarāmiṭa, the only sources he had access to originated in the anti-Qarmaṭī heresiographic tradition and, therefore, much of his presentation on them remains myopic.

In dealing with the sources on the Fatimids, however, al-Maqrīzī's critique of his sources is extremely valuable, for he does not use it as a pretext to circumvent or even marginalise those authors or their writings. Instead, he draws on all the sources mentioned above to present a comprehensive and balanced overview of al-Mu'izz's reign and character. Al-Maqrīzī's sagacious approach to these sources bears the hallmarks of a competent historian. His discerning historical judgement is further evident in this reflective critique of the sources on the Fatimid era:

But reflect, may God have mercy on you, into the heart of reality, and weigh the [historical] reports just as you would weigh the good amongst the coins; avoid passion and desire and ascertain the truth. And what you will realise about the majority of the attacks against them [the Fatimids] is that the despicable reports, especially those pertaining to expelling them from the Muslim fold (*ahl al-Islām*), are seen only in the books of the easterners of the Baghdadis and the Syrians, like the *Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jāwzi, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr,

129. *Itti'āz*, 1: 232. As was customary among medieval Muslim writers, al-Maqrīzī completes this critique with the Qur'anic phrase: 'But over all imbued with knowledge is the One, the All-Knowing' (12: 76).

the *Ta'rikh halab* of Ibn Abī Ṭāyy, the *Ta'rikh al-Imād* of Ibn Kathīr, the work of Ibn Wāṣil al-Hamāwī, the text of Ibn Shaddād, the writings of al-Imād al-Iṣfahānī and others like them. But in the books of the Egyptians, who were cautious in narrating their reports, you will not find anything similar. Let wisdom guide your intellect, and defeat the armies of prejudice and recognise the truth, and you will be well guided if God Most High wills it.¹³⁰

These salutary words provide a befitting preamble to the translation of al-Maqrīzī's rendering of the reign of the fourth Fatimid imam-caliph al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh.

130. *Itti'āz*, 3: 345–346

Note on the Translation

The first partial edition of the *Itti'āz*, vol. 1 was published by Hugo Bunz using an incomplete manuscript in Leipzig, 1909. In 1948, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (1911–1967) re-published this work, improving it by referring to al-Maqrīzī's sources. When a more complete manuscript was discovered in the palace library of Ahmad III in Istanbul, al-Shayyāl edited the text for a second time, publishing a considerably revised text of vol. 1 in 1967. After al-Shayyāl died, Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad went on to edit volumes 2 and 3 (Cairo, 1971–1973). The following translation of the life and times of al-Mu'izz is based on Shayyāl's final edition of vol. 1 (pp. 93–235).

A revised Arabic edition of the complete text of *Itti'āz* is currently being prepared by Ayman F. Sayyid for The Institute of Ismaili Studies. While a preview of this forthcoming edition exhibits no major textual discrepancy from al-Shayyāl's version, a number of variations have been identified in the footnotes of this translation.

The translation inevitably reflects the fragmented structure and style of the *Itti'āz* which suggests, as noted earlier, that it was a work-in-progress that, for some reason, al-Maqrīzī was never able to finalise. While the historian provides a number of tentative headings to organise his material into distinct sections, the narrative is often disjointed and sometimes fragmented, which may disorient the reader. To facilitate readability, an attempt has been made in the translation to display a consecutive narrative or series of passages under additional sub-headings, which are also listed in the Table of Contents. For Arabic terms that have entered the English language, such as Qur'an, Sunni, Shi'a and Ismaili, the diacritics have been dispensed with, as is also the case for names of commonly known places and dynasties. Furthermore, wherever possible, annotations have been provided on the significant events and individuals mentioned in the text.

Translation of the text
from the *Itti'āḡ al-ḥunafā'*
Lessons for the Seekers of Truth

Al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh Abū Tamīm Ma‘add b. al-Manṣūr Abi’l-Ṭāhir b. al-Qā’im Abi’l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī

ESTABLISHING THE IMAMATE OF AL-MU‘IZZ

[Al-Marwarrūdhī]¹³¹ said that he [al-Mu‘izz] succeeded his father at the end of Shawwāl; it has also been said on Friday, the 17 [Shawwāl] 341 [7 March 953].¹³²

He took over the administration of matters of state on 7 Dhu’l-Ḥijja 341 [25 April 953]. Then he permitted the people to come unto him and sat in audience for them. They saluted him as their caliph. He was twenty-four years old at the time.¹³³

He was born in al-Mahdiyya,¹³⁴ at four hours and four-fifths on

131. Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marwarrūdhī was the *qāḍī* of the third Fatimid caliph al-Manṣūr’s army and also his panegyrist. His father had been appointed *qāḍī* of al-Qayrawān by the Ismaili *dā‘ī* Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī‘ī at the inception of the Fatimid state. See al-Maqrizī, *Muqaffā*, 2: 179, and Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, pp. 176–178, 182–184.

132. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 8: 373, gives the same date as al-Maqrizī.

133. The source of this information appears to be Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 8: 374. However, according to Halm (*Empire of the Mahdi*, p. 338), al-Mu‘izz was twenty-one years old at the time of his accession.

134. Al-Shayyāl’s second edition states that al-Mu‘izz was born in al-Muḥammadiyya. This is evidently a misreading, for most historians agree that al-Mu‘izz was born in al-Mahdiyya. H.A.R. Gibb (‘al-Mu‘izz’, *EI*), mentions his birthplace as al-Mahdiyya, as does Étienne Quatremère (in his ‘Vie du Khalife Fatimite Moezz-li-Din-Allah’, *Asiatic Journal*, NS, 24 (1837), p. 202), and Halm (*Empire of the Mahdi*, p. 338). Farhat Dachraoui (‘al-Mahdī ‘Ubayd Allāh’, *EI2*) does not mention his birthplace at all.

Monday, 11 Ramaḍān 317 [18 October 929]¹³⁵ and ruled for twenty-three years, five months and seventeen days.

In 342 [953–954] his troops combed the Awrās Mountains, which were a refuge for every opponent of the rulers. The Banū Kamlān,¹³⁶ [the people of] Malila¹³⁷ and some of the Hawwāra were residing there and had not submitted to his predecessors. These insubordinate tribes then surrendered to al-Mu'izz and entered the town with him. He instructed his representatives to deal kindly with the Berbers. Thus, not a single one remained who did not come to him and who was not included in his benevolence. This is how his authority grew.¹³⁸

[Jawhar's campaign in the Maghrib]

In 347 [958–959], Abu'l-Ḥusayn Jawhar's standing with al-Mu'izz increased and he received the rank of wazir.¹³⁹ In Ṣafar [April–May

135. One of the *Itti'āz* manuscripts gives the year of birth as 319/931–932, which would make al-Mu'izz twenty-two years old when he succeeded to the caliphate and not twenty-four, as stated by al-Maqrīzī. A number of Maghribi sources confirming that al-Mu'izz was born on Monday, 9 Ramaḍān 319/25 September 931 are cited by Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, p. 338n1.

136. The Banū Kamlān were members of the Zanāta confederation of Berbers, whom al-Qā'im had deported from their ancestral homelands during his building of al-Muḥammadiyya. They were one of the last Berber groups to continue their support of the Khārījī rebel Abū Yazīd.

137. Malila (Melilla) was a small seaport on the east coast of Morocco that was extended into a naval base around 314/927 by the Umayyad caliph of Spain 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, who used it as his base in the Maghrib, in active opposition to the Fatimids. According to Ibn Ḥawqal, Malila was plundered by Jawhar in 357/958–959. See Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, p. 399.

138. Although not verbatim, this account is very similar to that found in Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil*. Additionally Idrīs observes (in his *Uyūn*, pp. 548, 571) that this area was populous, well fortified and consumed by tribal warfare. He adds that al-Mu'izz's patience and magnanimity towards his enemies eventually won over their loyalty and they became his loyal followers.

139. This is because of Jawhar's military achievements which ensured Fatimid control over the Maghrib and subsequently enabled al-Mu'izz to begin planning the expedition to Egypt.

958] of the same year he [al-Mu‘izz] dispatched him with a mighty army, which included Prince Zīrī b. Manād al-Ṣanhājī¹⁴⁰ and others. He proceeded to Tāhart, fought against its people, conquering, plundering and scorching towns before going to Fez. He conquered it and then went to Sijilmāsa,¹⁴¹ where a man who had assumed the regal title of al-Shākīr li’llāh, and was styled Commander of the Faithful in the *khutba*, had arisen in rebellion.¹⁴² He fled from Jawhar, who pursued him until he took him prisoner.

[Jawhar] advanced to the Atlantic Ocean. He ordered that some fish be caught, which he sent in jugs of water to al-Mu‘izz. He marched to the surrounding towns and conquered them. Then he returned and fought the people of Fez, taking it by force. He captured its ruler and placed him and the ruler of Sijilmāsa in two cages.¹⁴³ He took them both to al-Mu‘izz at al-Mahdiyya when he returned towards

140. Prince Zīrī b. Manād al-Ṣanhājī was the ancestor of the Zīrids, the first Ṣanhāja Berber dynasty in North Africa. Around 328/940, with permission of the caliph al-Qā‘im, Zīrī b. Manād founded a principality at Ashīr, in the Titteri mountains 100 km south of Algiers, as a bulwark against the anti-Fatimid Zanāta Maghrāwa, allied to the Umayyads of Spain. Having secured Fatimid protection, Zīrī’s successors and fellow tribesmen supported the Fatimid cause for over a century, including the defence of al-Mahdiyya when it was besieged by Abū Yazīd in 334/ 945. See Amin Tibi, ‘Zīrids’, *EI2*.

141. Sijilmāsa, founded by the Miknāsa Berbers in 140/757, lies to the west of the modern town of Rissani in eastern Morocco. It was here that the first Fatimid caliph al-Mahdī was placed under house arrest by the Aghlabid authorities when he arrived in the Mahgrib, and subsequently liberated by the *dā‘ī* Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī‘ī. M. Terrasse, ‘Sidjilmāsa’, *EI2*.

142. The text gives the impression that al-Shākīr had recently taken control of Sijilmāsa. In fact, he had ruled over the place for sixteen years before being captured by Jawhar. Al-Maqrīzī is summarising from Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil*, 8: 207), where the man is named Muḥammad b. Wāsūl, whereas Idrīs (*‘Uyūn*, p. 605) has Futūḥ b. Wāsūl. See also al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān, *Majālis*, pp. 411–418.

143. Idrīs (*‘Uyūn*, pp. 606–637) gives a detailed account of the conquest of Fez, reporting mainly from al-Nu‘mān’s *Majālis*. The ruler of Fez at that time, Aḥmad b. Bakr b. Sahl al-Muṭṭalib, had declared allegiance to the Umayyads of Spain. The importance of the conquest of Fez needs to be seen in the context of the Fatimid–Umayyad animosity during this period. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 3: 84–87, for an account of Jawhar’s campaigns in this region.

the end of the year.¹⁴⁴

[Circumcision of the Princes]

In the year 351 [962–963] al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh had his sons, the Princes 'Abd Allāh, Nizār¹⁴⁵ and 'Aqīl, circumcised. When he decided upon this, he wrote to his deputies and governors – from nearby Barqa¹⁴⁶ to distant Sijilmāsa and all the regions that lay between them, to every corner of his kingdom as far as the island of Sicily, and neighbouring lands, among settled peoples and nomads, over land and sea, from the coastal plains to the mountains – to circumcise the sons of all people found in his realm, be they free men or slaves, white or black, humble or noble, Muslim or *dhimmī* (non-Muslim). The ceremony was to last for a period of one month and he cautioned against non-compliance with his order. He commanded them [his deputies and governors] to cover all expenses and to provide food, drink, clothing, perfumes and other items for the people in accordance with their situation, status and condition. The total amount spent on this and taken to the island of Sicily alone, aside from robes of honour and clothing, was fifty sacks of dinars; each sack contained 10,000 dinars. Similar amounts were sent to every governor of his realm to distribute among the people of their jurisdiction.¹⁴⁷

144. Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, trans., 3:377–378) summarises the outcome of this successful campaign by saying that Jawhar established the Fatimid sovereign's authority in all the North African territories stretching from the Atlantic to the regions of Egypt. The only place that eluded Jawhar's conquests and remained under Umayyad control was Ceuta.

145. Nizār Abu'l-Manšūr, al-Mu'izz's third son, was twenty years old when his father appointed him heir apparent, following the death of his elder brother 'Abd Allāh. He took the regal title al-'Aziz bi'llāh and was the first Fatimid to begin his rule in Egypt.

146. Barqa was the name given to both the town and region of North Africa known today as Cyrenacia in Libya.

147. This is one of the earliest recorded instances of Fatimid ceremonial. Idris (*Uyūn*, pp. 638–640) has preserved al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's personal testimony of the event: 'On the day of the celebration, al-Mu'izz sat with the rest of the people and he ordered mattresses to be laid out in the palace. He would sit there during the day while they were circumcising. The boys passed by him and he ordered that they should be given clothes and he was generous to them. The people who were circumcising were sitting in

The circumcisions started at the beginning of Rabi' I [April 962]. On each day of the month al-Mu'izz had around 12,000 boys circumcised in his presence. In Sicily alone 15,000 boys were circumcised. The cloth sacks [containing money] that were used for this circumcision weighed 170 Baghdadi *qinṭār*.¹⁴⁸

[Al-Mu'izz's counsel to the Kutāma]

One cold, blustery winter's day in al-Manṣūriyya, al-Mu'izz summoned several of the Kutāma shaykhs. He ordered them to be admitted into his presence through a door that was not customarily used. He stood in a large, square room carpeted in felt, wearing a robe over his clothes. Open doors led to a library. In front of him were a raised dais and an inkpot, and he was surrounded by documents. Then he said:

Our brothers! On this cold winter's day, I woke up and said to the mother of the princes, who is listening to my words right now, 'Do you suppose that on a day like this our brothers imagine that we are eating and drinking, adorned in garments embroidered in gold, of brocade, silk and fur of fennec and sable, with musk, song, wine and revelry as the people of the world do?'

Then I thought of sending for you so that you could see what I do when I am away from you and far from your eyes. My status exceeds

the area designated for circumcision on chairs and in front of them were the benches specified for boys. The families of the boys were provided with cloths to stop the bleeding and people were distributing essence and rosewater and sprinkling it on the boys to keep them calm. They were given some toys so that they could play with them until they were sent home, and there were jesters to entertain them.' The Qāḍī also specifies the amounts granted: 'The gifts that al-Mu'izz gave to the prominent people were too innumerable to list. The gifts that he gave to the common folk, in addition to the clothes, were 150–200 dirhams to each child. The least was given to the children of the bedouins and those who are of the same status as them and the slaves. That was ten dirhams for each child.' The previous Fatimid caliph al-Manṣūr had a similarly lavish circumcision ceremony in 341/952–953, which lasted 17 days and 100,000 boys were circumcised at an estimated cost of 200,000 dinars. Al-Maqrizī, *Muqaffā*, 2: 174–175. See also Hamdani, *Between Revolution and State*, pp. 106–107, and Sanders, *Ritual, Politics and the City*, p. 107

148. A *qinṭār* is a standard dry measure that varies in different parts of the Near East. Edward W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Beirut, 1968).

yours only because I have responsibility over your affairs on earth and because God has singled me out as your imam. I busy myself with letters that come to me from the east and the west, to which I respond in my own hand. My concern with the pleasures of the world lies solely in what protects your lives, makes your lands prosper, vanquishes your enemies and subdues your opponents.

So when you are on your own, O shaykhs, do as I do. Do not be haughty and imperious, lest God withdraw His favour from you and bestow it on others. Show compassion to your subordinates who have no access to me, just as I am compassionate with you. In this manner benevolence may abound, virtue may prevail and justice may thrive among the people.

After that, approach your women. Restrict yourselves to the one who is yours. Do not be lustful and desirous of many women, lest your life is made difficult and harm befalls you. You will exhaust your bodies, your strength will depart and your constitution will be weakened. So one woman suffices one man. We are in need of both your physical and intellectual support.¹⁴⁹

Know that if you abide by what I have commanded you, I hope God will grant us authority over the east as He has facilitated our authority over the west through you. Arise. May God have mercy on you and give you victory.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE TRANSFER TO EGYPT

In the year 355 [965–966] al-Mu'izz ordered the digging of wells on the way to Egypt and that a citadel should be built for him at every staging post. This was done.¹⁵⁰

On Friday, three days before the end of Jumādā II of this year [19 June 966], a camel-post came from Egypt with the news of the death of Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī, which occurred on Wednesday, ten days before

149. It has been suggested that al-Mu'izz is alluding here to 'Alī's monogamous marriage to Fāṭima and seeking to underline the virtues of the Fatimid caliph against the wanton practices of rival dynasties. See Delia Cortese and Simonetta Calderini, *Women and the Fatimids in the World of Islam* (Edinburgh, 2006), p. 52.

150. Excavations have discovered the remains of such staging posts at Ajdābiyah in Libya, and some decorative remnants from the sites are now displayed in the Shahat Museum near Bayda. See H. Blake, A. Hutt and D. Whitehouse, 'Ajdābiyah and the Earliest Fatimid Architecture', *Libya Antiqua*, 8 (1971), pp. 105–120.

the end of Jumādā I [14 May 966].¹⁵¹

One day al-Mu'izz summoned the head of the treasury, Abū Ja'far b. Ḥusayn b. Muhadhhab, who was in the Maghrib. He found him [al-Mu'izz] sitting on a chest in the middle of the palace in front of thousands of chests dispersed in the palace courtyard. Al-Mu'izz said to him, 'These are chests of money. It is beyond my capacity to organise them, so direct your attention to them and put them in order.'

He [Abū Ja'far] said: 'So I began to gather them until they were put in order. I had a number of treasury slaves and servants to assist me. I sent word to him [al-Mu'izz] informing him that we had completed the work.' He ordered that they should be collected and put in the treasury in their order, be locked and sealed with his seal. He [al-Mu'izz] said, 'It has left our seal and has become yours [i.e. your responsibility].' That was done.

The amount in the chests totalled 24 million dinars. This was in the year 357 [967–968]. Al-Mu'izz spent it all on the armies he sent to Egypt, under the command of Jawhar, in the years 358 [968–969] and 359 [969–970].¹⁵²

[Jawhar's march to Egypt]

He [Jawhar] departed on 14 Rabī' I [17 February 968]. He had a thousand loads of money with him, along with an innumerable quantity of weapons, horses and supplies.¹⁵³ Jawhar set out for Egypt and the

151. In his biographical account of Kāfūr (*Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 423–425), al-Maqrīzī reports that Kāfūr was a black slave brought to Egypt in 310/922–923 when he was ten years old and sold to many owners until he was finally purchased for the Ikhshīdīd ruler Muḥammad b. Ṭughj al-Ikshīd. Kāfūr served his master loyally, rising through the ranks to become an astute politician and military leader. After the death of al-Ikshīd in 334/946, he became the effective ruler of Egypt for twenty-two years until his death a year before the Fatimid invasion.

152. The same account appears in its entirety in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (2: 35), with the exception that the years mentioned are 358–362/968–973.

153. Idrīs (*Uyūn*, p. 666) reports from Ibn Zūlāq that Jawhar left for Egypt with more than 100,000 troops and over 1,200 chests of money. He adds that al-Mu'izz used to meet with Jawhar every day prior to his departure and give him as much money as required, even if it exceeded what he would eventually need. The same report, with additional information, is

good tidings of its conquest arrived in the middle of Ramaḍān 358 [August 969]. Al-Mu'izz was overjoyed. Ibn Hānī¹⁵⁴ composed an ode that began thus:

The Banū 'Abbās say: 'Has Egypt been conquered?'
Say to the Banū 'Abbās: 'The event has been ordained.'

When the propitious news of the defeat of the forces of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Qarmaṭī, known as al-A'ṣam,¹⁵⁵ arrived from Syria, Ibn Hānī' composed an ode in which he said:

What you [al-Mu'izz] desire happens, not what fate desires;
So command, for you are the unique one, the all-conquering.

He also composed another ode which begins:

Above the Commander of the Faithful is a parasol;
You jostle under its banner, Gabriel.

Under the years 360–361 [970–971] it was reported, 'We¹⁵⁶ arrived in Barqa with 50,000 dinars'.¹⁵⁷

narrated by al-Maqrīzī in *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 92, and *Muqaffā*, 3: 87–88.

154. On the poet Ibn Hānī' see note 40 above.

155. Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-A'ṣam (d. 366/977) was one of the Qarāmiṭa leaders of Bahrain who figures prominently in the *Itti'āz*. He made several military incursions into Syria and in 357/968 took Damascus from the Ikhshidid governor there. He fell into disgrace after misappropriating some war spoils, but regained command following the Fatimid invasion of Syria and allied himself with the Abbasids. Al-Ḥasan won a major victory over Fatimid forces outside Damascus in 360/970–971, with the help of the Buyid Bakhtiyār and the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib, killing the Fatimid general Ja'far b. Falāḥ. Next he took Ramla, penetrated into Egypt and laid siege to Cairo. But a sortie by Jawhar and the defection of al-A'ṣam's bedouin allies, the Banū 'Uqayl and Banū Ṭayyi, forced him to retreat. See M. Canard, 'al-Ḥasan al-A'ṣam', *EI2*.

156. It is not clear who the 'we' refers to here. Certainly it is an eye-witness source, but an unnamed one. This is one of the many examples in the text which indicate that this is not the final version of the work.

157. In his *Khiṭaṭ* (2: 92), al-Maqrīzī adds that when Jawhar reached Barqa, its ruler offered to pay Jawhar 50,000 gold dinars in exchange for not having to dismount and walk by his side. Jawhar refused and insisted that he walk. Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, trans., 1: 342), mentions the sum of 100,000 dinars being offered in lieu of dismounting. The same report is to

[A test of Kutāma loyalty]

When Jawhar was sent to Egypt and he appeared poised to march, al-Mu'izz hurriedly sent Khafif, the Slav *ṣāhib al-sitr* (curtain bearer)¹⁵⁸ to the Kutāma shaykhs to say [to them]: 'Our brothers, we have considered it prudent to send men on our behalf to the Kutāma lands to live amongst them, to take their *ṣadaqa* (alms) and to levy taxes on their pasture lands. They will keep it on our behalf in their lands. When we are in need of it, we will send for it so that we can be assisted by it in our endeavours.'

When they heard that, some of the shaykhs said to Khafif, 'Say to our master, "By God, we will never do that. Why should the Kutāma pay the *jizya* (poll tax) and levies be imposed on them in the treasury when God has exalted them a long time ago by Islam and recently by you we have gained *īmān* (faith); and [when] our swords have been loyal to your command in the east and the west?"'

Khafif returned to al-Mu'izz with that message. He ordered a group of the Kutāma to be brought to him. They entered his presence whilst he was mounted on his horse. He said, 'What is this answer that has emerged from you?' They said, 'Yes, this is our unanimous answer. O master, we are not among those who are levied the *jizya* and who continue to pay it.'

Al-Mu'izz rose in his stirrups and said, 'May God bless you. This is how I want you to be. Indeed, I wanted to test you so see how you would fare after we depart for Egypt, whether you would accept this or you would do it if you [later] fell under the influence of someone who covets this [tax] from you. Now you have pleased me, may God bless you.'

be found in al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* (2: 29), where the ruler is named Aflaḥ al-Ṣaqlabī. This incident does not seem to have marred relations between Aflaḥ and the Fatimids, as it is reported that when al-Mu'izz was on his way to Egypt, he replenished the caliph's troops with enough provisions to last them all the way to Egypt.

158. A key post that necessitated the person to be in close proximity to the caliph and, therefore, totally loyal and trustworthy. On the roles and responsibilities of the office, see Heinz Halm, 'Sitr', *EI2*.

[Al-Mu'izz's advice to Jawhar]

Al-Mu'izz wrote from the Maghrib to Jawhar in Egypt saying, 'O Jawhar, concerning your mention of a group of the Banū Ḥamdān¹⁵⁹ who have sent you letters offering their obedience and have promised to hasten to join you, listen to what I tell you. Beware of commencing correspondence with any of the Banū Ḥamdān, either threatening or encouraging. If they write to you, respond to them in a friendly manner; do not summon any of them to you but if any one of them comes to you, be good to them. Do not empower any of them with the command of an army or the rule of an outlying region. The Banū Ḥamdān feign three things upon which the world relies but in which they do not have a share: they allege to profess faith, yet they lack a portion of it; they feign generosity, yet not a single one of them is generous towards God; they affect bravery, yet their courage is this-worldly and not concerning the hereafter. So be extremely cautious in trusting any of them.'

[Appointment of a viceroy in the Maghrib]

When al-Mu'izz had determined to set out for Egypt, he turned his attention to the appointment of his deputy in the Maghrib. His choice fell upon Abū Aḥmad Ja'far b. 'Alī al-Amīr.¹⁶⁰ So he summoned him and confided in him that he wished him to be his deputy in the Maghrib. Abū Ja'far replied, 'Leave with me one of your sons or brothers living in the palace and I will rule. Do not question me about the taxes I collect as long as they balance with what I spend. If

159. The decline of Abbasid authority provided the opportunity for two dynasties from the Arab Ḥamdānid clan to rise to powerful positions centred in Aleppo and Mosul, where their most important representative was 'Alī b. Abī'l-Hayjā' 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, known as Sayf al-Dawla. M. Canard, 'Ḥamdānids', *EI2*.

160. Ja'far was the governor of the Masila province and the person responsible for constructing the town of al-Muḥammadiyya in North Africa. Although his family supported the Fatimids, they maintained close links with the rebellious Zanāta clan of Berbers. He took part in the campaign to Egypt with Jawhar. See Marius Canard, 'Une famille de partisans, puis d'adversaires, des Fatimides en Afrique du Nord', in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'occident Musulman: II, Hommage à Georges Marçais* (Algiers, 1957), pp. 33–49.

I wish to do something, I will go ahead with it and not wait for your orders because of the distance between Egypt and the Maghrib. I will be responsible for the appointment of judges, the collectors of *kharāj* (land-tax) and other [officials].'

Al-Mu'izz was angered. He retorted, 'O Ja'far, you are stripping me of my authority. You want to assign a partner to my sovereignty. You want to monopolise [the collection of] the taxes and the [appointment of] governors. Be gone! You have overstepped your rank and your senses have departed.' So he left.

Al-Mu'izz [then] summoned Yūsuf b. Zīrī al-Ṣanhājī¹⁶¹ and said to him, 'Prepare yourself for the succession of the Maghrib.' He expressed awe and responded, 'O master, you and your ancestors, the imams, are the descendants of the Prophet of God, may God bless him and grant him salvation, yet the Maghrib has not been untroubled for you. So how do you expect it [to be] if I am a Ṣanhājī Berber? O master, without a sword or a spear you have slain me.' Al-Mu'izz persevered until Yūsuf acceded to his request. He rejoined, 'O master, on the condition that you appoint the *qādīs* and the tax collectors as you see fit, and that you choose and appoint informers whom you trust, and that you make me a leader over them. If someone disobeys them, let them give me authority over him [the offender] so that I should deal with him appropriately. The rule would be vested in them and I would serve it.'

This pleased al-Mu'izz, so he thanked Yūsuf. When he had left, his father's paternal uncle, Abū Ṭālib Aḥmad b. al-Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh, asked him, 'O master, do you trust Yūsuf's words that he will fulfil what he has mentioned?' He replied, 'O uncle, what a difference there is between what Yūsuf has said and what Ja'far had said. Know, O uncle, that what Ja'far had sought at the beginning is what Yūsuf will end up with.'¹⁶² If the period of time is prolonged, then

161. This is Abu'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf Buluggīn b. Zīrī b. Manād al-Ṣanhājī (d. 373/984), appointed viceroy of the Fatimids in North Africa and subsequently founder of the Zīrid dynasty. On Buluggīn and his successors see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 8: 489–490, and 9: 24–25; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, trans., 1: 267–268.

162. The trend towards regional autonomy was already evident towards the end of al-Mu'izz's reign when Yūsuf b. Zīrī had the tax collector, appointed by the Fatimid caliph, arrested. When al-Mu'izz rebuked him, Yūsuf reinstated the person. After al-Mu'izz died, Yūsuf became so certain

Yūsuf will take sole control. However, this is better and preferred by people of sound judgement and it is the inevitable end for the one who leaves his lands.'

[Al-Mu'izz exhorts the Kutāma]

The mother of the princes (*umm al-umāra*)¹⁶³ sent a young girl, whom she had raised in the Maghrib, to be sold in Egypt. The agent sought 1,000 dinars for her. A young woman riding an ass came by and bargained for her until she bought her for 600 dinars. He was told, 'O Maghribi, the Ikshīdīd woman who has bought the young concubine so as to enjoy her is Kāfūr's lady.'

When the agent returned [from Egypt], he informed al-Mu'izz about it. The latter summoned the shaykhs. He asked the agent to relate the matter of the young girl. Then he exhorted, 'O brothers, attack them, for nothing shall impede you. For if they are so opulent that one of the daughters of their rulers goes out to purchase a concubine so as to enjoy her, the virility of the men has weakened and their jealousy has departed. So let us attack them.' They replied, 'We hear and obey.' So al-Mu'izz added, 'Take your belongings for we have made the choice to set out, God willing.'

[Al-Mu'izz's departure for Egypt]

When al-Mu'izz had resolved to depart for Egypt, [Yusuf b.] Buluggīn b. Zīrī gave him 2,000 Zanāta camels as a gift. He [al-Mu'izz] loaded all the treasures from the palaces onto the camels and had the dinars melted in the shape of millstones, placing two pieces on each camel.¹⁶⁴ In the middle of each piece was a hole that was used to tie the pieces together. This so amazed the subjects and the troops that

of his position that he is reported to have said to the Fatimid envoy: 'Egypt is distant from the Maghrib and, by God, the Maghrib will be under our control for a long time.' *Itti'āz*, 1: 234.

163. Apparently a member of Mu'izz's household, this person is not identified in the text.

164. Ibn Muyassar reports in his *Ta'rikh Miṣr* (cited by al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 215), that when al-Mu'izz came to Cairo he carried with him 100 camels loaded with gold in the shape of millstones. Another source counted 500 camels, each one carrying three gold millstones.

they stood in the streets to watch how the treasury was carried away.

Al-Mu'izz left the Maghrib on Monday, eight days before the end of Shawwāl 361 [6 August 972]. He left from al-Manşūriyya accompanied by Buluggīn, whose first name was Yūsuf, for Sardāniyya¹⁶⁵ in the lands of Ifrīqiya. Al-Mu'izz handed over Ifrīqiya and the Maghrib to Buluggīn on Wednesday, nine days before the end of Dhu'l-Hijja [3 October 972]. He [al-Mu'izz] commanded all the people to listen to him and to obey him [Buluggīn].

He entrusted authority over the lands to Buluggīn, with the exception of the island of Sicily. He made Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ḥusayn responsible for Sicily and for Tripoli and its environs as well.¹⁶⁶

Al-Mu'izz said [to Buluggīn], 'Even if you neglect all the counsel I have given you, do not neglect three things: beware of alleviating the bedouins of taxes; do not lift your sword off the Berbers; and do not appoint as governors any of your brothers or cousins, for they will consider themselves more worthy of governing than you. Be good to the townsfolk.'¹⁶⁷ Then he parted company.

[Episode of the two Slavs]

Two Slavs, Qayşar and Muẓaffar, had attained an elevated status with al-Manşūr and al-Mu'izz. Al-Muẓaffar used to take liberties with al-Mu'izz, for he was the one who had taught al-Mu'izz calligraphy when he was young. It so happened that one day when he was annoyed, he uttered a word in Slavic which made al-Mu'izz suspicious. So al-Mu'izz took it upon himself to learn languages. He began with the Berber language, which he mastered. He then learned the Greek, Sudanese and Slavic languages. When he reviewed the Slav language, he came across that particular word, which was used for cursing. This rankled in his heart until he killed them.¹⁶⁸

165. Sardāniyya is a small village about 38 km from Qayrawān.

166. This Ḥasan was the third Fatimid governor of Sicily from the Kalbi family. He ruled twice between 336/947 and 359/970. On the dynastic rule of the Banū Kalb over Sicily see Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, pp. 320–321, 361–363.

167. Quoted verbatim from Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, trans., 1: 267–268.

168. The same tale is recounted by al-Maqrīzī (*Khīṭaṭ*, 2: 37) with a slight variation of words. A more plausible explanation is offered by Idrīs (*Uyūn*, p. 620), where al-Mu'izz accuses Qayşar of disloyalty for not

[Resolution of a Ḥasanī-Ja'farī feud in the Ḥijāz]

While he [al-Mu'izz] was in the Maghrib, it came to his attention that fighting had broken out [in the Ḥijāz] between the Banū Ḥasan and the Banū Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib. More of the Banū Ḥasan were killed than of the Banū Ja'far. Al-Mu'izz discreetly sent money and men to negotiate peace between the two sides, and they took upon themselves the responsibility of paying blood money for them both.

Seventy more people from the Banū Ḥasan were killed by the Banū Ja'far. So those appointed by al-Mu'izz paid blood money to the Banū Ḥasan and facilitated reconciliation between the two groups in the Holy Mosque of Mecca. They undertook to pay the blood money from the money that al-Mu'izz had sent. That was in the year 348 [959–960]. Thus, the Banū Ḥasan became favourably inclined to al-Mu'izz. When Jawhar entered [Egypt], Ḥasan b. Ja'far al-Ḥasanī hurriedly took possession of Mecca. He publicly proclaimed al-Mu'izz as the legitimate ruler. He wrote to Jawhar about it and the latter sent the news to al-Mu'izz. Al-Mu'izz sent an appointment of investiture from the Maghrib, authorising him with the administration of the Holy Cities (Mecca and Medina) and their environs.

FATIMID ADMINISTRATION AND THE BUILDING OF CAIRO

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Zūlāq al-Miṣrī¹⁶⁹ says in the *Itmām akhbār umarā' Miṣr* by al-Kindī,¹⁷⁰ may God have mercy on them both, that in Jumādā II 358 [April–May 969] there were

passing to him a request from the Kutāma. When informed of this the Kutāma said, 'May God curse the one who behaves thus.' Al-Mu'izz replied, 'Yes, and may God bless those who pass on messages to us.' The incident demonstrates that Qayṣar was taking advantage of his preferential status with al-Mu'izz. A series of such incidents may well have led to his disgrace and eventual execution.

169. On the historian Ibn Zūlāq see note 69 above. The *Itmām* was a continuation of al-Kindī's work.

170. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī (d. 350/961) wrote two works, one on the governors of Egypt up to 334/946 and the second on the *qādis* of Egypt up to 246/861. They have been edited by Rhuvon Guest in the same volume, *Kitāb al-umarā' (al-wulāt): The Governors and Judges of Egypt* (Leiden and London, 1912).

confirmed reports of al-Mu'izz's troops marching from the Maghrib to Egypt under the command of his slave Jawhar. Al-Mu'izz had *dā'īs* in Egypt who exhorted people in the land [to his cause]. They used to say: 'When the black stone disappears, our master al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh will rule over the entire world. The black stone, that is, Kāfūr al-Ikhshidī, obstructs us from you.' When Kāfūr died, al-Mu'izz sent banners to his *dā'īs* and instructed them, 'Distribute these among those troops who have pledged allegiance.' He ordered them to unfurl these upon the approach of [Jawhar's] troops. When the troops drew near Alexandria, the wazir Abu'l-Faḍl Ja'far b. al-Faḍl b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt¹⁷¹ gathered the people and conferred with them.

[Proclamation of the *amān*]

They [the wazir and his colleagues] settled upon writing a letter to Jawhar in which they would stipulate certain conditions and would pledge their allegiance to him. Then they [changed their minds and] agreed to fight him. Subsequently, their resolve weakened and they reverted to writing to negotiate peace with him.¹⁷²

Jawhar's messengers were secretly corresponding with Ibn al-Furāt. Subsequently they agreed that Abū Ja'far Muslim al-Ḥusaynī,¹⁷³ Abū Ismā'il al-Rassī,¹⁷⁴ accompanied by Qāḍī Abū

171. Ja'far b. al-Furāt (d. 391/1001) became wazir first to Unjūr b. Abī Bakr al-Ikhshid, then to his brother Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, and finally to Kāfūr. When the Fatimids arrived, he was retained temporarily by Jawhar as wazir for the new administration. On his life, career and eccentricities, see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 3: 42–50, and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, trans., 1: 319–323.

172. For a detailed record of political manoeuvring in Egypt prior to Jawhar's arrival, see al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 1: 536–542, 3: 42–48, and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, trans., 1: 342–344.

173. Abū Ja'far Muslim was a senior member of the *ashrāf* in Egypt who led the delegation of notables from Fustāt to Jawhar's field camp to negotiate a truce. The cordial relationship that he established with the Fatimids was later clouded by the defection of his brother, the Ikhshidid governor of Ramla 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh (Akhū Muslim), to the Qarāmiṭa.

174. Al-Maqrīzī reports in his *Muqaffā* (1: 37 and 3: 465–466) that Abū Ismā'il al-Rassī was appointed leader of the *ashrāf* during the reign of

Ṭāhir¹⁷⁵ and a group of other prominent people, would go [to meet Jawhar]. They appeared at Giza twelve days before the end of Rajab [7 June 969]. No leader, scribe, scholar, witness or merchant hesitated in bidding the delegation farewell. They set out and met Jawhar at Tarūja.¹⁷⁶ They conferred with him and presented their conditions. He agreed to what they sought and wrote the following:¹⁷⁷

In the name of God, the Most Beneficent the Most Merciful. This is a letter by Jawhar al-Kātib – the servant of the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, may God's blessings be upon him, to all the people living in Miṣr, Egyptians and others. The delegates whom you had asked to correspond and meet with me have arrived. They are:

Abū Ja'far Muslim al-Sharīf, may God lengthen his life;
 Abū Ismā'il al-Rassī, may God help him;
 Abū'l-Ṭayyib al-Hāshimī,¹⁷⁸ may God help him;
 Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Naṣr,¹⁷⁹ may God strengthen him; and
 the *qāḍī*, may God strengthen him.

They have mentioned, on your behalf, that you seek a guarantee of *amān* (security) for yourselves, your wealth, your lands and all your matters. You are already aware of the magnanimity of our master and lord, the Commander of the Faithful, may God's blessing be upon him, towards you.

So praise God for what he, the Commander of the Faithful, has bestowed upon you and thank him for his protection of you (*tamākum*).¹⁸⁰ Persevere in adhering to what is incumbent upon you and hasten to the obedience of him who protects you from error and

al-Mu'izz and continued in this post until his death in 369/980. His funeral ceremony was attended by al-Mu'izz's successor, al-'Azīz bi'llāh.

175. Prior to his appointment as the *qāḍī* of Egypt in 348/959–960, Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir had been the *qāḍī* of Fuṣṭāṭ, Baghdad, Wāsiṭ and Damascus. An adherent of the Mālikī school of law, he was among the prominent men who welcomed al-Mu'izz at the outskirts of Cairo. See al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 5: 189–190, and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, trans., 3: 567–574.

176. This was a village in the province of al-Buḥagra, near Alexandria.

177. The full text of the letter also appears in Idris, *Uyūn*, pp. 673–678, and al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 3: 90–94, in the entry on Jawhar.

178. Later in this text, al-Maqrīzī calls him Abū'l-Ṭayyib al-'Abbās b. Aḥmad al-Hāshimī and identifies him as a member of the Abbasid house.

179. On this Fatimid *dā'i* see note 36 above.

180. In his forthcoming edition of the *Itti'āz*, A.F. Sayyid has *tabākum* (affection) instead of *tamākum*.

leads you to safety and happiness, for he, may God's blessings be upon him, has sent the victorious troops and triumphant armies only so as to strengthen and protect you, and to wage *jihād* on your behalf as hands have grabbed you. The tyrant¹⁸¹ has behaved arrogantly towards you, coveting possession of your lands in this year; [he wants] to conquer it and take prisoners from it and desires the possession of your wealth and property, as he has already done to those like you in the east. His determination has been reinforced and his temerity strengthened, and so, the Commander of the Faithful, our lord and master, may God's blessing be upon him, has pre-empted him by sending out his victorious armies and dispatching his glorious troops to fight him and wage *jihād* against him, on your behalf and on behalf of all the Muslims in the east who have been disgraced and have been unduly humbled and engulfed by disasters and continuous calamities. The sobbing and yelling of those who have been continually frightened has become progressively louder and they have beseeched succour over and over again.

No one has been able to come to their rescue except for him who has been sickened by their suffering and has suffered from their affliction. His eyes have wept for what has affected them and he has been kept awake because of what has befallen them. He is our lord and master, the Commander of the Faithful, may God's blessing be upon him. He has hoped, by the grace and benevolence that God has always bestowed upon him, to rescue those who have been constantly living in humiliation and in painful torture, and to make those who have been overwhelmed by terror feel safe, and to dispel the fear of those who have continually lived in dread. He wishes to restore the pilgrimage which has fallen into abeyance, and whose obligations and rights are neglected by the worshippers because of fear of the one who would seize them, as they could not safeguard themselves or their wealth, for they have been repeatedly vanquished, their blood shed and their wealth confiscated. As has been his custom, al-Mu'izz will authorise the repair of roads. He will then prevent the offenders from committing crimes, so that people [i.e. the pilgrims] are able to travel on the roads feeling safe and secure, and will be provided with food and provisions. News has reached him, blessings of God be upon him, that Egypt's roads have been cut off because of the fear of the travel [caravan] leaders, since there has been neither a restraint nor a defence against the unjust aggressors.¹⁸²

181. A reference to the Byzantine emperor.

182. For many years the Qarāmiṭa had menaced pilgrims from across the Muslim world travelling to Mecca for the annual pilgrimage. As the Abbasids were too weak to repulse them, they had from time to time managed to procure the safety of pilgrims for which the Qarāmiṭa demanded exorbitant amounts. The refusal of the Fatimids to pay

Then he will renew (*tajdīd*) the coinage¹⁸³ and adjust it to be of the same standard as the blessed, auspicious *manṣūrī* dinars.¹⁸⁴ He will eliminate their metal impurities. These are the three characteristics that must be addressed by a Muslim ruler. He must exert all his time and effort in their achievement.

Our lord and master, the Commander of the Faithful, may God's blessing be upon him, has advised his servant to extend equity and justice and to dispel injustice, to temper aggression, to eradicate transgression, to increase aid, to uphold what is just and to strengthen the oppressed through compassion and beneficence, to supervise fairly, to be generous in companionship, to be kind in associations, to scrutinise living conditions, to offer protection to the inhabitants day and night so that they can strive freely to earn their living and can manage their affairs such that it would restore them. [He has also advised his servant to] establish support for them so that their minds are assuaged, their hearts are in harmony and their words are in unison, in obedience to the *walī* (friend) of God, our lord and master, the Commander of the Faithful, may God's blessing be upon him. His (Jawhar's) *mawlā* (master) has ordered him to annul the unjust taxes that he disapproves of, may God's blessing be upon him, from being levied upon you.

He has instructed me to administer your inheritance according to the Book of God and the *sunna* of the Prophet. I will discontinue the deduction of money that used to be withheld from your legacies for the public treasury, and sent there without that being stipulated in your wills, for the treasury does not have a lawful claim over it.¹⁸⁵

the 30,000 dinars that the Qarāmiṭa had levied for Egyptian pilgrims from Ikshīdīd times contributed to increased hostility and military confrontation between them. Al-Maqrīzī provides a more detailed account of the Qarāmiṭa later in the text.

183. A.F. Sayyid, in his forthcoming edition, has *tajwīd* in place of *tajdīd*, rendering the translation as: 'Then he will improve the coinage'.

184. The third Fatimid caliph al-Manṣūr introduced a distinctive design to Fatimid coinage, featuring concentric circles of writing around a central field with a horizontal inscription. In the vibrant international maritime trade of the time, extending from the the Atlantic to the seas of China, Fatimid dinars were particularly valued for their gold content. The Fatimids had a rich supply of gold ore initially from North Africa and then from Nubia. See Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire*, p. 97, and Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City*, pp. 85–86.

185. Fatimid law stipulated that the state could not inherit from its citizens. State appropriation of inheritance was only permitted in exceptional circumstances such as a famine, which is what Egypt was undergoing before the arrival of Jawhar. See Émile Tyan, *Histoire de*

He has instructed me to undertake the repair of your mosques and adorn them with carpets and lighting. I will give those who call to prayers, the administrators [of mosques] and those who lead the prayers their allowance. It will be given abundantly to them and not be withdrawn from them. I will only pay them from the treasury and not by draft on tax collectors.

Apart from what our lord and master, the Commander of the Faithful, may God's blessing be upon him, has mentioned in this letter of his, there is what the delegates who have been sent on your behalf—may God support them and keep you all safe through your obedience to our lord and master, the Commander of the Faithful, may God's blessing be upon him—have mentioned concerning the inclusion of matters that you have requested be mentioned in the *amān*. In response to your request and as an assurance to you, I have included these in the *amān*.

It would otherwise be meaningless to mention them and of no benefit to announce them, for Islam consists of one *sunna* and a *sharī'a* followed [by all]. You shall continue in your *madhhab*. You shall be permitted to perform your obligations according to religious scholarship, and to gather for it in your congregational and other mosques, and to remain steadfast in the beliefs of the worthy ancestors from the Companions of the Prophet, may God be pleased with them, and those who succeeded them, the jurists of the cities who have pronounced judgements according to their *madhhabs* and *fatwās* (formal legal opinions). The call to prayer and its performance, the fasting in the month of Ramaḍān, the breaking of the fast and the celebration of its nights, the [payment of] the alms tax, [the performance of the] pilgrimage and the undertaking of *jihād* will be maintained according to the command of God and His Book and in accordance with the instruction of His Prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, in his *sunna*, and the *dhimmis* (non-Muslims) will be treated according to previous custom.

I guarantee you God's complete and universal safety, eternal and continuous, inclusive and perfect, renewed and confirmed through the days and recurring through the years, for your lives, your property, your families, your livestock, your estates and your quarters, and whatever you possess, be it modest or significant.

There shall be no opponent opposing you, no harasser harassing you and no pursuer pursuing you.

You shall be safeguarded, protected and defended. Your [enemies] will be repelled from you and will be proscribed from [harming] you and you will not be opposed. No one will hasten to attack you or to disdain your mighty ones, let alone your downtrodden ones.

l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam (Leiden, 1960), pp. 545–550; Th. W. Juynboll, 'Farā'id', *EI2*; and Roger le Tourneau, 'Bayt al-Māl', *EI2*.

I shall continue to exert effort in whatever extends goodness to you, is beneficial to all of you, brings bounty to you, lets you experience blessings and through which you can rejoice in obeying our lord and master, the Commander of the Faithful, may God's blessing be upon him.

I promise to fulfil what I have pledged to you, in the name of God's sacred covenant and protection, and by the covenant of His prophets and messengers, and by the covenant of the imams, our masters, the Commanders of the Faithful, may God sanctify their souls, and by the covenant of our lord and master, the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, may God's blessing be upon him. So proclaim and announce [the covenant] by fulfilling the commitment. Come out to meet and greet me and stand before me when I cross the bridge and camp at the blessed halting place.¹⁸⁶ Persevere in your allegiance and hasten to fulfil its obligations. Do not forsake any friend of our master, the Commander of the Faithful, may God's blessing be upon him, and abide by what you are ordered. May God guide you all on the straight path.

The commander Jawhar wrote the *amān* in his own hand in Sha'bān 358 [June–July 969]. Blessings of God be upon our master Muḥammad and his righteous, pure and best progeny.

He wrote on this document in his own handwriting:

Jawhar the scribe [and] servant of the Commander of the Faithful, may God's blessing be upon him and upon his pure ancestors and his most noble descendants, said: I have written this *amān* at the order of our lord and master, the Commander of the Faithful, may God's blessing be upon him, I promise its total fulfilment for the town's inhabitants and others who accept what is stipulated in it.

All praise is due to God, the Lord of the worlds, God is our support and an excellent trustee, and may God's blessing be upon our master Muḥammad and upon his righteous progeny.

Jawhar wrote in his own handwriting on the above-mentioned date, and took as witnesses a group of people who were present. They were: Abū Ja'far Muslim b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī; Abū Ismā'īl Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Rassī al-Ḥasanī; Abū'l-Ṭayyib al-'Abbās b. Aḥmad al-Hāshimī; Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Aḥmad; his son, Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad b. Muḥammad; Muḥammad

186. This was the resting place where the Fatimid troops with their riding beasts would halt and camp on the outskirts of Fustāt, even after Cairo was built. The place was regarded in esteem during Fatimid times and was named al-Manākh al-Sa'id. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 2: 311.

b. Muhallab b. Muḥammad;[and] ‘Amr b. al-Ḥarith b. Muḥammad.

Abū Ja‘far Muslim conveyed the letter from Jawhar to the wazīr, Abu’l-Faḍl Ja‘far b. al-Furāt and a group of prominent state officials. Jawhar addressed Ibn al-Furāt as wazīr in his document, after consultation. He had [earlier] stopped addressing him as wazīr and had said, ‘He is not the wazīr of a caliph.’ He gave the group [of delegates] gifts and a load full of presents. Abū Ja‘far Muslim did not accept anything from him. The group [of prominent people] ate with him, bid him farewell and left. They returned on 8 Sha‘bān [26 June 969].

Ibn Zūlāq said, ‘I asked Abū Ja‘far Muslim upon his return about the size of the army. He said, “It is like the gathering at ‘Arafāt,¹⁸⁷ in multitude and armament.” Then I enquired about commander Jawhar’s age. He replied, “He is over fifty years old.”’

[Revolt of the Ikshīdiyya and Kāfuriyya]

When the group [of prominent people] arrived, the Ikshīdiyya and the Kāfuriyya [had already] revolted.¹⁸⁸ The news of the revolt had reached them while they were with commander Jawhar, so they hurriedly left his presence. Jawhar heard of the rupture of the peace settlement after their departure, so he pursued the group and caught up with them. He informed them that the people [i.e. the Ikshīdiyya and the Kāfuriyya] had violated the agreement. Jawhar asked for the

187. ‘Arafāt is a plain 23 km to the east of Mecca that has an important role in the Ḥajj (pilgrimage) rituals, and is mentioned in the Qur’an 2: 198. According to tradition, this is the place where the angel Gabriel instructed Prophet Muḥammad on the performance of the rituals.

188. The Ikshīdiyya were the remnants of a Turkish military regiment originally established by the Ikshīdīd *amīr* Muḥammad b. Ṭughj. The Kāfuriyya were the black guards recruited by Kāfūr. In the political and economic chaos after the death of Kāfūr, these two rival military groups became key stakeholders of military power. To the embarrassment of the prominent people who had agreed to the terms of the *amān* with Jawhar, the Ikshīdiyya and the Kāfuriyya decided to reject it and fight against Jawhar. But Jawhar defeated them decisively in a battle on 15 Sha‘bān 365/3 July 969. Subsequently, the Ikshīdiyya and the Kāfuriyya were systematically disarmed and deprived of their livelihood and social rank. In times of need, however, they were used as mercenaries in Fatimid forces. Yaacov Lev, *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt* (Leiden, 1991), pp. 16, 83–84.

return of his safety document. They were courteous to him. Jawhar said to Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir, 'What is your judgement on this matter?'

The *qāḍī* asked, 'What is the matter?'

Jawhar said, 'What is your opinion concerning those [i.e. Fatimid troops] who wish to cross the bridge to Egypt so as to set out for the *jihād* to fight the Byzantines, [but] have been prevented from doing so? Is it not [their right] to fight?'

The *qāḍī* answered, 'Yes.'

Jawhar asked, 'Fighting them is permissible?'

The *qāḍī* rejoined, 'Yes.'

When Abū Ja'far Muslim and those who were accompanying him returned from Jawhar's place, the people came to him. Ibn al-Furāt rode out towards him in a grand procession along with the group of prominent people. He [Abū Ja'far] read them Jawhar's safety document and its conditions. The letter for Ibn al-Furāt was delivered and so were the letters for the group [of prominent people]. The group [the Ikhshīdiyya and the Kāfūriyya] refused to accept all this. Farah al-Bajkamī¹⁸⁹ said to al-Sharīf [Abū Ja'far] Muslim, 'Even if your forefather [the Prophet] had come to us with this [document], we would have slashed his face with the sword.'

Ibn al-Furāt rebuked them for that and said, 'You have asked this matter of al-Sharīf. He was not content [to go on his own], so he took with him Abū Ismā'īl, a Ḥasanid, a Muslim *qāḍī* and an Abbasid.'

Al-Sharīf Muslim remained silent. He did not add anything save, 'May God choose for you.'

Ibn al-Furāt was engaged in secret negotiations with al-Sharīf Muslim, the Ikhshīdiyya and the Kāfūriyya. [But] they all responded, 'Between Jawhar and us there remains only the sword.'

They acknowledged Naḥrīr Shuwayzān¹⁹⁰ as the ruler; they set out and accompanied him to his house. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Ikhshīd¹⁹¹ was not considered.

189. A black eunuch known in other sources as Fanak, he was the leader of the Kāfūriyya at the time. Lev, *State and Society*, pp. 13–14.

190. Shuwayzān was the head of the Ikhshīdiyya troops in Fuṣṭāṭ at the time of Kāfūr's death in 357/968 and defeated their Kāfūriyya rivals in the war that ensued between the two groups. Lev, *State and Society*, p. 14.

191. Aḥmad al-Ikhshīd was declared *amīr* by the leading officials and courtiers of Fuṣṭāṭ following Kāfūr's death. Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, p. 409.

They prepared for war, marching out on 10 Shaʿbān [28 June 969] and camping at al-Jazīra¹⁹² with armed troops. Jawhar also arrived there. When he saw what they had done, he returned to Munyat Shalqān.¹⁹³ From there, he crossed into Egypt and dispatched orders to seize the ships arriving from Tinnīs,¹⁹⁴ Damietta¹⁹⁵ and Asfal al-Arḍ [i.e. the delta]. Jaʿfar b. Falāḥ,¹⁹⁶ bare except for his trousers, crossed with a group of the Maghribīs. The Ikhshīdiyya heard of this, so they sent Naḥrīr al-Arghulī, Yumna al-Ṭawīl and Mubashshir al-Ikhshīdī with a group of people to march to the place over which they [the Fatimids] had appointed Muzāḥim b. Muḥammad b. Rāʾiq.¹⁹⁷ They caught up with him as he was retreating. Fighting broke out and a number of Egyptians were killed.

The notables left on a Sunday evening in mid-Shaʿbān [July 969]. Through the night all those who had been at al-Jazīra returned to their homes. In the morning they went to Syria. A number of people were killed, among them Naḥrīr al-Arghulī, Mubashshir al-Ikhshīdī, Yumna al-Ṭawīl and many others.

192. Al-Jazīra was an island in the Nile Delta connected to Fuṣṭāṭ and Giza by two bridges. As related by al-Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, 3: 276), these bridges consisted of some thirty aligned and tightly secured boats. Wooden beams extended in front of the boats, overlaid with soil. An important island fortress in Ikhshīdīd times, under the Fatimids al-Jazīra became a flourishing town with a pleasure palace and large gardens called al-Rawḍa. This name was gradually extended to the whole island, which it has retained to the present day. C.M. Becker, 'Miṣr', *EI*2.

193. A village to the east of the barrages at a place called Qalyūb. According to Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, trans., 1: 343) Jawhar went to Munyat al-Ṣayyādīn (Fishermen's Village) and seized Munyat Shalqān.

194. Tinnīs was an important factory island in the Nile Delta region, renowned in Fatimid times for its official looms used for many types of linens and damasks as well as an iridescent fabric known as *buqalāmūn*. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1: 496–511, and Yaacov Lev, 'Tinnīs: An Industrial Medieval Town', in M. Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide*, pp. 83–96.

195. A town in Lower Egypt situated on the eastern arm of the Nile, Damietta was strategically located as the gateway to Egypt and played an important role in the conflict between the Crusaders and the Muslims towards the end of Fatimid rule and in Ayyubid times. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1: 597–599, and P.M. Holt, 'Damietta', *EI*2.

196. On this Fatimid general see note 56 above.

197. According to Idrīs ('*Uyūn*, p. 680), Jawhar subsequently appointed him to manage some of the regions in the coastal areas.

The next day, Monday, the notables woke up with a grand plan. They set off early to al-Sharīf Muslim's house and asked him to write to Jawhar to return the safety document to them.¹⁹⁸ So he wrote to Jawhar and they stayed at his place. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Lu'lu', the head of *al-shurṭa al-suflā*,¹⁹⁹ arrived, accompanied by Jawhar's envoys. He hoisted a banner that bore the name of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, and they were carrying bells to announce the annulment of taxes and levies. He granted safety to the people. The banners were distributed. Everyone who had a banner unfurled it along the path of his quarter.

Al-Sharīf received the reply in the afternoon. After the *Basmallah*, the message read:

The exalted Sharīf's letter has arrived, may God grant him a long life, perpetuate his strength and his greatness and support him; he is to be congratulated for the blessed victory with which he has been delighted. I have considered your request about restoring the original safety document. I have reinstated it.

I have authorised al-Sharīf, may God strengthen him, to grant security as he wishes and pleases and to make additions to what I have written in it as he sees fit. This is my safety document, issued by my permission and by the permission of our lord and master, the Commander of the Faithful, may God bless him.

I have written to the wazir, may God support him, to surround the houses of those who have escaped, until they renew their obedience and join the group [of prominent people] in accordance with what has been agreed. Al-Sharīf, may God Almighty support him, is making preparations to meet me on Tuesday, 17 Sha'bān [5 July 969].

The group [of prominent people] were delighted and rejoiced. They began to make their way to Giza to meet Jawhar and al-Sharīf Muslim. [That night] the people slept safe and sound.

198. Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, trans., 1: 343) reports that it is the women who went to Abū Ja'far Muslim and implored him to persuade Jawhar to ratify his guarantee of safety.

199. *Al-shurṭa al-suflā* were gendarmes responsible for maintaining order in Fuṣṭāṭ since the time of the Arab conquest. There was another higher police force based at al-Askar called *al-shurṭa al-'ulyā* which Jawhar transferred to Cairo. This arrangement continued throughout Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk times. Al-Shayyāl, ed., *Itti'āz*, 1: 110n1.

[Jawhar's arrival in Fustāt]

Early morning on Tuesday 17 Sha'bān [5 July 969], al-Sharīf Abū Ja'far Muslim, Ja'far b. al-Faḍl b. al-Furāt and all the *ashrāf*, the judges, the learned men, the *shuhūd* (witnesses),²⁰⁰ the prominent merchants and subjects went to Giza. When the dignitaries had gathered, commander Jawhar approached with his army. Some of his chamberlains shouted, 'To the ground, except for the Sharīf and the wazīr!'

The dignitaries stepped forward one after another.²⁰¹ When they had finished greeting him, they returned to Fustāt.

At dusk the troops advanced. They crossed the bridge and entered in regiments. They had chests of money loaded on mules; it is said that the money amounted to 1,500 chests. The *qubāb* (ceremonial swords) were brought. Jawhar appeared in garments of embroidered gold accompanied by his cavalry and infantry. He led all his troops to the halting place which al-Mu'izz had designated as the place [for the foundation of] Cairo.²⁰² He mapped out the palace site. The influx of the troops continued for seven days from Tuesday to the following Monday. He established his residence there.

[The foundation of Cairo]

Courtesies and bounties were presented to him. However, he declined food offerings from anyone save al-Sharīf Muslim. It is said that no sooner had Jawhar halted his camel at the place where Cairo was to be built then he began the construction of the palace. When the Egyptians came to congratulate him in the morning, they found that he had dug the foundations of the palace through the night.

Moreover, it is said that when Jawhar built the palaces and had

200. The *shuhūd* were a group of certified notary witnesses attached to the court of a *qāḍī*. See Lev, *State and Society*, p. 134, and Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, pp. 95–99.

201. According to Idrīs ('*Uyūn*, p. 683), when *dā'ī* Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Naṣr was introducing the dignitaries to Jawhar, Abū Ja'far Muslim was on his right and Ja'far b. al-Furāt, the wazīr, on his left, sitting on their horses until the last of them had finished greeting Jawhar.

202. Al-Maqrīzī has a detailed description of this place in his *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 50–51.

constructed the walls surrounding them,²⁰³ he named it [the city] al-Manṣūriyya.²⁰⁴ When al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh approached the Egyptian capital, he renamed it al-Qāhira (Cairo).

It is said that the reason it was named al-Qāhira is as follows. When commander Jawhar wanted to build the city, he summoned the astrologers. He advised them that he wished to build a city in the vicinity of the old capital for settling his troops. He then ordered them to identify the time of the ascendance of a star of destiny; at this time, they would lay the foundation [of the city] so that it would not slip away from their descendants. They picked an auspicious time for the digging of the walls and for laying the foundation stone. They placed wooden poles encircling the position of the walls. A rope was tied between every two poles and bells were placed on them. The astrologers said to the labourers, 'When the bells ring, begin laying the stones and clay that is in your hands.'

They stood waiting for the opportune moment. It so happened that a raven landed on one of the ropes on which hung the bells. This set off the ringing of the bells. The workers thought that the astrologers had rung them so they laid down the clay and the bricks that they had been holding and started building. The astrologers shouted, 'The Conqueror [*al-qāhir*, i.e. Mars] is in ascendance.' So they carried on and their original plan was overlooked.

It is said that Mars was in ascendance at the time of the laying of the foundation of Cairo, and as Mars is the conqueror of the celestial bodies, they called it Cairo. It was thought that was the reason why it was still ruled by the Turks [i.e. the Mamluks].

203. Al-Maqrīzī mentions that Jawhar's primary purpose in building the walls was to protect it from the Qarāmiṭa and that between the two palaces there was standing room for 20,000 troops. On the palaces and walls built by Jawhar in the new city, see his *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 54–55, 90–91.

204. In the *Itti'āz* and *Khiṭaṭ* (2: 204) al-Maqrīzī presents two differing views on the naming of the Fatimid capital. The first one, based on contemporary Fatimid sources, is that Jawhar called it al-Manṣūriyya, but when al-Mu'izz came four years later he renamed it al-Qāhira as an auspicious omen for vanquishing the Abbasids. The second version is the story of ropes, bells and crows. This version was copied by al-Maqrīzī from later sources hostile to the Fatimids. The known facts tend to validate the first version. A similar tale of bells and crows is narrated about the founding of Alexandria by Alexander the Great. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar*, 1: 215, as cited by al-Shayyāl, p. 111.

Jawhar built the walls around the well of al-‘Izām and enclosed it within the palace. In Cairo he built quarters for those who were close to himself and his master al-Mu‘izz. He built the palace according to the plans given to him by al-Mu‘izz.

It is said that when al-Mu‘izz saw Cairo, he did not like its location in the desert, away from the coast. He said to Jawhar, ‘O Jawhar, you have missed the opportunity of building it here, at al-Maqs, by the banks of the Nile.’²⁰⁵

When he saw the surface on top of the slope now known as al-Raṣad he said, ‘O Jawhar, when you had overlooked the shore, you ought then to have built Cairo on this mountaintop so that it would be a citadel for Fuṣṭāṭ.’ This was related by Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. He said: ‘Al-Mu‘izz was an expert in statecraft, cognisant and astute in its matters. He was skilled in various arts, including astrology. He [Jawhar] organised the palace such that it would have everything that a ruler, in fact a caliph, would require, in a manner so that any would-be observers would not notice the movement of the courtiers from one place to another. In the courtyards he constructed for them [the royal family] a lake, a square and a garden. On the outskirts of Cairo, he ordered the building of a *muṣallā*²⁰⁶ for the inhabitants of the city so that the *khuṭba* and the recitation of the two ‘*id* prayers, ‘Īd al-Fiṭr (the feast of breaking the fast) and ‘Īd al-Nahr²⁰⁷ (the feast of sacrifice), could take place there. He had another one [*muṣallā*] built at al-Qarāfa²⁰⁸ for the people of Fuṣṭāṭ.’²⁰⁹

205. Al-Maqs was a village by the banks of the Nile, originally known as al-Maks, this being the Arabic for ‘tax’ as it was a centre for collecting taxes in the region. See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm*, 4: 53. I am grateful to Paul E. Walker for drawing my attention to this point.

206. Open ground for the recitation of ‘*id* prayers.

207. More commonly known as ‘Īd al-Aḏḥā.

208. A graveyard below the Muqāṭṭam hills where high-ranking officials of the Fatimid court were buried.

209. Al-Maqrīzī overlooks the founding of Al-Azhar mosque here, but he provides a detailed account of it in his *Khiṭaṭ*, pp. 213–217.

[Jawhar's first year in Egypt]

Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir²¹⁰ said: 'When al-Mu'izz was certain of the death of Kāfūr, he equipped Jawhar and sent him with troops. Subsequently, he [Jawhar] camped at a place called Raqqāda. He had departed with more than 100,000 horsemen. He had with him more than a thousand coffers of money.

'Al-Mu'izz used to visit Jawhar every day and would spend time in private with him. He directed him to take from the public treasuries whatever he needed, in addition to what had already been granted to him.²¹¹

One day al-Mu'izz rode out to him [Jawhar]. Seated, with Jawhar standing in front of him, al-Mu'izz turned to the dignitaries whom he had sent with him [Jawhar] and said, 'By God, if Jawhar were to depart alone he would conquer Egypt. He would surely enter Egypt with his armaments and supplies without waging war. He would certainly camp at the ruins of Ibn Ṭulūn and build a city to be called al-Qāhira which would come to dominate the world.'

He [Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir] said: 'Jawhar established his camp at the site of what is now al-Qāhira, on Tuesday, 17 Sha'bān 358 [5 July 969]. He marked the location of the palace. The people slept the night and the following morning when they arrived to congratulate him, they found that overnight he had dug the foundations of the palace which, however, were slanted and uneven. When Jawhar saw that [in daylight], he did not like it. Nonetheless, he said, "Its foundations were dug on a blessed night and at an auspicious hour." So he left it as it was.²¹²

Ibn Zūlāq said: 'When it was morning, Jawhar sent Qāḍī 'Alī b. al-Walīd²¹³ to his camp. Ahead of him were many loads of money

210. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir al-Qāḍī (d. 692/1292–1293) was a writer and poet placed in charge of the *diwān al-inshā'* (bureau of correspondence) during the rule of Baybars in Egypt. J. Pedersen, 'Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir', *EI2*.

211. Idrīs ('*Uyūn*, p. 666) reports the same information and cites Ibn Zūlāq as his source.

212. The same account is found in the *Khiṭaṭ* (2: 54), where al-Maqrīzī adds that each group planned and built their own part of the city, e.g. the Zuwayla built their own place, as did the people from Barqa.

213. Known as al-Ishbīlī (the Sevillian), 'Alī b. al-Walīd was *qāḍī* of the Fatimid army.

and a crier who was calling out, "He who is in need of charity, let him call at the house of Abū Ja'far." A crowd of destitute and needy people²¹⁴ gathered and were consequently led to the 'Atiq mosque,²¹⁵ where alms were distributed among them.'

Jawhar arrived with some of his troops for the congregational prayers²¹⁶ at the 'Atiq mosque on Friday, ten days before the end of Sha'bān [8 July 969]. Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad, the deputy to 'Abd al-Samī' b. 'Umar al-'Abbāsī,²¹⁷ delivered the sermon, [dressed] in white. When he came to the *du'ā'* (supplication), he read out from a sheet of paper:

O God, bless Your servant and Your *walī* (friend), the fruit of prophecy and the scion of the rightly-guiding and rightly-guided family, the servant of God, the Imam Ma'add Abū Tamīm al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, the Commander of the Faithful, as You have blessed his pure forefathers and descendants, the righteous imams.

O God, elevate his rank and raise his word; make his *ḥujja* (proof) clear;²¹⁸ gather the community to his obedience and unite their hearts in devotion and companionship to him. Make [them realise that] agreeing with him is good reason and make him the inheritor of the lands in the east and the west. Make the beginnings and the conclusions of his affairs praiseworthy. For indeed You have said, and Your word is the truth: 'And verily, We have written in the scripture, after the reminder My righteous slaves will inherit the earth.'²¹⁹

He has been angered for Your [God's] religion, at the violation of Your sanctity and at the extinction of the *jihād* in Your path. When the pilgrimage to Your house and the visitation to the tomb of Your Prophet, God bless him and grant him salvation, were barred, he prepared

214. The term *mastūrīn* refers to people in need of material assistance but prefer not to ask anyone for it.

215. This is the 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ mosque in Fustāt, which later came to be known as the 'Atiq mosque.

216. On prayers and rites concerning the Friday prayer in Fatimid times see al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, trans., 1: 223–229.

217. 'Abd al-Samī' b. 'Umar al-'Abbāsī was the preacher of the 'Atiq mosque, having succeeded his father to the post. Al-Maqrizī, *Muqaffā*, 6: 70.

218. The term *ḥujja* is used in Shi'i literature to mean signs, proofs or witnesses to God, and is usually applied to the imams. The most common use of *ḥujja* in Fatimid literature is for a senior rank in the hierarchy of the *da'wa* below the imam. See M.G.S. Hodgson, 'Ḥudjdja', *EI2*.

219. Qur'an 21: 105.

himself for the *jihād*. He undertook precautions for each concern. He sent troops for Your victory and he expended money in Your obedience. He exerted effort in seeking Your pleasure and so the ignoramus was deterred and the insolent one was curbed; the truth was manifest and falsehood dissipated. O God, grant victory to his troops, to those whom he has sent forth to fight the polytheists, to carry out *jihād* against the heretics, to defend the Muslims and to safeguard the *thughūr* (frontier towns) and the *ḥaram* (the Ka'ba), and to eliminate oppression, insinuation and greed, and to spread justice among the peoples.

O God, unfurl his banners to heights of fame and grant victory to his conquering armies. Restore righteousness by his hands. By him, grant us ultimate security.

Jawhar ordered the opening of a *Dār al-ḍarb* (mint) and the minting of red coinage.²²⁰ On each was inscribed:

On the first line: 'The Imam Ma'add summons to the oneness of God, the Eternal'; and on the next line: 'Al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, the Commander of the Faithful'; and on the third line: 'In the name of God, this dinar was minted in Egypt in 358 [968–969].'

On the reverse: 'There is no god except God and Muḥammad is the messenger of God. God has sent him with guidance and the true religion to proclaim it over all other religions, despite the abhorrence of the polytheists. 'Ali is the best of legatees, the deputy of the best of the messengers.'²²¹

Muzāḥim b. Rā'iḳ, who had previously set out with the Ikhshīdiyya, returned with a large army.

Jawhar broke the fast on the day of [*Īd al-]**Fiṭr* according to the

220. Al-Maqrīzī is likely to have meant the red dinars, so called because of the superior carat gold for which the Fatimids were renowned. From early on the Fatimids made a concerted effort to control the trade routes to West Africa and tap into the gold trade. Once the move to Egypt had been accomplished, the need for a regular supply of gold was acutely felt, especially after the Zirids declared their autonomy from Fatimid control in 439/1048. This compelled the Fatimid authorities to procure their gold supplies from the the Sudan via southern Egypt. See Nehemia Levtzion, 'The Sahara and the Sudan from the Arab Conquest of the Maghrib to the Rise of the Almoravids', *The Cambridge History of Africa*, ed. J.D. Fage (Cambridge, 1978), vol. 2, pp. 647–648.

221. The reference to polytheists is an allusion to Qur'an 9: 33.

calculation, without the sighting [of the crescent].²²² He participated in the *ʿid* prayer in Cairo. He was led in prayers by ʿAlī b. Walīd al-Ishbīlī, who pronounced the sermon. The people of Fuṣṭāṭ did not pray then but prayed the following day in the ʿAtīq Mosque, and a Hāshimid man delivered the sermon to them. According to custom, Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir had looked out for the crescent from the rooftop of the mosque but could not see it.²²³ When Jawhar was informed of this, he disapproved of it and censured him.

Jawhar held the sessions for redressing *maẓālim* (grievances)²²⁴ every Saturday. Later, he delegated the redress of grievances to Abū ʿĪsā al-Murshid.²²⁵

In Shawwāl [August–September 969] he dismissed ʿAlī b. Luʿluʾ from *al-shurṭa al-suflā* and appointed Shibl al-Maʿraḍī. He also appointed a number of [administrators] for the collection of *kharāj* (land tax) and the *ḍiyyāʿ* (estates).

In Dhuʾl-Ḥijja [October–November 969] 6,000 Ikhshīdiyya and Kāfūriyya arrived [seeking refuge]. They were made to camp at the outskirts of Cairo.

[The following invocation] was added to the Friday sermon:²²⁶ ʿO God, shower Your blessings on Muḥammad, the chosen one, on

222. Jawhar was observing the Fatimid practice of determining the commencement of Ramaḍān by astronomical calculation rather than by sighting of the new moon.

223. Idrīs (*ʿUyūn*, p. 691) provides a more detailed account of the Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir setting out to sight the new moon.

224. Al-Maqrīzī (*Khīṭaṭ*, 3: 9–51) provides insight on the practice of hearing *maẓālim* (grievances) in Fatimid times. He states that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was the first caliph to provide personal oversight to the *maẓālim*, a practice that al-Muʿizz revived upon his arrival in Egypt. Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, trans., 1: 212), reports that Jawhar used to preside over the *maẓālim* in the presence of the wazīr, the *qāḍī* and a group of prominent jurists. Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (*Daʿāʾim*, trans., 1: xxviii), quotes al-Muʿizz’s official decree of al-Nuʿmān’s appointment to the *maẓālim* in 343/954, which outlines the responsibilities and powers entrusted to the office. See also Lev, *State and Society*, p. 135, and J.S. Nielson, ‘Maẓālim’, *EI2*.

225. Abū ʿĪsā al-Murshid was a Fatimid *dāʿī* in Egypt who took over the task of hearing *maẓālim* every Saturday from Jawhar and Ibn al-Furāt. Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, p. 306.

226. Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, trans., 1: 212) adds that this took place on Friday, 8 Dhuʾl-Qaʿda/22 September 969.

‘Alī, the approved one, on Fāṭima, the pure, and on al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the two grandsons of the Prophet, from whom You have removed all impurity and have sanctified. O God, bless the rightly-guided imams, the ancestors of the Commander of the Faithful, those who guide and are rightly guided.’

It was announced that the *barāṭīl* taxes,²²⁷ the *qā'im* taxes and all other urban imposts [levied upon] the two *shurṭas* were to be annulled.

News arrived that the Qarāmiṭa had invaded Ramla.

A letter arrived from al-Mu'izz in the Maghrib acknowledging the arrival of the heads of Naḥrīr, Mubashshir, Yumna and Bilāl.

A man known as Abū Ja'far al-Khurāsānī was appointed as the *muḥtasib* (market supervisor).²²⁸

By the middle of Dhu'l-Ḥijja [October 969], the rounding up of those Ikhshīdiyya and Kāfūriyya who had sought refuge in Egypt was complete. There were fourteen leaders with troops numbering 5,000 who were camped at the *ʿĪd muṣallā* in Cairo. From there Fātik al-Haykalī²²⁹ fled to Syria and his pursuers were not able to capture him.

News reached Jawhar that the Kāfūriyya and Ikhshīdiyya who had sought refuge [in Egypt] had collaborated to cause mischief.

A son of Ja'far b. Falāḥ died and Jawhar attended the funeral prayers. The dignitaries also came, and among them were the Kāfūriyya and the Ikhshīdiyya. Along the way as they departed, Jawhar said to them, ‘A letter has arrived from our master and yours bearing joyous news for you. Come [with me] so that you

227. Al-Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, 1: 179), observes that the *barāṭīl* are ‘taxes that are taken from the governors, the market inspectors, the judges and the officers’.

228. This was the first appointment of a *muḥtasib* in the Fatimid period. His primary duty was to implement the Qur'anic dictum of promoting good and restraining evil. See Lev, *State and Society*, pp. 160–161, and Amin Haji, ‘Institutions of Justice in Fatimid Egypt (358–567/969–1171)’, in A. Al-Azmeh, ed., *Islamic Law: Social and Historical Contexts* (London, 1988) pp. 198–214.

229. Fātik al-Haykalī was an Ikhshīdīd *ghulām* (military slave) assigned to rule over Jordan with its capital at Tiberias. He was killed by the Fatimid general Ja'far b. Falāḥ during his invasion of Syria. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, trans., 2: 453–454, and Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, pp. 311–312.

may learn of it.' They went out with him to his tents in Cairo and as they entered the tents, he arrested thirteen of their chiefs. Among them were Naḥrīr al-Shuwayzān, Qanak the black eunuch,²³⁰ Durri al-Ṣiqillī, Ḥakal al-Ikhshīdī, Lu'lu' al-Ṭawīl, Muflīḥ al-Wahbānī, Qaylak al-Turkī and Farah al-Bajkamī. For six months he detained them. He then sent them with al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ṭughj²³¹ along with his contribution to al-Mu'izz. He confiscated Naḥrīr al-Arhulī's estates and wealth, and from Yaḥyā b. Makkī b. Rajā' he confiscated property worth 80,000 dinars and two masts of pliant-wood.

A letter arrived from al-Mu'izz [addressed] to Jawhar, to Abū Ja'far Muslim, to Abū Ismā'il al-Rassī and to the wazir Ja'far b. al-Furāt.

Jawhar appointed Muzāḥim b. Muḥammad b. Rā'iq as the governor of al-Ḥawf and of al-Faramā.²³²

When Jawhar entered [the city], the prices [of provisions] had soared. They increased further during his rule, until the price of wheat became nine *aqḍāḥ* per dinar.²³³

The official in charge of the land-tax was 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b.

230. According to al-Ya'lawī (editor of Idrīs, *Uyūn*, p. 692), Qanak and Abū Minḥal were two leaders of the Kāfūriyya. When dismissed by the Ikhshīdids from Egypt, they went to Syria seeking help from its governor al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ṭughj, and when he refused they went to Fātik al-Haykalī. Subsequently they fought Ja'far b. Falāḥ who captured them and sent them to Jawhar.

231. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ṭughj was appointed guardian of Abu'l-Fawāris al-Ikhshīd when, at the age of eleven, he succeeded Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī as *amīr* of Egypt. As regent he effectively ruled over Egypt and Syria. When violence broke out in Fustāt in 357/968, al-Ḥasan came to the capital but failed to gain a grip of the situation, which left the notables of Fustāt with little choice but to seek support from the Fatimids. Thereafter, al-Ḥasan fought the Fatimid forces in Syria, was captured by Ja'far b. Falāḥ in 359/970 and sent to al-Mu'izz in the Maghrib. He was treated honourably by al-Mu'izz and allowed to return to Egypt where he died in 371/980–981 during the reign of al-'Aziz. The caliph prayed over him and placed an embroidered cloth over his coffin. See al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 3: 343–346, and Lev, *State and Society*, pp. 13–14.

232. Al-Faramā was one of the fortified frontiers on the Mediterranean coast. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1: 591–595.

233. *Aqḍāḥ* (sing. *qadaḥ*), an Egyptian dry measure equivalent to 2.062 litres.

al-ʿAramram. Jawhar retained him in office for a month after which he appointed Rajāʾ b. Šulān as his associate.

He confirmed Ibn al-Furāt as the wazir.

Jawhar forbade the use of [the colour] black in Egypt.

He proscribed the recitation of *ʿSabbih ism Rabbikaʿ* in the Friday prayers.²³⁴

He also prohibited the recitation of *takbīr*²³⁵ after the Friday prayers. For every post he appointed a Maghribī as an associate to whoever was in charge.

The lowest level [of the Nile] was three cubits and nineteen inches.²³⁶ When the water rose to seventeen cubits and nineteen inches, Jawhar bestowed a robe of honour upon Ibn Abīʿl-Raddād. He [also] presented him with a mount and gave him gifts.²³⁷

THEN BEGAN THE YEAR 359 [969–970]

[Jawhar's administration of Egypt]

In Muḥarram [November–December 969] Bashīr al-Ikhshidī sent 150 men from Tinnīs who were paraded around [the city]. Crime was endemic, so Jawhar had a group of [robbers] beheaded and their bodies were suspended on crosses on the streets.

Twelve days before the end of Muḥarram [1 December 969], Jaʿfar b. Falāḥ b. Abī Marzūq marched to Syria, fought the Qarāmiṭa at Ramla and defeated them. He captured al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṭughj and a group of [other] people and sent them in fetters to Jawhar, who sent them overland and by sea to Upper Egypt.

In Rabīʿ I [January–February 970] he [Jawhar] confiscated the riding beasts of the Ikhshidiyya and the Kāfūriyya and sent them

234. The Qurʾān, Sūra 87, begins with this verse, translated as 'Glorify the name of thy Lord, Most High'. This provides an example of the Fatimids giving preference to the Shiʿi form of Friday prayer.

235. The repositioning of the *takbīr* in the Friday prayer conforms to the Shiʿi practice.

236. On the rise and fall of the Nile and its significance for the Egyptian economy at the time, see al-Maqrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1: 180–191.

237. Ibn Abīʿl-Raddād was the supervisor of the Nilometer at al-Rawḍa, with the important and prestigious responsibility of announcing the inundation of the Nile. He was generously rewarded and honoured when the Nile rose to its optimal level.

away on foot, ordering them to seek their own living.

In Rabi' II [February–March 970], Ja'far b. al-Faḍl b. al-Furāt sent his tribute [to al-Mu'izz], with his son Aḥmad.

At the end of Rabi' II [March 970] there was a steep rise in prices. Abū Ja'far, the *muḥtasib*, died. Hence Jawhar reinstated Sulaymān b. 'Azza to the supervision of the markets. He placed controls on the river harbour and gathered the grain merchants in one place. He did not permit a single handful of wheat to be collected except in his presence. He had eleven millers beaten and publicly paraded.²³⁸

On Friday 8 Jumādā I [18 March 970], Jawhar participated in the Friday prayers at the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn. The muezzin made the call to the prayer by pronouncing, '*ḥayya 'alā khayr al-'amal*' (Come to the best of deeds).²³⁹ This was the first time that this formula was used in Egypt.

'Abd al-Samī' led Jawhar in the Friday prayer. He recited the Sūrat al-Jumu'a²⁴⁰ [and the Surā beginning] 'When the hypocrites come to you'. He supplicated in the second *rak'ā* (bow) and proceeded to the prostration but forgot to bow. 'Alī b. al-Walīd, the *qāḍī* of Jawhar's army, shouted at him, 'The prayer is invalid, repeat a *zuhr* (midday prayer) with four *rak'āt* (bows)!'

Thereafter, the call to prayer was called with the words '*ḥayya 'alā khayr al-'amal*' in all the mosques of al-'Askar. Jawhar rebuked 'Abd al-Samī' for not reciting the *Basmallah* at the beginning of each sura and in the Friday sermon. So he ['Abd al-Samī'] did this [when he] led him [Jawhar] in prayers the following Friday. He had prayed for Jawhar in the previous Friday's sermon, but Jawhar disapproved of it and prohibited him from doing so again.

Jawhar withdrew the [responsibility of collecting] religious endowments from Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir and appointed someone else to be in charge of them.

On 25 Jumādā II [5 May 970], the phrase '*ḥayya 'alā khayr*

238. Jawhar adopted this measure to curb the black market in wheat and other cereals that had prevailed in Egypt following the famine after the death of Kāfūr.

239. This is part of the Shi'i *adhān* (call to prayer). Al-Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, 3: 204–212), in his detailed account of the *adhān* in Egypt from the inception of Islam to his time, says that the *adhān* used to be recited according to the Mālikī custom until Jawhar replaced it with the Shi'i formula.

240. Qur'an 63.

al-ʿamal’ was pronounced in the call to prayer in the ‘Atīq Mosque. The *Basmallah* was pronounced aloud in the ritual prayer.

On 17 Jumādā II [27 April 970], Jawhar sent his gift to al-Muʿizz, together with the prisoners who were in fetters.²⁴¹

Among the gifts he had sent were 99 *bukhtī* camels; 21 litters covered in brocade, woven in gold, on which were girdles of gold set with jewels; 120 she-camels with protective covers made of brocade and with reins decorated in silver; 500 thoroughbred camels; 56 protective covers; 48 riding animals including a she-mule; 47 horses covered in patterned silk; saddles and bridles all of gold and silver; and two of the longest perfumed incense sticks.

The prisoners were al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ṭughj, the leader of the Qarāmiṭa Ibn Ghazwān, Fātik al-Hankarī, al-Ḥasan b. Jābir al-Riyāhī,²⁴² the secretary of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ṭughj, Naḥrīr al-Shuwayzān, Muflīḥ al-Wahbānī, Durri al-Khāzin, Farqīk, Qaylagh²⁴³ al-Turkī al-Kāfūrī, Abū Minḥal, Ḥakal al-Ikhshidī, Farah al-Bajkamī,²⁴⁴ Lu’lu’ al-Ṭawīl and Qanak²⁴⁵ al-Ṭawīl, the eunuch. They were transported aboard ships to Alexandria and from there they were taken overland to al-Qayrawān.²⁴⁶

Bashīr al-Ikhshidī defected in Lower Egypt. When Jawhar tried to win him over he did not respond, so he [Jawhar] sent troops against him. Bashīr fought them at Ṣahrajat and plundered the town.²⁴⁷ Then Bashīr was defeated and retreated by sea to Syria. He was captured at Ṣūr and escorted [to Egypt] on an elephant, together

241. Al-Maqrīzī (*Muqaffā*, 2: 104) mentions that Jawhar sent these gifts with his son Abū Aḥmad Jaʿfar, as does Idrīs in *ʿUyūn*, p. 698.

242. Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ṭughj had appointed Jābir his wazīr after dismissing Jaʿfar b. al-Furāt, but he occupied this post for three months only. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 3: 349–350.

243. This name appears in *Ittiʿāz* variously as Qaylagh, Qaylaq and Kaylagh.

244. Yaḥkamī in the Arabic text, which seems to be an error.

245. Fatak in the Arabic text.

246. Idrīs (*ʿUyūn*, pp. 697–698), adds to the same report: ‘When the prisoners reached al-Muʿizz, he honoured them and was generous to them. Moreover, he settled them in good houses in al-Qayrawān and provided them with furniture and furnishings.’

247. Ṣahrajat is located about 80 km from the north-east of Cairo, between Qanṭara and Maṣūra.

with a group of [other] men. Ja'far b. Falāḥ sent him [to Jawhar].²⁴⁸

In Ramaḍān [July–August 970] Jawhar had the wooden rail of the 'Atiq Mosque carved.

In Dhu'l-Qa'da [September–October 970] Sulaymān b. 'Azza al-Maghribī was reinstated over the markets.²⁴⁹ He gathered the grain traders in one place and blocked all the roads except for a single one, so that all the trading took place there. Not a *qadaḥ* of grain was allowed out without his knowledge.

Jawhar banned the use of the white (*abyaḍ*) dinars, which were equivalent to ten dirhams each. He ordered that *al-rāḍī* dinars would be equivalent to fifteen dirhams and that the *mu'izzī* dinars would be equivalent to twenty-five and a half dirhams. People did not comply, so he reinstated the white dinars at six dirhams. With the white dinars thus devalued, many people became impoverished.²⁵⁰

A number of the supporters of Tibr²⁵¹ and the Ikhshidiyya were beheaded and their bodies suspended on crosses until the arrival of al-Mu'izz from the Maghrib.

Al-Mu'izz sent troops, twenty loads of money and loads full of goods to the two Holy Cities [Mecca and Medina].

[The Fatimid invasion of Syria]

News arrived that Damascus had been invaded and taken by Ja'far b. Falāḥ. When he set out with his troops from Cairo, the [Ikhshidid] ruler over Ramla and Damascus was al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ṭughj. When he [Ibn Ṭughj] heard about the conquest of Egypt by

248. Idrīs provides a more detailed account of Bashir's revolt and names him as Zunbur al-Ikhshidī in *Uyūn*, pp. 698–699.

249. The same report with slight variation in text and a different date is mentioned earlier in the text, this being another example of the fragmented nature of *Itti'āz*.

250. Al-Maqrīzī records that the *abyaḍ* dinars were first minted in early Umayyad times. However, as is evident from this text, this dinar retained little value because of its high silver content which made people refer to it as the *abyaḍ*. Cited by al-Shayyāl (*Itti'āz*, 1: 122), from al-Maqrīzī's *al-Nuqūd al-Islāmiyya al-musammā bi shudhur al-'uqūd fī dhikr al-nuqūd*, ed. al-Sayyid M. Baḥr al-'Ulūm (Najaf, 1967), p. 15.

251. Abu'l-Ḥasan Tibr was a commander of the Ikhshidiyya. He appears to have been among the dissenters with Bashir al-Ikhshidī, as the same rebellion is attributed to him by al-Maqrīzī in *Muqaffā*, 2: 585.

al-Mu'izz's troops, led by the commander Jawhar, he left Damascus in Ramaḍān [July–August 970]. He appointed as his deputy Shamūl al-Ikhshīdī, but Shamūl harboured animosity towards him [Ibn Ṭughj] and corresponded with the commander Jawhar. Ibn Ṭughj camped at Ramla and prepared to fight whosoever would move against him from Egypt. News reached him that the Qarāmiṭa were marching against him. They caught up with him at Ramla where they met and fought, and Ibn Ṭughj was defeated. He then negotiated peace with the Qarāmiṭa and concluded a marriage alliance with them in Dhu'l-Ḥijja [October–November].

After camping in the vicinity of Ramla for thirty days, the Qarāmiṭa departed. Ibn Ṭughj sent for Shamūl to join him in order to fight those advancing from Egypt. He also sent for al-Ṣabāḥī, the governor of Jerusalem, to come to him. Shamūl delayed, while Ja'far b. Falāḥ advanced upon him [Ibn Ṭughj]. Ja'far's letters had gone out to the governors of the provinces, promising them good treatment and inviting them to obey al-Mu'izz. Ja'far went after Ibn Ṭughj, fighting and defeating him. He then seized his [Ibn Ṭughj's] troops, put to death a great number of his companions and took him prisoner in the middle of Rajab 359 [May 970]. Thereafter, he [Ja'far] camped at Ramla, pursuing what belonged to Ibn Ṭughj and to his companions. He set out for Tiberias [Ṭabariyya] and built fortifications at the bridge so as to fight Fātik, the *ghulām*²⁵² of Mulham, who ruled over it on behalf of Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī. Mulham did not oppose him, and thus Ja'far took possession of Tiberias.

The Banū 'Uqayl²⁵³ were ruling on behalf of al-Ikhshīd over

252. *Ghulām* (plural, *ghilmān*) refers to Turkish military slaves who usually served as cavalry. Their primary loyalty was to the leader responsible for securing their pay and employment, rather than the sovereign of the country. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, pp. 206–209.

253. The Banū 'Uqayl were an ancient Arab tribe who in the early years of the Abbasid empire had migrated to Syria and Iraq. The 'Uqayl became historically important around 286/899 when they supported the Qarāmiṭa leader Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī in capturing Bahrain from the Abbasids. In Syria they supported Fātik against the Fatimid general Ja'far b. Falāḥ when the latter moved against Tiberias in Jordan. See H. Kinderman, 'Uqayl', *EI2*, and Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, pp. 312–314.

Ḥawrān²⁵⁴ and al-Bathaniyya.²⁵⁵ They [the Banū 'Uqayl leaders] were Shabīb, Zālim b. Mawhūb²⁵⁶ and Mulham b....²⁵⁷ They had taken possession of these territories. Ja'far b. al-Falāḥ began to seek the support of the bedouin tribes of Fazāra and Murra and agreed secretly with them to kill Fātik.²⁵⁸ They arranged for some men to catch him unaware and kill him. Ja'far pretended he had no knowledge of this. He then arrested his [Fātik's] killers and sent them to Mulham, who pardoned them.²⁵⁹ The shaykhs of Damascus set out for Tiberias to meet with Ja'far. Their arrival coincided with the killing of Fātik and a revolt broke out there. They were captured and their possessions were looted. Then they met with Ja'far b. Falāḥ and returned to Damascus disappointed and discontented. They vilified the Maghribīs to such an extent that the people of Damascus were repelled by them [the Maghribīs].

Shamūl left [Damascus] and met with Ja'far at Tiberias. The town thus became deprived of a ruler. This aroused the greed of the covetous, and vagabonds and armed men abounded [in Damascus]. In Tiberias, Ja'far equipped the bedouins of Murra and Fazāra, whom he had won over, to fight the Banū 'Uqayl in Ḥawrān and al-Bathaniyya, and sent after them an army of his companions. They fought the Banū 'Uqayl and routed them towards the land of Ḥimş²⁶⁰ in pursuit. Thereafter, they returned to al-Ghūṭa,²⁶¹ looting and plundering as

254. A large district near Damascus consisting of villages, farms and a citadel.

255. A village in the vicinity of Damascus.

256. Zālim b. Mawhūb, an 'Uqaylid chieftain, was among those who resisted the Fatimid advance upon Damascus and, along with Muḥammad b. 'Aṣūdā, fled the city before it was taken by Ja'far b. Falāḥ.

257. There is a lacuna in the Arabic text here.

258. In the Arabic text 'Mulham', which is evidently a slip for Fātik. His name is mentioned in the next paragraph.

259. Al-Maqrīzī (*Muqaffā*, 3: 52) provides a different and perhaps more plausible account. According to him Mulham was angered by the killing and reproached: 'He was my *ghulām*, my *mamlūk*. I had given him to the commander Ja'far and he released those who had killed him.'

260. In Latin Homs, a Syrian town on the eastern bank of the Orontes and at an important crossroads between Aleppo and Damascus. The Qarāmiṭa wreaked havoc in the region in 290/903 when they seized Ḥamā, Salamiyya and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān.

261. The district in which Damascus is located.

they marched on. Then they camped in the vicinity of Damascus, but its inhabitants revolted against them, fighting and killing a great number of bedouins. They were defeated on 8 Dhu'l-Ḥijja [12 October 970], after which they joined the vanguard of Ja'far's army and marched with them to Damascus. There the people came out equipped with men and horses to fight them. They fought all day before they departed. The following day they fought again. After the Friday prayers, the people in the mosque cried 'war!' So the combatants emerged and there was fierce fighting until the end of the day.

On Saturday, 10 Dhu'l-Ḥijja [14 October 970], Ja'far camped at al-Shammāsiyya. The people fought in the morning. That day they did not perform their 'id prayers in the *muṣallā*. They continued fighting alongside Shamūl's soldiers all day until they were exhausted. The Maghribīs attacked and defeated them. They fell to the sword as they fled to the land of 'Ātika and the palace of Ḥajjāj. A great number of people were killed. The leaders of the Syrians during these battles were Abu'l-Qāsim b. Abī Ya'lā al-'Abbāsī,²⁶² Muḥammad b. 'Aṣūdā²⁶³ and Ṣadaqa al-Shawwā.

When the Maghribīs took possession of the outskirts of the town, they set alight the markets and other places as they marched to the gate of al-Jābiyya. When they woke up the next morning, *al-ra'iyya* (the populace) had taken control of the city gates. The battle continued all day long close to the *muṣallā*, after which they stopped fighting and slept for the night. The following morning, a group of shaykhs went outside the town to meet with Ja'far, who was in al-Shammāsiyya, to negotiate the restoration of peace for the town, whereupon they were captured by a group of Maghribīs

262. Ibn Abī Ya'lā was an Abbasid shaykh who, along with Muḥammad b. 'Aṣūdā, took control of Damascus in 359/970 as Ja'far b. Falāḥ set out to occupy the city. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 3: 52–58.

263. Muḥammad b. 'Aṣūdā and Ibn Abī Ya'lā took command of Damascus after Shamūl had abandoned the city and gone over to Ja'far b. Falāḥ. Muḥammad fled, with the 'Uqaylid chieftain Zālīm b. Mawhūb, to enlist the aid of the Qarmaṭī leader al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-A'ṣam. Together with the support of the Banū Kilāb, Banū 'Uqayl and the Ikshīdīd *ghulāms* who had refused to surrender to the Fatimids, they set out for Damascus to meet Ja'far. In the ensuing battle, Ja'far was defeated and killed. Muḥammad took his head in vengeance for Ja'far's execution of his brother, Ishāq b. 'Aṣūdā. See Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, pp. 311–313.

who stripped them of their clothes. Some of them were killed and a number of them were injured. When the town's inhabitants learnt of this, they informed everyone of the news by shouting it out from the highest minarets. Those who had been captured returned. The people were frightened and as their fear intensified they became dismayed. Subsequently, communication was established between them and Ja'far, and they went to meet him. He was harsh with them and threatened them with fire and sword. They returned filled with terror and conveyed his words to the people, who became increasingly aghast. They concurred that they should resume seeking pardon from Ja'far. So the shaykhs went back to him and continued to plead with him until he said, 'I will not forgive you unless you come to me accompanied by your women with their hair uncovered and they roll their faces in the dust in front of me seeking pardon.' They replied, 'We will do whatever the commander says.' They did not cease effacing themselves until he started speaking to them in a relaxed manner. It was agreed that he would enter the town on Friday for the prayers.

On Friday, he rode with his troops and entered the town. He prayed in the mosque and left. His companions looted the people.²⁶⁴ So they [the people of Damascus] rebelled against them and killed many of them. The shaykhs went to him but he reprimanded them saying, 'The Commander of the Faithful's men came to pray and you killed them.' He threatened them, but they spoke gently with him and flattered him. He indicated to them that he would exact blood money from the town for those men of the Commander of the Faithful who had been killed, and they agreed to pay it. Among the group was the chief of the town Abu'l-Qāsim Aḥmad, known as al-'Aqīqī al-'Alawī. He was Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan the lame (*al-ashall*) b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Aqīqī b. Ja'far b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon them. They took their leave of him and imposed the blood money [on the people] on his behalf. Its collection caused great tribulation to them.

Ja'far's companions camped in the vicinity of the walls of Damascus, above the River Yazīd. They built houses, established markets and it became like a city. He himself occupied an aston-

264. Arabic: *fa waḍa' aṣḥābuhu aydiyahum*.

ishing stone castle, which he made mighty, lofty and remarkable in its construction. Ja'far searched for armed men and captured a group of them. He beheaded them and had their corpses suspended on crosses. Their heads were suspended on the [city] gates. Among them was the head of Iṣḥāq b. 'Aṣūdā.²⁶⁵

When Ibn Abī Ya'lā was defeated, he had set out to al-Ghūṭa, heading for Baghdad. Ibn 'Ulyān al-'Adawī arrested him at Tadmur and brought him to Ja'far b. Falāḥ, who exhibited him publicly on a camel. Tall *qalansuwa* (headgear) was placed on his head, plumage was fixed to his beard and a reed-stick was placed in his hands. Then he was sent to Egypt.

As for Muḥammad b. 'Aṣūdā, he joined the Qarāmiṭa in al-Aḥsā'²⁶⁶ together with Zālīm b. Mawhūb al-'Uqaylī, when the Banū 'Uqayl were defeated at al-Ḥawrān and al-Bathaniyya. The Qarāmiṭa incited the Banū 'Uqayl to march on to Damascus.

In Rabī' I 360 [January 971], Ja'far sent his *ghulam* Futūḥ as head of an army to Antioch, which had been under Byzantine control for almost three years. Ja'far sent messages to the provinces of Damascus, Tiberias and Palestine, and gathered recruits from there. He sent one army after another to Antioch in wintertime. They laid siege to the town until the winter had passed, and as the caravans went by the fighting continued. Ja'far aided them by sending almost 4,000 additional men. As they approached Iskenderūnah [Alexandretta], they captured some 200 mules that were carrying forage for [the animals of] the people of Antioch. A Byzantine army was stationed there, so they fought them. [Ja'far's] army was defeated and a large number of soldiers were killed.

Ibn Falāḥ received the news that his army had been defeated, that the Qarāmiṭa had set out for Syria and had arrived in Kūfa, and that the ruler of Baghdad had assisted them with weapons. He had also levied 400,000 dirhams on Abū Taghlib b. Ḥamdān²⁶⁷ for them so as

265. He was the brother of Muḥammad b. 'Aṣūdā mentioned earlier.

266. Al-Aḥsā', a town in Bahrain, situated some 60 km from the coast, is now in the eastern region of Saudi Arabia. The first person to build and fortify it was the Qarmaṭī leader Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī in the late 4th/10th century. When Muḥammad b. 'Aṣūdā reached the town, the Qarmaṭī leader was al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-A'ṣam.

267. Abū Taghlib al-Ghaḍanfar b. Ḥamdān was the *amīr* of Mosul which the Ḥamdānids had controlled since the disintegration of the

to strengthen their hand in fighting the Maghribīs. Ja'far then sent an order to his *ghulām* Futūḥ to depart from Antioch and come to join him, which reached him on 1 Ramaḍān [28 June 971]. So he set out with his men, leaving behind a large quantity of food and fodder before coming to [Ja'far] in Damascus. Then each group went to its own place.

The Qarmaṭī [al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-A'ṣam] advanced to al-Raḥba. Abū Taghlib gave him monetary assistance and also supplied him with those Ikhshidiyya from Egypt and Palestine who had joined him after the Maghribīs had defeated them. The Qarāmiṭa marched with them until they came to the vicinity of Damascus. Ja'far b. Falāḥ, making light of them, went out to fight them. He attacked them, but he was defeated. His companions were felled by the sword and he himself was killed on 6 Dhu'l-Qa'da [3]60 [31 August 971]. He was found lying on the road outside Damascus and his killer was not known.²⁶⁸ Muḥammad b. 'Aṣūdā came upon him and severed his head, hanging it on the wall in his house. He did this in vengeance for the death of his brother Ishāq, who had been killed and hung by Ja'far. The Qarāmiṭa occupied Damascus and granted safety to its inhabitants. Then they set off for Ramla and took possession of it. A large number of the Ikhshidiyya joined them.

In that year, Qar'awayh, the client of Sayf al-Dawla b. Ḥamdān, the ruler of Aleppo, made peace with Abu'l-Ma'ālī Sharīf b. Sayf al-Dawla.²⁶⁹ Qar'awayh had him named in the Friday sermon in Aleppo. The two of them acknowledged Imam al-Mu'izz [as the caliph] in the official correspondence in Aleppo and Ḥimṣ.

Abbasid empire. After the Buyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla took control of Iraq in 369/979, Abū Taghlib was expelled from the city and subsequently killed in Syria by al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ. Abū Taghlib's involvement is narrated at some length later in this text. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 7: 513–514.

268. In the *Khiṭaṭ* (2: 104), however, al-Maqrīzī provides a contrary account according to which Ja'far was killed by Sa'āda b. Ḥayyān, who had been sent to Syria by Jawhar with a large army in 360/971. Al-Maqrīzī has a detailed account of Ja'far b. Falāḥ's Syrian campaign in *Muqaffā*, 3: 50–58.

269. Abu'l-Ma'ālī succeeded his father Sayf al-Dawla, the founder of Ḥamdānid rule over Aleppo, in 356/967, but after losing authority in the region was eventually exiled to Cairo in 394/1003–1004. M. Canard, 'Ḥamdānids', *EI*2.

THEN BEGAN THE YEAR 360 [970–971]

[More on Jawhar's administration]

In Muḥarram [November–December 970], illnesses and epidemics became rampant in Cairo. A deputation that had gone to the Maghrib returned with gifts and robes of honour.

In Ṣafar [December 970] Tibr, the [Ikshīdīd] commander Abu'l-Ḥasan, was whipped and his deposits were confiscated.

In Rabi' II [January–February 971], Tibr wounded himself and died a few days later. His body was then skinned and suspended on a cross until the wind tore it to pieces at al-Manẓar.

In Jumādā I [March 971], Jawhar prohibited the selling of roasted meat and ordered that it should be [sold] skinned.

In Jumādā II [March–April 971], Jawhar transferred the sessions for the *majlis al-maẓālim* (redress of grievances) to Sundays. He granted a thousand dinars to those who received salaries, and this was distributed among them. Shamūl came from Syria requesting safety. He was given seven robes of honour and was carried on two horses. He was presented with twelve bags of gold and silver coins. Sa'āda b. Ḥayyān²⁷⁰ came with a large army from the Maghrib, and when Jawhar received him, Sa'āda dismounted.

In Sha'bān [May–June 971], messengers came from the Maghrib bearing the head of Muḥammad b. Khazar²⁷¹ and 3,000 other heads. On Friday, 'Abd al-Samī' read out a message from al-Mu'izz announcing the news.²⁷² Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad b. Khazar al-Zanāti had been one of the most powerful rulers of the Maghrib and had held suzerainty over the Zanāta and other tribes. Abu'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf b. Zīrī b. Manād had attacked him while he was drinking with a few of his companions. When he was surrounded, he stabbed himself to death with his own sword on 17 Rabi' II 360

270. Sa'āda b. Ḥayyān was a Fatimid commander appointed governor of Ramla by Jawhar in 360/971. When he died a year later, his funeral was attended by Jawhar and Abū Ja'far Muslim led the prayer over him.

271. The Berber rebel Muḥammad b. Khazar had allied with the Umayyads of Spain against the Fatimids during al-Mahdī's time. Later he submitted to the Fatimids and was granted a pardon by al-Mu'izz. Al-Nu'mān, *Iftitāḥ al-da'wa*, trans., p. 195n345.

272. Idrīs ('*Uyūn*, p. 708), records the same information in greater detail and names Ibn Zūlāq as his source.

[16 February 971].²⁷³ His head was brought to al-Muʿizz three days before the end of the month.

[Qarāmiṭa incursion into Egypt]

In Shawwāl [July–August 971], Jawhar sent Saʿāda b. Ḥayyān as governor to Ramla. Disquieting rumours multiplied about the Qarāmiṭa, among them that Jaʿfar b. Falāḥ had been killed by the Qarāmiṭa and that they had taken possession of Damascus. So Jawhar began preparations to fight them. He built a trench²⁷⁴ over which he placed the two iron gates that used to be at the Ikshīdī Square.²⁷⁵ He built a stone bridge over the Khalij²⁷⁶ and distributed weapons among the Maghribī and Egyptian troops. He assigned a servant to Ibn al-Furāt, who was to be with him at his house and ride with him wherever he went. The inhabitants of Tinnīs attacked its governor and killed a number of people, among whom was an imam [who was killed] whilst he was facing the prayer niche. Strips of paper were found in the ʿAtīq Mosque containing warnings about Jawhar. Thereafter, he gathered the dignitaries and reprimanded them, so they apologised.

In Dhuʿl-Ḥijja [September–October 971], the Qarāmiṭa seized the town of Qulzum,²⁷⁷ capturing its governor, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b.

273. On this see also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 7: 35.

274. Al-Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 179–180) explains that Jawhar proceeded with this plan because Cairo was ‘a fortified location between the Qarāmiṭa and the capital of Egypt [i.e. Fuṣṭāṭ], to the exclusion of each other. He erected brick walls at the halting place where he had camped with his armies. He dug a trench in the direction of Syria so as to prevent the invasion of Cairo and what lay behind it by the Qarāmiṭa armies.’

275. The Ikshīdī ruler Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ṭughj had built this square near his garden. It later became known as al-Bustān al-Kāfūrī and the state’s horses were stationed there. When Jawhar captured Egypt, he camped near the garden and added it to Cairo. It subsequently became the Fatimid caliph’s garden connected by underground passages to the Great Palace. For a description of the Kāfūrī gardens see al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 271–272.

276. Al-Khalij was Cairo’s ancient city canal that was abandoned and levelled at the end of the 19th century.

277. Qulzum was an ancient town and seaport on the Red Sea at the current site of Suez. A canal begun by Pharaoh Necho, connecting the

Yūsuf,²⁷⁸ and took all his horses and camels.

The lowest measure of the water level [in that year] was five *adhru'* (cubits). Then the Nile rose to seventeen cubits and four *aṣābi'* (inches). Consequently, Jawhar invested Ibn Abī'l-Raddād with a robe of honour, showering gifts on him and presenting him with a mount.

In Muḥarram [November–December 970], Abū Sa'īd Yānis, one of the Ikhshidid commanders, died.

The [Ikhshidid] commander Abu'l-Ḥasan Tibr killed himself with an inkwell knife in the month of Rabi' II [January–February 971]. The commander Jawhar had him skinned and hung at al-Manẓar until the wind tore him to pieces.²⁷⁹

THEN BEGAN THE YEAR 361 [971–972]

In Muḥarram [October–November 971], some heads of the Banū Hilāl²⁸⁰ were brought [to Cairo].

In that year, al-Faramā was seized and the people of Tinnīs revolted. They transferred their allegiance [to the Abbasids] and adopted [the colour] black, so Jawhar's troops fought them. Some of those who had been vanquished by the Qarāmiṭa returned.

Nile with the Red Sea, had its mouth at Qulzum. Its main importance was as a point of departure for shipping on the Red Sea. E. Honigmann, 'al-Ḳulzum', *EI2*.

278. According to al-Shayyāl (ed., *Itti'āz*, 1: 129n4) the following is noted in the margin of the two manuscripts of *Itti'āz*: 'Abd al-'Azīz was the one who assisted [the poet] al-Mutannabī when he fled from Egypt in difficult times. He was hospitable to him and gave him possessions. Al-Mutannabī has devoted a couple of verses to 'Abd al-'Azīz in his *dīwān*.'

279. Al-Maqrīzī provides here further details on the death of Abu'l-Ḥasan mentioned earlier. The manner of his execution was the standard deterrent in medieval politics against serious cases of rebellion and banditry.

280. Originally from the Najd area of Arabia, the Banū Hilāl migrated to Egypt in the 2nd/8th century where they soon became numerous. In the 4th/10th century, the tribe joined forces with the Qarāmiṭa to harass the Fatimids. When the Qarāmiṭa were defeated in 368/978 by al-Mu'izz's successor al-'Azīz, many families from the Banū Hilāl were deported to Upper Egypt. See M. Brett, *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib* (Aldershot, 1999), articles VIII-IX, and H.R. Idris, 'Hilāl', *EI2*.

The Qarāmiṭa pursued them as far as ‘Ayn Shams.²⁸¹ Jawhar made preparations to fight them.²⁸² He closed the gates of the fortress and controlled people’s entry and exit. Four Egyptian soldiers were arrested and beheaded, and their bodies were suspended on crosses. He sent a message to Ibn al-Furāt, making him leave his house and settle in Cairo.

[The Qarāmiṭa besiege Cairo]

At the beginning of Rabī‘ I [December 971], the battle against the Qarāmiṭa raged at the gates of Cairo. This began on a Friday when a group of people from both sides were killed and a number were taken prisoner. On Saturday, the two sides fought and were equally matched. Early on Sunday, they resumed fighting. Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Bahrām, known as al-A’sam, the leader of the Qarāmiṭa, marched with his entire army to the trench, but the gate was bolted. At sunset, Jawhar opened the gate. They clashed in a fierce battle in which a large number of people were killed. Al-A’sam was defeated and most of his possessions, including chests [of money] and books, were plundered at al-Jubb²⁸³ while he fled in the night towards Qulzum. The Banū ‘Uqayl and the Banū Ṭayyi²⁸⁴ looted a great deal of his supplies. Jawhar made a public announcement in the city [declaring], ‘Whosoever brings the Qarmaṭi or his head will be rewarded 300,000 dirhams, fifty robes of honour and fifty riding beasts with decorated saddles.’

The day after the military encounter with the Qarāmiṭa, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ammār²⁸⁵ arrived from the Maghrib. An

281. ‘Ayn Shams was the ancient Egyptian city of Heliopolis that by this time had been reduced to ruins. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 1: 635–643.

282. According to Idrīs (*‘Uyūn*, p. 715) Jawhar was accompanied by Abū Ja’far Muslim and other *ashrāf*.

283. Al-Jubb is a place between Cairo and Bilbays.

284. The Banū Ṭayyi, like some other Arabian tribes, had emigrated north in pre-Islamic times, forming relations both with Persia and Byzantium. Though some remained pagan, the majority of the tribe adopted Christianity. Under Muslim rule they continued to perform an important role, forming part of the Umayyad army fighting with Mu’āwiya against ‘Alī at Ṣiffin in 37/657. The tribe later played a crucial part in Syria in the 4th/10th century during the Crusades. Irfan Shahid, ‘Ṭayyi’, *EI2*.

285. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ammār al-Kalbī was an Arab chief

army marched against the inhabitants of Tinnīs. Nine hundred Egyptian [i.e. Ikshidiyya] troops were arrested in one hour and shackled. Jawhar reinstated Ja'far b. al-Furāt over the fiscal administration. Sa'āda b. Ḥayyān set out with his army for Ramla, on account of the Qarāmiṭa, and entered the town. Al-A'ṣam al-Qarmaṭī advanced towards him, so Sa'āda retreated with his troops to Egypt.

In Ramaḍān [June–July 972], a blind, old woman who was singing in the street was arrested and imprisoned. Some people rejoiced and publicly praised the Companions [of the Prophet]. They shouted, 'Mu'āwiya is the maternal uncle of the believers and of 'Alī.'²⁸⁶ So Jawhar had it proclaimed in the 'Atīq Mosque, 'O people, watch your words and abandon loose talk. Indeed, we have imprisoned the old woman for her own protection. So let no one utter a word without knowing that grievous punishment will befall him.' Thereafter, the old woman was set free.

'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ibrāhīm al-Kilābī revolted in Upper Egypt. He adopted [the colour] black and summoned for the Abbasids. Jawhar sent forty warships against him along the river, under the command of Bishāra al-Nūbī. On land, he also sent an army under the command of Azraq. Consequently, al-Kilābī was captured, shackled in a cage and paraded along with those who were with him.

A fleet arrived from the Maghrib and sailed to Syria where it took prisoners and booty.

Jawhar ordered the raising of the [exchange rate of the] white dinars.

At the end of Dhu'l-Ḥijja [October 972], the Maghribīs plundered from the influential Banū Kalb family who ruled Sicily on behalf of the Fatimids for a century. When the Fatimid fleet arrived in Alexandria from the Maghrib in 361/972, he was appointed its commander-in-chief. He engaged the Qarmaṭī fleet in Tinnīs, capturing seven of their ships with 500 men, and again at al-Ḥawf with 10,000 men. Subsequently, he settled in Cairo and was appointed one of the guardians of al-Manṣūr, the future imam-caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh, by al-'Azīz prior to his demise. Al-Maqrizī, *Muqaffā*, 3: 433–438.

286. This was a form of insult used in pre-Fatimid Egypt and elsewhere to slur the pedigree of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and consequently the Shi'a. The statement was used to ascertain whether a person was Shi'i, in which case he would not affirm it. This would then be used as a pretext to humiliate and punish him. Al-Maqrizī provides a detailed account of hostilities against the Shi'a in pre-Fatimid Egypt in *Khiṭaṭ*, 3: 382–385.

various places in the capital [Fusṭaṭ]. So the subjects rebelled and fierce fighting broke out. Saʿāda b. Ḥayyān rode out to them and Jawhar compensated the people for what had been looted from them, accepting their word on it.

THEN BEGAN THE YEAR 362 [972–973]

[More on Jawhar's administration]

In Muḥarram [October–November 972], Jawhar fixed the value of dinars. He made the white dinars worth eight dirhams.

Five days before the end of the month, Saʿāda b. Ḥayyān died. Jawhar attended his funeral and al-Sharīf Muslim led the prayers for him.

In Rabīʿ I [December 972–January 973], the market supervisor, Sulaymān b. ʿAzza, dismissed a group of moneychangers. Some of them rioted and shouted, 'Muʿāwiya is the maternal uncle of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.' Jawhar was on the verge of torching the quarter of the moneychangers but held back because of fear for the mosque [of Al-Azhar] nearby.

In that month a decree was issued that the Jews must appear dressed in *al-ghiyār*.²⁸⁷

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār arrived with some ninety prisoners who were publicly reviled.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥusaynī came into Jawhar's presence wearing a dark-blue *ṭaylasān* (wrap).²⁸⁸ In the gathering were judges, scholars and certified witnesses. Jawhar disapproved of the dark-blue *ṭaylasān*, so he reached out and ripped it. This angered Ibn Ṭāhir and he protested. Jawhar ordered that it should be shred to pieces and so it was, whilst Jawhar burst out laughing. So Ibn Ṭāhir was left stripped of his outer garment. Then Jawhar stood up and brought out a turban and a green cloak, and with his own hands he donned the cloak on Ibn Ṭāhir and wrapped the turban around his head.

²⁸⁷ *Al-ghiyār* were distinctive clothes worn by non-Muslims in medieval times. M. Perlmann, 'Ghiyār', *EI2*.

²⁸⁸ *Ṭaylasān* is a Persian term for uncut and unstitched cloth worn by jurists, 'ulamā' and *qāḍīs* to designate their status. By donning a colour similar to the Abbasid black, ʿAbd Allāh was deemed to be challenging the Fatimid choice of white clothing.

On Tuesday 4 Muḥarram [15 October 972], a powerful earthquake shook Damascus and its districts for some time, destroying a number of towers in Antioch before quieting.

[Al-Mu'izz's departure for Egypt]

In the month of Rabī' II [January–February 973], successive news arrived of al-Mu'izz's departure for Egypt.²⁸⁹ A letter of his arrived from Qābis.²⁹⁰ Consequently, Jawhar began the preparations for his arrival. He started furnishing the palace and made extensions to it.

In the middle of Jumādā I [February 973], 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Hayj²⁹¹ died, whereupon he was skinned and his body suspended on a cross.

On 1 Rajab [6 April 973], Jawhar negotiated with the dignitaries to receive al-Mu'izz, so they began preparations for that. Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhīr, all the witnesses, the jurists and the prominent merchants went to Giza, vying with each other in their reception of al-Mu'izz. They stayed there for forty days until a letter came announcing al-Mu'izz's arrival at Barqa.²⁹² Thereafter, the *qāḍī* and those who were accompanying him, set out.

Al-Ḥasan b. 'Ammār advanced to al-Ḥawf with 10,000 men, where they battled against the Qarāmiṭa.

Five days before the end of Sha'bān [31 May 973], news came that al-Mu'izz had arrived at Alexandria. Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhīr and those accompanying him received al-Mu'izz. He gave a long address and

289. For a detailed account of al-Mu'izz's departure for Egypt and the various family members and state dignitaries who accompanied him, see Idrīs, *'Uyūn*, pp. 717–718.

290. Modern-day Gabes, a town in south-eastern Tunisia at the mouth of the river Qabis.

291. I have been unable to find any information on him in the sources available to me.

292. It was in Barqa that Ustādh Jawdhar, the trusted major-domo of al-Mu'izz, died. The caliph led his funeral prayer (Idrīs, *'Uyūn*, p. 718). Fortunately, the *Sīra* of al-Ustādh Jawdhar has survived the vagaries of time. It provides a rich, first-hand account of the activities of the Ustādh through the letters and notes that al-Mu'izz wrote to him about various official and family matters. The *Sīra* has been edited by M.K. Ḥusayn and M.A. Sha'īra (Cairo, 1954) and translated into French by M. Canard (Algiers, 1958); Hamid Haji is preparing a new edition and English translation for The Institute of Ismaili Studies.

told them that he had come not to seek more property or men, but only out of the desire to wage *jihād* and to secure victory for the Muslims.²⁹³ He presented a robe of honour to the *qādī*, rewarded him with gifts and gave him a mount.

Abū Ja'far Muslim and a group of the *ashrāf* received him in the region of Maḥallat Ḥafṣ.²⁹⁴ With them were the prominent people of the town. All of them dismounted for him as he drew nearer, so he stopped. Abū Ja'far Muslim was the first one to approach him. Then the dignitaries followed according to their rank. As he stood, they kissed the ground until they had all finished greeting him. Then he set out accompanied by Abū Ja'far Muslim. Whilst speaking to him, he asked about the *ashrāf*. So the prominent ones among them approached him. [They were] Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Adra', Abū Ismā'il al-Rassī, 'Īsā, the brother of Muslim, and 'Abd Allāh b. Yahyā b. Ṭāhir b. al-Suwayh.

Then he [al-Mu'izz] honoured al-Sharīf Muslim by ordering a riding animal with a litter for him as it was extremely hot and al-Sharīf Muslim was fasting. A she-camel with a decorated litter was brought for him, as well as a slave to ride by his side. Al-Mu'izz halted at Giza.

Commander Abu'l-Ḥasan Jawhar had [ruled] for four years and nineteen days.²⁹⁵

293. Idrīs ('*Uyūn*, p. 725) adds that al-Mu'izz said that he wished to spend the rest of his days performing good deeds according to the injunctions of his forefather, the Prophet Muḥammad. The source of this report is Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, trans., 3: 379.

294. Maḥallat Ḥafṣ is west of Damanhūr in the Delta region.

295. Ibn Khallikān records (*Wafayāt*, trans., p. 347) that the stewardship of the Fatimid state passed from Jawhar to the hands of al-Mu'izz's on Friday, 17 Muḥarram 363/18 October 973. Jawhar continued to command Fatimid campaigns in Syria during the rest of al-Mu'izz's reign into al-'Azīz's time. However, following his failure to take Damascus from Aftakīn in 365/976, he was relieved of command by al-'Azīz and retired. Jawhar continued to be held in esteem by the caliph and when he died in 381/992, al-'Azīz had a coffin made for him and led his funeral prayer. The caliph also sent his wife and heir al-Manṣūr (al-Ḥākim) to pay respects to Jawhar's family.

THE ARRIVAL OF AL-MU'IZZ IN EGYPT

Al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh left Ifrīqiya on Monday, eight days before the end of Shawwāl 361 [8 June 972].

On Monday, 24 Jumādā I 362 [2 March 973], he alighted at his palace outside Barqa.

He arrived at Alexandria on Friday, six days before the end of Sha'bān [29 May 973]. He camped beneath the lighthouse, [the morning] after which he set off.

When al-Mu'izz arrived at Giza a group that had remained went out to [receive] him. Jawhar built a bridge at Giza and another one at al-Mukhtār in al-Jazīra, so that he [al-Mu'izz] could go along with them to Fuṣṭāṭ and then to Cairo. Fuṣṭāṭ had been decorated for him but he did not pass through it.²⁹⁶ He entered [Cairo] accompanied by all those who had gone [earlier] to receive him, along with all his sons, brothers, paternal uncles and the rest of the sons of al-Mahdī. The coffins of his ancestors, al-Mahdī, al-Qā'im and al-Manṣūr, were also brought with him.²⁹⁷ His entry into Cairo and his arrival at his palace took place on Tuesday 7 Ramaḍān 362 [11 June 973].²⁹⁸ Thus, Egypt became the seat of a caliphate after having been the seat of an amirate.

The learned (*al-faqīh*) al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Zūlāq, may God have mercy on him, said, and I have copied from his own handwriting:

Aḥmad b. Ja'far related to me that one day al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh, upon him be peace, was in his father al-Mahdī's *majlis* (gathering), seated in front of him. His son, al-Manṣūr, was standing in front of his grandfather, when al-Mahdī said to him, 'Bring me your son', that is, al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh. So his nursemaid brought him. He was one year old or a little older. Al-Mahdī took him on his lap and kissed him. Then

296. The source for this appears to be Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, trans., 3: 380.

297. These were buried within the palace precincts in an area that came to be known as Turbat al-Za'farān. Al-Maqrīzī reports (*Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 161) that every time al-Mu'izz went out of the palace, on his return he would always go past this burial place and pay respect to his ancestors. He also did this every Friday and on the 'Īd al-Fiṭr and 'Īd al-Aḍḥā, and generously distributed alms.

298. Al-Maqrīzī relates the same account in *Khiṭaṭ* (2: 38, 109) and cites Ibn Zūlāq's *Sīrat al-Mu'izz* as his source.

he said to his son al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh, 'O Abu'l-Qāsim, there is not a gathering more illustrious on earth than this one, as four imams are gathered here', that is, al-Mahdī himself, his son al-Qā'im, his grandson al-Manšūr, and his great-grandson al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh.

Additionally, the parasol bearer (*ṣāhib al-miẓalla*), Abu'l-Faḍl Raydān, told me that al-Mahdī gathered them in a cloak and said, 'The Prophet of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, gathered in his garment three imams, in addition to himself, but in this cloak there are four imams.'

Ibn Zūlāq said: 'When al-Mu'izz arrived at his palace, he fell in prostration and prayed two *rak'as*. All those who had accompanied him joined him in prayer. He took up residence in his palace along with all his children, his retinue and his select servants. The palace had been equipped with everything: gold and silver, jewellery, gems, furnishings, vessels, clothes, weapons, baskets, sacks, saddles and reins. The entire treasury with all its contents was there; the palace had everything that kings possess.'²⁹⁹

The following day, which was a Wednesday, all the *ashrāf*, the judges, the scholars, the certified witnesses, the prominent people of the land and all other people came to congratulate al-Mu'izz.

On 10 Ramaḍān [14 June 973], al-Mu'izz issued a writ to the shaykhs in all the towns of Egypt. It said, 'The best of the people, after the Prophet of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, is 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, may peace be upon him.' He affirmed the name of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh and that of his son, Prince 'Abd Allāh.³⁰⁰

Al-Mu'izz wrote [a note] in his own hand to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muhadhdhab, the head of the treasury: 'O Muḥammad, undertake for us and for your master 'Abd Allāh the purchase of fresh and dried fruits and such like on a daily basis at the regular price. Do not let the messengers be known, lest there occurs obliga-

299. Al-Maqrīzī provides a detailed description of the palace in *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 106–109.

300. 'Abd Allāh, the second son of al-Mu'izz, was designated the *walī 'ahd* (heir apparent) in the Fatimid court prior to al-Mu'izz's departure for Egypt. Upon their arrival, 'Abd Allāh's name was publicly proclaimed throughout Fatimid domains. In 363/974 the prince led Fatimid armies against the Qarāmiṭa onslaught on Egypt. However, only a year later he died after a short illness. Al-Mu'izz appointed Nizār Abū Manšūr (the future al-'Azīz) as his successor shortly before his death.

tion or indulgence, and follow suit for the needs of the kitchen.'

In the middle of it [Ramaḍān], al-Mu'izz sat in his palace on the gold throne that Jawhar had prepared for him in the new courtyard. First he permitted the *ashrāf* into his presence, followed by the *awliyā'* and subsequently all the prominent people. Jawhar stood in front of him presenting the dignitaries, one group after another. Then Jawhar left, returning to display gifts before the dignitaries. These were:

150 horses with saddles and bridles, some of which were gilded, some inlaid with gems and some filled with ambergris;
 31 litters of Khurāsānī camels draped in silk-brocade with girdles and rugs, of which 9 were [draped] in heavy brocade;
 9 she-camels draped in heavy brocade;
 33 mules of which 7 were bridled and saddled;
 130 mules for transportation;
 90 thoroughbred camels;
 4 woven containers, through which one could see gold and silver goblets;
 100 swords ornamented in gold and silver;
 2 filigreed silver purses filled with jewels;
 Ornamented headgear in a case;
 900 woven baskets and clothes trunks, in which were placed all the treasures of Egypt that he had accumulated for him [al-Mu'izz].

Al-Mu'izz permitted his son 'Abd Allāh to be admitted into his presence.

Abū Ja'far Muslim b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī presented his gifts: eleven woven baskets of goods from Tūna,³⁰¹ Tinnīs and Damietta, and horses and mules. He said, 'I longed for al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh to wear one of the robes or to take pleasure in the turbans that were in the baskets, for no other caliph had ever had the likes of these made for him.'

Al-Mu'izz permitted a group of people to be admitted into his presence. He set free a number of the Ikhshīdiyya and the Kāfūriyya whom Jawhar had arrested previously. They numbered around one

301. One of the villages of Tinnīs and Damietta, well known for its clothes and sewing.

thousand people.

He [al-Mu'izz] said to Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir, 'How many caliphs have you seen?' He replied, 'I have not seen any caliph save our lord, al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, may God bless him.' Al-Mu'izz approved of this unexpected [pronouncement] from him, although he knew that Abū Ṭāhir had witnessed [the reigns of] al-Mu'taḍid, al-Muktafi, al-Muqtadir, al-Qāhir, al-Rāḍī, al-Muttaqī, al-Mustakfi and al-Muṭī'.³⁰² So he thanked him and appreciated his words.

[Al-Mu'izz leads 'īd prayer in Cairo]

On the day of 'Īd al-Fiṭr, al-Mu'izz rode out for the 'īd prayer to the *muṣallā* of Cairo that Jawhar had built.³⁰³ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Adra' al-Ḥusaynī arrived early and sat in the *muṣallā* under the dome. But the servants came and made him rise, inviting Abū Ja'far Muslim to sit there instead. Muḥammad was made to sit a little farther away. When al-Mu'izz led the prayer, Abū Ja'far was just behind and to his right.

Al-Mu'izz had arrived in regal attire, with his banners and litters. He led the complete, long 'īd prayer. First, he recited Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, followed by Sūrat al-Ghāshiya.³⁰⁴ Following the recitation, he pronounced 'Allāhu-Akbar'. Thereafter, he remained bowed and in prostration for a long time.

Ibn Zūlāq said:

In every *rak'a* and prostration, I recited the *tasbīḥ* after him [al-Mu'izz] more than thirty times.³⁰⁵ Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad relayed the *takbīr* after him. In the second *rak'a*, he recited Sūrat al-Fātiḥa and then Sūrat al-Ḍuḥā.³⁰⁶ After the recitation, he pronounced the *takbīr*.

302. These were all Abbasid caliphs who reigned from 279/892 to 363/974.

303. A.F. Sayyid notes in his edition of the *Itti'āz* that this *muṣallā* was built in Cairo by Jawhar in 358/969 and later renovated by al-Aziz. It had a great dome beneath which stood a pulpit and was used specifically for the 'īd prayers.

304. Qur'an, Suras 1 and 88.

305. The *tasbīḥ* is the glorification of God. In his *Da'ā'im* (trans., 1: 211, 214), al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān quotes the Shi'i Imam Ja'far al-Šādiq that the *tasbīḥ* be recited thirty-three times.

306. Qur'an, Suras 1 and 93.

This was the prayer of his forefather, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He remained in the position of the second bow and prostration for a long time. After every bow and prostration, I recited the *tasbiḥ* more than thirty times after him. At the beginning of each sura, he said aloud, 'In the name of God the most Gracious, the most Merciful'. A group of people who were reputedly learned disapproved of his recitations before the *takbīr* because of their limited knowledge and understanding.

When he had completed the prayer, he ascended the *minbar* (pulpit) and offered salutations to the people to the right and the left. Then he unfurled the two banners that had been placed on the *minbar*. He delivered the sermon with the banners hoisted in front of him. A heavy brocade cushion had been placed on the highest step of the *minbar*. He sat on it [during the time] between the two parts of the sermon. He commenced his sermon with, 'In the name of God, the most Gracious, the most Merciful'.

Accompanying him on the pulpit were Jawhar, 'Ammār b. Ja'far and Shafi', the parasol bearer. He began by pronouncing, 'God is Great, God is Great' and delivered the sermon with such eloquence that it brought tears to people's eyes. The sermon was delivered with humility and submission.³⁰⁷

After delivering the sermon, he left with his troops. He was followed by his four sons clad in armour and helmets, mounted on horses and in regal attire. In front of him were two elephants. When he reached the palace, he invited people to eat. He censured those who were late [in breaking the fast] and threatened those whom he was told were fasting on that day.

[Inauguration of the Nile Canal]

He (al-Mu'izz) reappointed Abū Sa'īd 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Thawbān over the administration of justice and the redress of grievances of the Maghribīs.

A number of Egyptians appealed to him for a legal decision, so he judged between them and had the verdict recorded. The certified witnesses of Fuṣṭāṭ testified before him and they bore witness to his judgements. This had never been seen before in Egypt. Abū Sa'īd appointed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Duwādī as his deputy.

307. The extant *khuṭbas* of Fatimid imam-caliphs, including al-Mu'izz, have been edited and translated by Paul E. Walker in *Orations of the Fatimid Caliphs: Festival Sermons of the Ismaili Imams* (London, 2009).

Al-Mu'izz forbade the announcing of the rising of the Nile. Jawhar and himself were to be solely informed in writing about it, and only when it had reached its level of sixteen cubits was the announcement to be made public.³⁰⁸

Al-Mu'izz presented Jawhar with a golden robe of honour and a red turban, and invested him with a sword. Twenty saddled and bridled horses were led past him and he was gifted 50,000 dinars, 200,000 dirhams and 80 trunks of clothes.³⁰⁹

Al-Mu'izz rode to al-Maqs to inspect his fleet.³¹⁰ He prayed for its protection. With him were Jawhar, al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān and the prominent people of the town. Then he returned to his palace.

A group of people who had ravaged the region of al-Qarāfa were beheaded.

In Dhu'l-Qa'da [August–September 973], the Cairo market was burnt down, after which it was rebuilt.

Al-Mu'izz rode in a grand procession to inaugurate the Khalij (Nile Canal),³¹¹ which was opened in his presence. He walked along

308. Al-Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, 1: 97) summarises the sagacity of these measures thus: 'Reflect on what a wonderful policy this was. For the people used to always halt by the Nile during the days of its increase. If it rose a little, they would get agitated and would discuss among themselves the absence of the rising of the Nile. Then they would hoard the produce and would refuse to sell it, in the hope of a rise in prices. Those who had wealth would stock up the produce, either to fetch high prices or to amass food for their family. Because of this, the prices increased dramatically. If the water increased, food prices fell, and if there was drought, then famine ensued. Keeping the increase of the Nile a secret from the common folk, therefore, had a great deal of advantages.'

309. This may well have been the formal ceremony where al-Mu'izz recognised Jawhar's exemplary services and took over from him stewardship of the state.

310. In his *Khiṭaṭ* (3: 317) al-Maqrīzī cites Ibn Abī Ṭayy that al-Mu'izz had 600 ships built for his naval fleet at al-Maqs: 'no ships of their kind had ever been seen before at any harbour'.

311. Al-Maqrīzī observes (*Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 302–303, from Ibn Zūlāq) that this was the first time that al-Mu'izz rode to open the Nile Canal at Cairo. He adds (from al-Musabbiḥī's *Akhbār Miṣr*) that this ceremony became an annual event that was observed by al-Mu'izz's successors al-'Azīz, al-Ḥākim and al-Ẓāhir. The cutting of the earthen dyke across the Khalij took place when the Nile was rising. The canal provided irrigation for areas north of Cairo and was opened before the river reached its ascendance. See

the bank of the Nile, passed through the steep slope and turned towards Birkat al-Ḥabash,³¹² and then along the desert to the trench that Jawhar had dug. The leading figures of the land followed him and Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Naṣr acquainted him with the area. News reached al-Mu'izz that Muḥammad, the brother of Abū Ismā'il al-Rassī, was attempting to escape to Syria, so he had him arrested and imprisoned him in fetters.

[Display of the Fatimid *shamsa*]

On the day of 'Arafa, al-Mu'izz displayed the *shamsa*,³¹³ which he had prepared for the Ka'ba, in the palace courtyard. Its width and length were twelve *shibr* (hand-spans). Its base was made of red brocade. On its circumference were twelve gold crescents. To each crescent was linked a gold sphere. In the heart of each sphere were fifty pearls, white as dove-eggs and studded with rubies red, yellow and blue. Around it were written verses from [Sūrat] al-Ḥajj³¹⁴ in green emeralds. Pearls, the likes and size of which had never been seen before, were inlaid in the writing. The *shamsa* was filled with powdered musk. People from within the palace and outside it could see the *shamsa* because of its elevated location. It was so heavy that it was hung by a number of attendants who had to drag it along.

The Commander of the Faithful, Ja'far al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh, was the first [Abbasid] caliph to prepare the *shamsa* for the Ka'ba.³¹⁵

Lev, *State and Society*, p. 168, and Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City*, pp. 176–199 and n285.

312. This pond was located south of Fuṣṭāṭ, between the Nile and the mountains.

313. The *shamsa* is a large ornamental cloth hung in front of the Ka'ba during the pilgrimage season. It is symbolic of the sun, having twelve arms like rays to represent the twelve months of the year, and crescents hanging at the tips of these rays for the lunar months. As al-Maqrīzī goes on to report here, the ceremony of sending the *shamsa* annually to the Ka'ba was initiated by the Abbasids and then continued by the Fatimids when the Hijaz came under their rule.

314. Qur'an, Sura 22.

315. This paragraph is found in the margins of some manuscripts of the *Itti'āz* and forms part of the text in others. In A.F. Sayyid's forthcoming edition it is included in a footnote. This translation follows al-Shayyal's edition to maintain continuity of narrative.

He sent a gold chain on which hung the ruby which al-Ma'mūn had sent [in his time]. It was hung every year on the front of the Ka'ba. This chain was brought every [pilgrimage] season along with a *shamsa* studded with pearls, rubies and precious gems. It was brought by a leader from Iraq and delivered to the doorkeepers of the Ka'ba, who attested that they had received it. They would then hang it on the sixth of the eight days. It stayed there until it was removed on the day of *tarwiyya*.³¹⁶

The following morning al-Mu'izz went along with his troops for the 'Īd al-Naḥr prayers. He prayed as he had for the 'Īd al-Fiṭr prayers as regards the recitation: the *takbīr*, the long duration of the *rak'a* and the prostration. He then gave the sermon and departed wearing his robe. When he arrived at the palace, he permitted everyone to enter the hall (*īwān*) where the *shamsa* was displayed. No one was refused admittance, whether from Egypt, Syria or Iraq. The people of Iraq and Khurāsān, and those who were proceeding to the pilgrimage, remarked that they had never [before] seen a *shamsa* like it. The jewellers and prominent merchants stated that the *shamsa* was invaluable and that [in comparison] the *shamsa* of the Abbasids was in the main crafted from some semi-precious stones. It was also a quarter of the size of this one.

The *shamsa* that Kāfūr had made for his master Ūnūjūr b. al-Ikhshīd, which was transported to the *ḥaram* by Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Mūsawī, then by his son Abu'l-Ḥusayn, and after him his son [Abū] Muslim, followed by his brother Abū Turāb, until commander Jawhar took it from him, was similar [to the Abbasid one].³¹⁷

Al-Mu'izz invited eminent people for a meal, of which they partook.

316. Eighth day of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, before the day of 'Arafa.

317. In the *Khiṭaṭ* (2: 109), al-Maqrizī has a similar report of the Fatimid *shamsa* from Ibn Muyassar: 'No one from Egypt, Syria and Iraq was left out from seeing the *shamsa*, the like of which had never, ever been seen. The jewellers said that it was priceless and that the Abbasid *shamsa* was but a quarter of its size, as was the *shamsa* of Kāfūr that he had made for his master Ūnūjūr, which he then carried to the *ḥaram*.' This is also noted by al-Shayyāl, ed., *Itti'āz*, 1: 140n1.

[Celebration of ʿĪd al-Ghadīr]

News came that the Qarāmiṭa fleet had arrived by sea at Tinnīs. A battle ensued between the people of Tinnīs and the Qarāmiṭa. The latter were defeated, a number of their ships were seized and a group of them were taken prisoner. Askar was plundered.³¹⁸ This grieved al-Muʿizz and so terrified the people that they only prayed over their deceased without accompanying the hearse. Instead, the gravediggers carried the bodies along. This was not acceptable to al-Muʿizz. Consequently, he assured safety for the people.

On 18 Dhu'l-Ḥijja [19 September 973], the day of Ghadīr Khumm,³¹⁹ a group of people from Egypt and the Maghribīs gathered for prayers (*duʿāʾ*). Al-Muʿizz appreciated this, and it was the first time that ʿĪd al-Ghadīr was celebrated in Egypt.³²⁰

There arrived from Tinnīs 173 prisoners and some heads. With them were lowered Qarmaṭī banners and some of their weapons. This was announced in the city and al-Muʿizz watched them go past from over the high point of the palace gates.

Rioting broke out in the city, during which the Maghribīs looted some subjects. So Jawhar rode out in search of the plunderers. He had them arrested and flogged.

At the end of Dhu'l-Ḥijja [September 973], the imam of the mosque at al-Qarāfa, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Samīʿ, was skinned³²¹ on his way to al-Qarāfa. So the people of al-Qarāfa Mosque left without reciting their Friday prayers.

Jawhar brought a group of people from Tinnīs and demanded that they pay the blood money for the Maghribīs who had been killed in their town. Initially he insisted that they were to pay 200,000 dinars. Subsequently he settled for 100,000 dirhams.

318. A place near al-Qarāfa in present-day Cairo.

319. The Shi'ī festival to commemorate the Prophet's designation of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as his successor during his farewell pilgrimage in 10/631–632. Al-Maqrīzī provides interesting insights concerning the observance of this festival during Fatimid times in *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 217–219.

320. Ibn Zūlāq is the source of this report in *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 117.

321. 'Sulikha' in the Arabic text. This is clearly an error as a few lines below, under the years 363–364 [973–974], al-Maqrīzī reports that the same ʿAbd al-Samīʿ was serving as imam of the ʿAtīq Mosque. If ʿAbd al-Samīʿ had a son called Muḥammad, the *Ittiʿāz* and other sources remain silent on him.

The level of the Nile [had] decreased to six cubits and two inches. The new water level increased to seventeen cubits and two inches. Al-Mu'izz bestowed a reward of a robe of honour and mount-loads of gifts on the person in charge of measuring the Nile. He also raised his rank.

In this month, both Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sahmī, the *qāḍī* of Mecca, and al-Ishbīlī, the *qāḍī* of the Maghribīs in Egypt, died.

THEN BEGAN THE YEAR 363 [973–974]

The Commander of the Faithful was al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh. His deputy was commander Jawhar.

The chief judge was Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Aḥmad.

The responsibility over the land-tax was divided: 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ṭabāṭabā and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Aṭā Allāh [were responsible for collecting the first half] and the second half lay with al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh and al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Rūdhbārī.

In charge of the treasury was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muhadhdhab.

The parasol bearer was Shafi' al-Ṣiqillī.

[Al-Mu'izz's] physician was Mūsā b. al-Āzār.³²²

The heads of the *al-shurṭa al-suflā* were 'Arūba b. Ibrāhīm and Shibl al-Ma'raḍī.

The head of the higher police *al-shurṭa al-'ulyā* was Khayr b. al-Qāsim.

The imam of the 'Atiq Mosque and the one responsible for the sermons was 'Abd al-Samī' b. 'Umar al-'Abbāsī.

The imam responsible for the five prayers was al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Khayyāṭ.

Sixteen days before the end of Muḥarram [14 October 973], al-Mu'izz appointed the wazir Abu'l-Faraj Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf [b.

322. Mūsā b. al-Āzār was a trusted court physician to whom the Fatimid caliphs appeared to have occasionally confided some thoughts. For example, al-Manṣūr informed him of a dream he had prophesying his victory over the Khārijī rebel Abū Yazīd in 366/976–977. The physician was also given the privilege of enthroning al-'Azīz following the demise of al-Mu'izz.

Killis]³²³ and 'Uslūj b. al-Ḥasan to oversee the land-tax and all other taxes, the supervision of markets, the river coast, the poll-tax, religious endowments, inheritance, the two *shurṭas*, and all other related responsibilities over Fuṣṭāṭ and all the provinces.³²⁴ He [al-Mu'izz] issued a decree (*sijill*) to that effect which was read out on Friday from the pulpit of the Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn Mosque. The authority of all the other administrators was thus relinquished.

The following day they took up their posts at the Dār al-Imāra³²⁵ in the Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn Mosque to announce matters concerning estates and all other sources of revenue. The people came out [because] of concern about the taxes levied by the tax farmers. They demanded the remainder of the money for which the landowners, the tax farmers and the *'ummāl* (tax collectors) were liable. They [Ya'qūb and 'Uslūj] thoroughly investigated the claims and examined the grievances.

In that year, the Maghribīs spread to the areas of al-Qarāfa and al-Ma'āfir. They settled in houses, dislodging people from their homes and displacing the residents. They began inhabiting the city,

323. Abu'l-Faraj Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf b. Killis (d. 380/991) was a seasoned administrator by the time he entered the services of al-Mu'izz in 356/966–967. He began his career under Kāfūr in 331/942–943 and after the latter's death sought refuge with the Fatimids in North Africa. He became an influential adviser to al-Mu'izz and encouraged him to invade Egypt. Having converted to Islam from Judaism in 356/966–967, Ya'qūb was appointed the first Fatimid wazīr in Egypt, making him a powerful figure in the administrations of al-Mu'izz and al-'Azīz. He liked to assemble learned men at his residence to read from his work on Ismaili jurisprudence. Ibn Khallikān provides a detailed and complimentary account of Ibn Killis drawn from a variety of sources in his *Wafayāt*, trans., 4: 359–368.

324. Al-Maqrīzī cites Ibn Zūlāq's *Sīrat al-Mu'izz* as the source of this information in his *Khiṭaṭ*, 3: 203. The appointment of Ya'qūb b. Killis and the senior Maghribī officer 'Uslūj b. al-Ḥasan to reform the revenue collection and financial system of Egypt following the fiscal disorder of the late Ikshhidid period proved to be highly successful, enriching the treasury and contributing to the country's prosperity. For a Fatimid perspective on how a governor should look after the affairs of the *ahl al-kharāj* (land-tax payers), see al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, trans., 1: 449–451.

325. According to Ibn Zūlāq (cited in al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3: 203), the Dār al-Imāra was a government building near the Ibn Ṭulūn Mosque used for storing furniture and other equipment. When al-Mu'izz arrived in Egypt, he converted it into a place for storing *kharāj* funds.

even though al-Mu'izz had ordered them to live on its outskirts. The people went to seek help from al-Mu'izz. Thus he ordered them to reside in the areas of 'Ayn Shams. Al-Mu'izz personally rode out to see the sites on which they had settled. He ordered that they should be given money so they could build houses. Today this place is known as Khandaq and Khandaq al-'Abid. He appointed an administrator and a judge over them. He settled most of them in the city, mingling them with the Egyptians, even though Jawhar had not permitted them to reside in the city or to spend a night in it, cautioning them against it. His [Jawhar's] public announcers used to proclaim every evening: 'None of the Maghribīs is to spend a night in the city.'

On the day of Āshūrā³²⁶ a group of [Twelver] Shi'a, along with their followers, returned from the shrines of the tombs of Kulthūm bint Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq³²⁷ and Nafīsa.³²⁸ Accompanying them was a group of Maghribī horsemen and foot soldiers, mourning and weeping for al-Ḥusayn. They broke water-pots in the markets, ripped the waterskins of the water carriers and cursed those who shopped on that day. A group of people protested at this. Then Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Ammār went to them and separated the two groups. If he had not done so the trouble would have intensified, for the people had shut their shops and suspended the markets. The Shi'a felt strengthened by al-Mu'izz's presence in Egypt.³²⁹

Egypt was not devoid of strife at the tombs of Kulthūm and Nafīsa bint al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib on the day of Āshūrā' during Ikshīdīd and Kāfūrīd times. Kāfūr's *sūdān* (black troops) were biased against the Shi'a; they would harass people on the streets by asking them, 'Who is your maternal uncle?' If they answered, 'Mu'āwiya', they would honour them. If, however, they remained silent, they would be hostile to them and would seize their clothes and possessions, to the extent that Kāfūr had to appoint

326. 'Āshūrā' is commemorated by the Shi'a on the tenth of Muḥarram.

327. Kulthūm, a grand-daughter of Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, died in Egypt where her shrine is much visited in Cairo to this day.

328. The tomb of Sayyida Nafīsa is another of Cairo's important shrines. She was the daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan, a descendant of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Ibn Taghri Birdī, *al-Nujūm*, 2: 185–186.

329. Ibn Zūlāq's *Sīrat al-Mu'izz* is the source of this report in al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 212.

someone to supervise the desert gates and prohibit people from leaving.

When Ya'qūb b. Killis and 'Uslūj b. al-Ḥasan al-Wanhājī were in charge of the estate contracts, the [state] revenue became plentiful and additions were made to the estates. So the people gave vent to their opinions.

In Ṣafar [October–November 973], approximately 200 heads that had been brought from the Maghrib were paraded.

A cousin of al-Mu'izz died, so he led the prayer over him and recited the *takbīr* seven times, whereas over others he pronounced it five times. This was the *madhhab* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, that he would perform the [number of] *takbīrs* for the deceased according to his rank.

Ishāq b. Mūsā,³³⁰ the physician of al-Mu'izz, died, so the latter appointed in his place his brother, Ismā'īl b. Mūsā.

[The collection of land-tax]

Ya'qūb and 'Uslūj refused to accept the land-tax except in *mu'izzī* dinars, so the value of the *rāqī* dinars plummeted and its rate dropped by more than a quarter of a dinar. Consequently people suffered a loss. The rate of the *mu'izzī* dinar was fifteen and a half dirhams.

The collection of land-tax was intensified, which al-Mu'izz ensured in order to recover the wealth that he had expended on Egypt, for he arrived in Egypt thinking that money had already been collected. Instead, he found that it had been spent on provisions and the large number of troops in Egypt. The exact amount that al-Mu'izz spent in Egypt was neither recorded nor known except to himself and his treasurers.

Some of the secretaries in his treasury told me, 'We carried empty sacks to Egypt, for we spent all that was in them, that is, four loads carried on two camels.'

330. Ishāq b. Mūsā was a Jewish physician who accompanied al-Mu'izz from the Maghrib to Egypt along with his father and brothers. In his *Muqaffā* (2: 57), al-Maqrizī mentions Ishāq's father Mūsā as also having been al-Mu'izz's personal physician. He adds that Ishāq was appointed to govern the affairs of the country and, more specifically, al-Mu'izz's treasury, and that he had a great deal of influence and authority.

Ya'qūb and 'Uslūj exerted themselves in the collection of the land-tax; thus, in excess of 50,000 *mu'izzī* dinars were collected in one day. The money was taken without recourse to acquittance, produce [of the land] and promissory notes. Thus, 120,000 *mu'izzī* dinars were collected in one day. On another day in excess of 220,000 dinars were collected from the wealth of Tinnīs, Damietta and al-Ashmūnayn. The likes of this collection had been unheard of in the land, except in the time of al-'Azīz when Khayr b. al-Qāsim, 'Alī b. 'Umar al-'Addās and 'Abd Allāh b. Khalaf al-Murṣadī had collected 220,000 *'azīzī* dinars in three days. Seventy-four thousand dinars were collected on the first day and the rest of the amount on the other two days. This was in the year 374 [984–985].

In the month of Rabī' II [December 973–January 974], there were increased rumours concerning the spread of the Qarāmiṭa in the provinces of Syria. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh, the brother of Abū Ja'far Muslim, was with them.³³¹ Al-Mu'izz wrote to him after he had complained to his brother, Muslim.

[Audiences with al-Mu'izz]

In that month, the dignitaries entered the palace of al-Mu'izz. Among them were the *ashrāf*, the administrators, the commanders, the rest of the *awliyā'* among the Kutāma and others. A person said to one of the *ashrāf*, 'Have a seat, O *sharīf*,' and someone from the Kutāma interjected, 'Is there any other *sharīf* in the world apart from our master? If anyone other than him had claimed that, we would have killed him.'

Then the dignitaries received permission to go [to the palace]. Al-Mu'izz had heard of the incident, so when he sat on his throne and permitted the dignitaries to be seated he said: 'O members of my family and my cousins from the progeny of Fāṭima, you are my

331. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh (Akhū Muslim) had been appointed governor of Ramla by Kāfūr in 357/968. Upon Kāfūr's death, 'Abd Allāh continued to exert his rule. He then joined forces with the Qarāmiṭa against the Fatimids, ravaging many towns in the Delta. Much to the consternation of his brother Abū Ja'far Muslim who had established cordial relations with al-Mu'izz, 'Abd Allāh continued to oppose the Fatimids until his death in 363/973–974, which ironically occurred at the hands of the Qarāmiṭa. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 4: 588–589.

kin and you are the armour (*al-ʿudda*). We do not approve of what has been said. Whoever said what we were told has erred. By the blessings of God, you have exalted nobility and uterine kinship. If we were ever to hear again what we have heard, we will mete out severe punishment to him.'

The assemblage kissed the ground, prayed for him and thanked him. The person who had interjected earlier was present, subdued and remorseful.

Al-Muʿizz recounted a dream in which he saw the Prophet of God, blessings of God be upon him. He was seated and in front of him were swords, among which was Dhu'l-Fiḡār.³³² 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib lifted the Dhu'l-Fiḡār and struck at the neck of al-Aʿṣam al-Qarmaṭī; Ḥamza³³³ did likewise to the brother of al-Aʿṣam, and Jaʿfar³³⁴ struck someone else's neck. Al-Muʿizz prostrated and kissed the feet of the Prophet, blessings of God be upon him. People transcribed this dream.

Money from the *al-aḥbās* (religious endowments) was transferred from chests to the treasury assigned to fund pious deeds.³³⁵ Those who were in charge of endowments were asked for its stipulations so they would be held accountable for it.

Al-Muʿizz learnt that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr had seized the endowment of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ,³³⁶ and turned it into crown land for the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the rightful ruler, and

332. Dhu'l-Fiḡār, the renowned sword of the Prophet and, after him, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Here it is a symbolic reference to the hope of impending Fatimid victory over the Qarāmiṭa.

333. Ḥamza was an uncle of the Prophet and reputed for his valour. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, pp. 38–39.

334. Jaʿfar was a brother of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who died fighting against the Byzantines in 8/629. Ibid., p. 42.

335. During al-Muʿizz's time, the practice of depositing endowments with *qāḍīs* was regulated by a separate *dīwān* within the chancellery. Ibn al-Ṭuwayr reported that serving in the *dīwān al-aḥbās* was considered a religious obligation and a matter of prestige. On the regulation of endowments in Egypt, see al-Maqrizī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 3: 266.

336. 'Amr b. al-Āṣ was the Muslim commander who conquered Egypt and was appointed as its governor by the second caliph, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He was also an advisor to Mu'āwiya, the first Umayyad ruler, and enabled him to get the upper hand in the battle of Ṣiffin against 'Alī in 37/657. A.J. Wensinck, 'Amr b. al-Āṣ (al-Āṣī) al-Sāhmī', *EI2*.

that when 'Amr b. al-Āṣ returned to Egypt, he had turned it again into an endowment in the time of Mu'āwiya. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān had extracted this information from the work of Abū 'Umar al-Kindī. He carried the money to al-Mu'izz, who said, 'This money belongs to us, so bring it to us separately from the money of the endowments', and so it was done.

In Rabi' II [December 973–January 974], the Maghribis revolted in the desert of al-Maqābir and plundered the population. Al-Mu'izz disapproved of this and a group of them were arrested.

In that month, al-Mu'izz became ill and went into seclusion. This agitated the people as no one had seen him for some time.

In Jumādā I [January–February 974], there were alarming rumours concerning the Qarāmiṭa. The collection of the land-tax intensified and people were prohibited from attending the *diwān* (chancellery) so that they would not know how much money had been collected. Al-Mu'izz granted an audience to the dignitaries and they were pleased about his well-being.

Abū Ja'far Muslim took a copy of the Qur'an that was said to have belonged to Yaḥyā b. Khālīd b. Barmak.³³⁷ Muslim had purchased it for 400 dinars. When al-Mu'izz saw it he said, 'I see that you are pleased with it and it is deserving of admiration, but let us also show you something we are proud of.' He called for a copy of the Qur'an that [opened out] in two halves; a more splendid sample of script, gild and binding had never before been seen. Then he said, 'This is in al-Manṣūr's handwriting and he gilded it and bound it with his own hands.' Muslim said to him, 'Is there a Qur'an in the handwriting of our master al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, upon him be peace?' He answered, 'Yes.' He brought out a Qur'an in two parts. He [Muslim] responded, 'I have not seen more exquisite handwriting than this.' Al-Mu'izz replied, 'After seeing al-Manṣūr's handwriting you say, "I have not seen handwriting that is more exquisite than this." Indeed it is more beautiful than your handwriting!' Then he laughed and said, 'I wished to joke with you.' Whenever Abū Ja'far Muslim used to mention al-Mu'izz, he would say, 'I wish my father and my grand-

337. Yaḥyā b. Khālīd (d. 190/805) was the son of Khālīd b. Barmak, advisor to the second Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr. He belonged to the Barmakid family which produced the first Persian ministers of the Abbasid caliphate. Dominique Sourdel, 'al-Barāmika', *EI*2.

father had seen al-Mu'izz, for they would have been proud of him. I cannot compare any of the Umayyad or Abbasid caliphs with him.'

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī'l-Ḥusayn, a close companion of al-Mu'izz, died. Al-Mu'izz attended [the funeral], even though he was still ill. He directed al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad to wash and shroud the body. He led the prayer over him in the evening. He opened the coffin and laid him to rest on his side.

Nineteen days after this, on the first of Rajab [28 March 974], al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad passed away. Al-Mu'izz came out to express his grief for him. He led the prayer and laid him to rest on his side in the coffin. He was buried in his own house in Cairo.³³⁸

In Sha'bān [April–May 974], Abū Ja'far [al-Muslim] came into the presence of al-Mu'izz. When he was in the centre of the courtyard, his brother 'Īsā said to him, 'Prince 'Abd Allāh is in the gathering, so greet him.' There were a number of people in the assembly. Abū Ja'far entered the presence of al-Mu'izz and kissed the ground. He remained standing and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, I was told by my father on the authority of his father, on the authority of his grandfather, on the authority of Ishāq b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad, who said, "My brother 'Abd Allāh and I entered in the presence of Ya'qūb b. Šāliḥ b. al-Manšūr who was the ruler of Medina at that time. He [Ya'qūb] said, 'From where have the two shaykhs come?' They replied, 'From the Prophet of God, blessings of God be upon him. We greeted him and then came to you.' Then he asked, 'Did you greet his two companions?' We answered, 'No.' He exclaimed, 'Glory be to God, why did you not greet his two companions?' My brother 'Abd Allāh responded, 'O Prince, by God, I ask you, which of the two is closer, this son of yours in relation to you, or the two Companions of the Prophet of God in relation to him?' He countered, 'This son of mine.' So they said, 'If in your gathering,

338. On this Fatimid *dā'ī*, jurist and author, see notes 63–65 above. Upon al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's demise, al-Mu'izz is reported to have eulogised his illustrious contribution to the Fatimid house by pronouncing the following: 'Whoever presents a tenth of what al-Nu'mān has accomplished, I guarantee him paradise on behalf of God' (Idris, *Uyūn*, p. 569). This tradition of serving the Fatimid cause with distinction was continued by the subsequent generations of al-Nu'mān's family: two of his sons, two grandsons and one great-grandson served as chief *qāḍī* and chief *dā'ī* in the Fatimid state.

we did not greet your son out of respect for you, then should we greet the two Companions of the Prophet of God in his presence?' He responded, 'By God, you did not fall short.'"' Then Muslim requested, 'Grant me permission, O Commander of the Faithful, that I may greet the Prince 'Abd Allāh.' Al-Mu'izz granted him the permission. 'Isā said, 'al-Mu'izz was respectful to Muslim.'

In that month, there were alarming rumours that the vanguard of the Qarāmiṭa had invaded the rural areas of Lower Egypt and the suburbs of al-Maḥalla. They plundered and extorted the land-tax, and then returned to the provinces of Syria.

Al-Mu'izz ordered the Maghribīs to withdraw from Fuṣṭāṭ and live in Cairo instead, and they did so.

Al-Mu'izz reinstated Khayr b. al-Qāsim as the head of *al-shurṭa al-'ūlyā*. He vigorously pursued the departure of the Maghribīs to Cairo.

Al-Mu'izz's illness relapsed, so he secluded himself and was not seen by anyone for days. Then he sat among the dignitaries who paid homage to him and offered themselves for battle. He thanked them for that.

A Qarmaṭī raiding party arrived at the suburbs of al-Ḥawf. The Qarmaṭī had sent 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh, Akhū Muslim, to Upper Egypt. He descended on the outskirts of Asyūṭ and Ikhmīm, and waged war against the administrators and extorted revenues. This weighed heavily on al-Mu'izz. He rebuked Abū Ja'far Muslim, who sought pardon and dissociated himself from his brother's actions. Al-A'ṣam al-Qarmaṭī descended upon Bilbays with his troops, so al-Mu'izz made preparations to restrain and repel him.

At this point I would like to give an account of the Qarāmiṭa because of their repeated incursions into Egypt.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME NEWS ON THE QARĀMIṬA³³⁹

[The conversion of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ]

When al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī³⁴⁰ left as a *dā'ī* for Iraq, he met Ḥamdān b. al-Ash'ath Qarmaṭ³⁴¹ in the Sawād of Kūfā,³⁴² who had an ox that he used for carrying goods. They journeyed together on foot for some time when Ḥamdān said to al-Ḥusayn, 'I notice that you have come from a long journey and that you are exhausted, so come and ride on my ox.' Al-Ḥusayn replied, 'I was not directed to do that.' Ḥamdān said to him, 'It is as if you are acting upon a command that has been given to you.' Al-Ḥusayn answered, 'Yes.' Ḥamdān asked, 'Who is it that commands and prohibits you?' Al-Ḥusayn responded, 'My owner and yours, the one to whom belongs this world and the hereafter.' Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ was astonished; he pondered and said, 'O you, no-one except God is the possessor of what you mention.' Al-Ḥusayn responded, 'You are right. But God grants His dominion

339. Al-Maqrīzī provides a comprehensive entry on the Qarāmiṭa in his *Muqaffā* (3: 287–302) where, on many occasions, the account narrated in the *Itti'āz* is repeated verbatim. Much of the account provided by al-Maqrīzī regarding the Qarāmiṭa relies upon a work of Sharīf Abu'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. 'Alī, known as Akhū Muḥsin, written shortly after 372/983, which is no longer extant. Though alleged to be a descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, Akhū Muḥsin intended his work to be a refutation of the Ismailis and their doctrines. Akhū Muḥsin in turn relied heavily on the work of another anti-Ismaili polemicist, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Rizām, who wrote during the first half of the 4th/10th century. Both authors avowedly sought to discredit the Fatimids and the Qarāmiṭa and, over the course of time, these became the established sources of information for writers such as al-Maqrīzī. See Madelung, 'The Fatimids and the Qarmaṭīs', pp. 21–74, and F. Daftary, 'A Major Schism in the Early Ismā'īlī Movement', *Studia Islamica*, 77 (1993), pp. 123–139, for further discussion of source materials on the Qarāmiṭa.

340. A prominent *dā'ī* and close associate of the imam al-Mahdī in Salamiyya, Syria, al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī was sent to southern Iraq where, in 264/877–878, he met and converted Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ to the Ismaili cause.

341. On Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ see note 10 above.

342. The Sawād is a fertile agricultural area in southern Iraq and homeland of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ where, largely due to the activities of Ḥamdān and his brother-in-law 'Abdān, the early Ismaili *da'wa* met with considerable success.

to whom He wishes.' Ḥamdān asked, 'What is it that you want in the village that you asked me about?'

When al-Ḥusayn had seen Qarmaṭ along the way, he had asked him, 'What is the way to Qass Bahrām?', Qarmaṭ told him that he was heading towards it. Then he asked about a village known as Bātnūrā in the Sawād. So he responded that it was a village near his own. Qarmaṭ was from a village called al-Dūr along the River Hadd in the rural district of Mahrūsā, which was in the region of Furāt Bādfuli.

He was called Qarmaṭ because he was short and had short legs, and his stride was small.

When he asked al-Ḥusayn, 'What do you want from the village you asked me about?', he replied, 'A travelling bag has been given to me that contains knowledge and a secret of God, and I have been ordered to restore this village, to enrich its inhabitants and rescue them, and enable them to possess what their masters have.'

He began to call him [Ḥamdān] to the *da'wa*, whereupon Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ said, 'O you, by God, I implore you, are you not going to give me some of the knowledge that you possess and save me, may God save you?'

[Al-Ḥusayn] countered, 'That is not permissible unless I take a covenant and an oath from you that God took from His prophets and His messengers.³⁴³ Then I can impart something which will be of benefit to you.'

He [Qarmaṭ] continued beseeching him until they sat by the roadside and he [al-Ḥusayn] took the oath from him. Then he asked, 'What is your name?'

He said, 'Qarmaṭ.'³⁴⁴

Then Qarmaṭ said to him, 'Come with me to my house so that you can stay with me, for I have brethren whom I can present to you and from whom you can take the oath for the *mahdī*.'

So he went with him to his place. He took the oath from the people and stayed in the house of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ. He [Qarmaṭ] was pleased with his affair and extolled him. Al-Ḥusayn was extremely humble. He fasted during the day and passed his nights

343. Allusion to Qur'an 3: 81.

344. This line is missing from al-Shayyāl's edition but present in Sayyid's edition.

in vigil. His host for the night would consider himself blessed. He [al-Ḥusayn] used to sew clothes for them, thereby earning a living. They felt blessed by him and his tailoring.

The fruit season arrived and Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Shihāb al-'Adawī, who was among the learned and eminent notables of Kūfa, needed someone to watch over his fruit. Al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī was described to him. So he appointed him to safeguard his fruit and stay in his orchard. [Al-Ḥusayn] protected the fruit well and diligently fulfilled the trust placed in him. He was vigilant in doing that, unlike most people there who were negligent in many of their matters. That was in the year 264 [877–878].

People's trust in him [al-Ḥusayn] was strengthened, as was his trust and confidence in Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, so he [al-Ḥusayn] disclosed his affair to him. Amongst what he preached was a letter that he had brought with him and in which was written:

In the name of God the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful. Al-Faraj b. 'Uthmān³⁴⁵ says that he is the *dā'ī* of the Messiah who is Jesus, who is the Word (*kalima*) and the *mahdī*, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya³⁴⁶ and Gabriel; and that the Messiah has manifested himself in a human body and said, 'You are the *dā'ī*, the *ḥujja* (proof),

345. Madelung ('The Fatimids and the Qarmaṭīs', pp. 25–28) has analysed this report from al-Faraj b. 'Uthmān who Ibn Khaldūn speculates to be Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh. According to Madelung, the rituals described in this section are contrary to the early Ismaili tradition and their provenance is uncertain.

346. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was a son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib through the latter's marriage with a woman of Banu'l-Ḥanafīyya and was portrayed by al-Mukhtār as imam after the death of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, even though Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was reluctant to accept such a role. It is this statement of al-Faraj b. 'Uthmān that led some scholars to assert that the Qarāmiṭa originally adhered to a Ḥanafī succession of imams. While the character of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya is unknown, Madelung postulates that this 'invention' of the figure of Ahmad was done to challenge the Abbasids who had sought legitimacy to their own claim of leadership by claiming the transference of imamate from one of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's sons. See Bernard Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'īlism*, pp. 76ff, and Madelung, 'The Fatimids and the Qarmaṭīs', p. 26.

the *nāqa* (she-camel),³⁴⁷ the *dābba* (riding beast),³⁴⁸ Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā' (John the Baptist), and the Holy Spirit.'

He [al-Ḥusayn] taught him [Qarmat] that the prayer has four *rak'āt*, two *rak'āt* prior to the rising of the sun and two following its setting, and that the muezzins should recite in each call to prayer [the following]:

God is Great (three times).

I bear witness that there is no god except God (twice)

I bear witness that Adam is the messenger of God.

I bear witness that Noah is the messenger of God.

I bear witness that Abraham is the messenger of God.

I bear witness that Moses is the messenger of God.

I bear witness that Jesus is the messenger of God.

I bear witness that Muḥammad is the messenger of God.

I bear witness that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya is the messenger of God.

The reading in the prayer is:

Praise be to God by His word; He is exalted by His name; He grants victory to His *awliyā'* (friends) and through His *awliyā'*. Say that the crescent is *ẓāhir* (manifest) to the people at appointed times so that they may know the calendar and calculate the number of years, months and days.³⁴⁹ Its *bāṭin* (hidden meaning) is for My friends who enlighten My worshippers as intermediaries. So fear Me, O people of intellect, for I am the one who is beyond questioning about what I do. I am the Omniscient, the Wise. I am the one who puts to test My servants and who examines those whom I have created. Those who patiently bear My testing tribulations and afflictions, I will in My bounty make them abide eternally in paradise. Those who desist from My commands and who give the lie to My prophet will in My chastisement be eternally humiliated. I fulfil My words. I manifest My command through My messengers' tongues. I am the one who does not permit an arrogant one to rise but that I abase, nor a powerful one but that I humble. There is not a single one who has persisted in his affair and continued in his ignorance.

347. This may allude to the camel of the prophet Ṣāliḥ mentioned in Qur'an 7: 73–79.

348. A reference to the beast mentioned in the Qur'an 27: 82, and predicted to arise from the earth at the end of time to admonish unbelievers in God.

349. References to Qur'an 2: 189 and 10: 5.

He said [in his prayer]: 'Indeed, We will not cease to devote to it and [We] are certain of it. They are the infidels. Then bow.'³⁵⁰

Among his laws (*sharā'i*) were the following: fasting for two days in the year, al-Mahrajān³⁵¹ and al-Nawrūz,³⁵² wine was permitted; there was no ritual bath after major impurity but ablution like the one for prayers. Animals that have canine teeth or claws were not to be eaten; date wine (*al-nabīdh*) was not to be drunk; Jerusalem was the *qibla* (direction for prayers) and the pilgrimage was to be performed there; and Monday was the day of congregation (*jum'a*) and no work was to be done on that day.

As death approached, he [al-Ḥusayn] appointed Ḥamdān b. al-Ash'ath Qarmaṭ to succeed him. The latter took the oath from a great number of people of the Sawād. He was intelligent and shrewd.

[The Qarmaṭī leader 'Abdān]

Among those who responded to him [Qarmaṭ] were Mihrawayh b. Zikrawayh al-Salmānī, Jalandī al-Rāzī, 'Ikrima al-Bābilī, Ishāq al-Sūrānī, 'Uṭayf al-Nabīlī and others. He sent his *dā'īs* into the Sawād, and they took the oath from the people.

'Abdān was his chief *dā'ī*.³⁵³ He was astute and malicious, excelling among other leading men of the Sawād. He was intelligent and skilled, acting according to what he had in his mind, which he did not divulge to anyone. He did not profess anything other than Shi'ī [belief] and religious knowledge. He was propagating for Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Ja'far, the imam from the progeny of the

350. In Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil* (7: 179), there is at this point another sentence that completes the prayer: 'He [al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī] used to say in his *rukū'*, "My Lord is sublime, the mighty and exalted Lord who rises above what the oppressors claim." He used to recite this twice and when he went into prostration he said, "God is the Most High, God is the Most High, God is the Most Exalted, God is the Most Exalted." Cited in al-Shayyāl, ed., *Itti'āz*, 1: 134n1.

351. Al-Mahrajān was an old Persian celebration marking the descent of the sun in the zodiacal sign of Libra. Al-Shayyāl, ed., *Itti'āz*, 1: 154n2.

352. Nawrūz is the Persian New Year celebrated on 21 March, the day of the spring equinox.

353. On 'Abdān see note 10 above and W. Madelung, 'Abdān b. al-Rabīṭ', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

Prophet of God, blessings of God be upon him.³⁵⁴

Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh³⁵⁵ was one of the followers of 'Abdān. He was an astute and intelligent young man from a village in the Sawād of Kūfa, along the River Hadd. 'Abdān appointed him responsible for the region of the River Hadd and the areas adjacent to it, and over the group of *dā'īs* who were spread out in his district.

Al-Ḥasan b. Ayman was 'Abdān's *dā'ī* over the Euphrates of Bādfūlī. His *dā'ī* over Ṭassūj Tustar was known as al-Būrānī, from whom the Būrāniyya derive their name.³⁵⁶ His *dā'ī* over another region was known as al-Walīd, and Abu'l-Fawāris was the *dā'ī* over other places. These were 'Abdān's chief *dā'īs*. They each had *dā'īs* under them and each *dā'ī* toured his area and supervised it once every month. All this was in the Sawād of Kūfa.

A group of bedouins joined his ['Abdān's] *da'wa*, so he appointed *dā'īs* among them. Neither the Rifā'ī nor the Ḍabu'ī held back from joining him. There was not a single tribe of those who were connected with the Sawād of Kūfa, from which some people, in large or small numbers, did not join the *da'wa*, from among the Banū 'Ā'ish, Dhuhl, 'Anaza, Taym Allāh, Banū Tha'laba and others from Banū Shaybān.³⁵⁷ The Qarmaṭī ['Abdān] became powerful and greedy and began to collect taxes from his people.

He began to impose upon each man and woman a dirham [tax], referring to it as *al-fiṭra* (the covenant). They hastened to pay it.³⁵⁸ He

354. On Muḥammad b. Ismā'il see note 7 above.

355. Zikrawayh played a key role in promoting the *da'wa* among the bedouin tribes of Syria, particularly the Banū Kalb, and was responsible for the murder of 'Abdān following the latter's repudiation of al-Mahdī. Subsequently he also withdrew his support for al-Mahdī, joined the Qarāmiṭa and fought against the Fatimids until he was killed in 294/906–907. See H. Halm, 'Zakrawayh b. Mihrawayh', *EI2*.

356. The Būrāniyya were also called the Baqliyya, a name that was later applied to all the Qarāmiṭa of southern Iraq. M.G.S. Hodgson, 'Baqliyya', *EI2*.

357. The Banū Shaybān were a north Arabian tribe known for their Hāshimī sympathies. T. Bianquis, 'Shaybān', *EI2*.

358. Bernard Lewis has translated a portion of the following section in his *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople* (New York, 1974), vol. 2, pp. 63–64, from Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fi funun al-adab*, ed. M.M. Amin and M.H. Muḥammad (Cairo, 1992). Nuwayrī's narrative is very similar to what is found in the

let them be for a while before imposing the *hijra* (emigration tax), this being one dinar for each person who had reached maturity. He recited the words of God Almighty to them: 'Of their goods take alms, so that you might purify and sanctify them, and pray on their behalf. Verily, your prayers are a source of security for them. And God is the one who hears and knows.'³⁵⁹ He told them, 'This is the *ta'wīl* (interpretation) of this verse.' So they paid at once and cooperated with him by paying on behalf of those who were poor.

He let them be for some time and then he imposed on them the *bulgha* (attainment tax), which was seven dinars. He alleged that this was the proof (*burhān*) intended in God's words, 'Say: Produce your proof if you are truthful.'³⁶⁰

He also alleged this was the *balāgh* (initiation) of those who sought faith and entry among the foremost mentioned by God Almighty: 'And those foremost (in faith) will be foremost (in the hereafter). These will be those nearest to God.'³⁶¹

Then he [ʿAbdān] prepared delicious sweetmeats, rolled them into hazelnut-size balls and gave one to everyone who had paid him seven dinars. He asserted that this was the food of the dwellers of paradise that had been sent down to the imam. He sent all his *dā'īs* a hundred of these sweetmeat balls and asked them to pay him 700 dinars, for each sweetmeat ball was seven dinars.

When he had established this, he imposed on them a levy of *khums* (one-fifth) of what they owned and of what they earned, reciting to them, 'And know that out of all the booty that you may acquire [in war], a fifth share is assigned to God.'³⁶² They assessed

Itti'āz, thus pointing to a common anti-Ismaili source.

359. Qur'an 9: 103.

360. Qur'an 2: 111.

361. Qur'an 56: 10–11.

362. Qur'an 8: 41. This verse continues '...and to the Messenger, and to near relatives, orphans, the needy and the wayfarer'. The verse came to be known as the *āyat al-khums* (the verse of the fifth) and a source for subsequent legal discussion about the payment of one-fifth on one's income to the intended beneficiaries. The payment of one-fifth of the spoils of war became an established facet of early Sunni law. In the Shi'ī tradition, it was applied to more generic sources of income. The intended recipient was always the imam, who subsequently divided it according to the Qur'anic precepts outlined in the verse. When the imam was not present, almost all Shi'ī groups maintained the necessity of the payment of *khums*, whether it

the value of all that they possessed in clothing and other belongings, and took that to him. The women took a fifth of what they had spun and the men a fifth of what they had earned.

When this was completed and established, he imposed on them the *ulfa* (union). This meant that they assembled all their possessions in one place and held them in common, no one being superior to his colleague or his brother because of what he possessed. He recited to them: 'And remember with gratitude God's favour on you, for you were enemies and He joined your hearts in love, so that by His grace you became brethren';³⁶³ and God Almighty's words: 'Not if you had spent all that is in the earth could you have produced that affection, but God has done it, for He is exalted in might and wise.'³⁶⁴

He told them that they had no need of possessions because the earth in its entirety would be theirs and no one else's. He said, 'This is the test by which you are proved so that we may know how you will act.' He directed them to purchase weapons and to prepare to use them. That was in the year 276 [889–890].

He [ʿAbdān] appointed *dāʿīs* in every village, a man selected for his trustworthiness, to collect the possessions of the inhabitants of his village, such as cattle, sheep and goats, jewellery, effects and other things. He then clothed the naked and supplied their needs, so that no one remained poor among them, nor any who was needy and deprived. Every man worked diligently at his trade to earn more by his endeavours, to gain superior rank. The women collected and brought what they earned from spinning and the child brought his wages for scaring birds. No one owned anything but his sword and his weapons. When this became established, he ordered the *dāʿīs* to gather the women on a certain night, to be intimate with them and not to avoid them. For that was the true love and union among them.³⁶⁵

When he was master of their affairs, certain of their obedience and had taken the measure of their minds, he began to teach them

was to be held in trust for a future imam or distributed in the community. See R. Gleave, 'Khums', *EI2*.

363. Qur'an 3: 103.

364. Qur'an 8: 63.

365. Al-Nuwayrī has an additional sentence not found in the *Itti'āz*: 'Often the husband offered his friend his own wife if he desired [her].' Cited in Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet*, p. 65.

by degrees.³⁶⁶ He gave them arguments from the doctrines of the dualists.³⁶⁷ They followed him in this until he rooted out what he himself had decreed at the beginning of their matter – to be submissive, pious and righteous. Thus, after great religiosity, there appeared among them permissiveness in their possessions and sexual relationships, a dispensing with fasting, prayers and other obligations. He advised them that all those things had been lifted off them and that the blood and the possessions of their adversaries were permitted (*ḥalāl*) to them, and that knowledge of the master of truth (*ṣāhib al-ḥaqq*) for whom he preached dispensed them from everything, hence they need not fear sin or punishment. By this he meant the imam for whom he was summoning, who was Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far al-Šādiq, the Imam Mahdī, who would manifest himself at the end of time and would establish truth. Allegiance was due to him. Indeed, the *dā'īs* took the oath from the people for him, and whatever possessions were collected were stored for him until he would manifest himself, for he [Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl] was alive and had not died, and he would manifest himself at the end of time, for he was the *mahdī* of the community.

When he [ʿAbdān] declared all these matters after having linked them with the mention of the imams, the messengers, the *ḥujja* and the imam, and that [the *mahdī*] was the object, the intention and the aim, as affairs were in order because of him, and were that not the case, creation would perish, and guidance and knowledge would disappear, then perversity appeared in many of them; some of them extended their hand to shed blood and killed a group of those who opposed them. Consequently, people feared them and were alarmed by the appearance of weapons amongst them. In fear, a large number of their neighbours concluded alliances with them.

Thereafter, the *dā'īs* met and concurred that they would create a place for themselves, a place of migration and an abode to which

366. Al-Nuwayrī: '...he began to lead them astray in successive stages.' Lewis, *ibid.*

367. The dualist allegation is drawn from Akhū Muḥsin and Ibn Rizām. They promoted a non-ʿAlid ancestry of the Fatimids stemming from Maymūn al-Qaddaḥ who, they argued, was a Dayṣanī, an adherent of Ibn Dayṣan (Bardesanes), the founder of a Christian gnostic sect in the 3rd century, thus attributing non-Islamic origins to the dynasty. See Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, p. 102.

they could emigrate and draw together. They selected a place in the Sawād of Kūfa, in Ṭassūj al-Furāt, in the government estates known as al-Qāsimiyyāt in a village called Mahatmābād. They brought massive rocks to it and built a great wall around it, whose width was eight cubits and behind which they built a deep trench. They completed all this in a short span of time. They built a great edifice in it where men and women from everywhere were relocated. It was named *dār al-hijra* (abode of emigration). This was in the year 297 [909–910]. There was not a single person left who was not terrified of them, nor was there anyone that they feared because of their strength and control over the lands.

In this they were [unwittingly] assisted by the [Abbasid] caliph's preoccupation in quelling the Khārijī³⁶⁸ revolt and the Zanj leader at Baṣra.³⁶⁹ The weakness of the government, the devastation of Iraq and the abandonment of his [the caliph's] administration; the march of the bedouins and the plunderers in the desert after 270 [883–884]; the loss of men and the destruction of towns also strengthened them [the Qarāmiṭa] to extend their sway in the land. Hence, word spread about them.

Among them was Mihrawayh, one of the *dā'īs* who, at the beginning of his calling, used to safeguard the date farms from which he earned his living. He used to separate the stones from the fruit and offer them as alms. He used to sell the date stones and thereby support himself. He became prominent in the eyes of the people and achieved a status of trust and faith. Subsequently, when the leader of the Zanj rebelled against the government, he [Mihrawayh] went to

368. The Khawārij (sing. Khārijī) were among the earliest groups that seceded from the rest of the Muslim community on the issue of leadership. They asserted that any righteous member of the community could attain to the position of the imamate. On the origins and evolution of Khārijī Islam, see G. Levi Della Vida, 'Khāridjites', *EI2*.

369. The Zanj and other black slaves were imported from the East African coastlands into Abbasid Iraq in large numbers from an undetermined date. Led by 'Alī b. Muḥammad, the Zanj revolt (255–70/968–983) caused violent disturbance over fifteen years in lower Iraq and Khūzistān. It was aimed at securing political power to relieve the harsh living and working conditions of the slaves. See A. Popovic, *The Revolt of the African Slaves in Iraq in the 3rd/9th Century*, tr. L. King (Princeton, 1999), and his 'al-Zandj', *EI2*.

him [the Zanj leader] and said, '100,000 swordsmen will follow me and by them I will help you.'

But he [the Zanj leader] did not heed his [Mihrawayh's] words for he did not find them satisfactory. So he [Mihrawayh] withdrew. Subsequently, he became powerful in the Sawād, and a great many people submitted to him. Then he claimed that he was a descendant of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far, but it was pointed out to him that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl did not have a son called 'Abd Allāh.

So he abandoned this claim. Thereafter, he began to ride a littered camel and came to be addressed as a *sayyid* (descendant of the Prophet), gaining ascendancy in the Sawād of Kūfa. The account of his son Zikrawayh and his grandson al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh will follow later, if God wills.

[The Qarmaṭī leader Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī]

There was a man from the inhabitants of the village of Jannāba,³⁷⁰ who used to work as a farrier. A Persian in origin, he was known as Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Jannābī.³⁷¹ He travelled to the Sawād of Kūfa where he married into a clan called Banu'l-Qaṣṣār who were among the earliest people of this *da'wa*. He took [the oath] with 'Abdān; it is also said that he took it at the hands of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ and became a *dā'ī*. He arrived at al-Qaṭīf, which was a thriving metropolis at that time. He settled there, selling slaves. He was loyal and honest. Among the first to follow him were al-Ḥusayn b.

370. This was a small village on the Persian Gulf. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, as cited by Shayyāl, ed., *Itti'āz*, 1: 159n2.

371. Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī was the founder of the Qarāmiṭa state in Bahrain. Born at Jannābā in the Fars region of Iran, he was recruited by 'Abdān and followed him and Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ in their rejection of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdi's claim to the imamate. Recognising his talents, Ḥamdān dispatched him to Bahrain where his activities met with considerable success. By 290/903 Abū Sa'īd had brought much of Bahrain and the eastern region of Arabia under his control with his capital at al-Aḥsā, and easily defeated an army sent against him by the Abbasid caliph al-Mu'taḍid. For the next two centuries, Bahrain provided the central base for the Qarāmiṭa to mount repeated attacks on the Abbasid and Fatimid authorities in Iraq and Syria. See Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, pp. 121, 147–148.

Sanbar, 'Alī b. Sanbar and Ḥamdān b. Sanbar,³⁷² and commoners such as butchers, load carriers and others. He heard that in his district there was a *dā'i* whom they called Abū Zakariyyā who had been sent by 'Abdān prior to the arrival of Abū Sa'īd and had previously taken the oath from the Banū Sanbar. Abū Sa'īd was rankled by him [Abū Zakariyyā], so he captured and killed him. Consequently, the Banū Sanbar harboured rancour against him [Abū Sa'īd] for having killed him [Abū Zakariyyā].

The region happened to be vast and its folk sturdy and ignorant, accustomed to warfare. Abū Sa'īd was successful in spreading the *da'wa* in these regions. He fought those who submitted to his adversaries, and so his might increased.

He conquered no village without killing its inhabitants and plundering it. Thus, people dreaded him. A large number of them responded to him but many escaped elsewhere, terrified of his evil. No place opposed him except Hajar, the capital of Bahrain, and the residence of its ruler, merchants and notables. He besieged it for months, fighting its inhabitants. Then he appointed one of his men over it.

He then advanced to al-Aḥsā' which was two miles away from Hajar. He built a house there and made it his residence. He began to cultivate the land and to make it prosperous. He used to march to Hajar, fight its inhabitants and leave behind a group of his people to besiege it.

He invited the Arabs and the Banu'l-Aḍbaṭ from the [tribe of] Kilāb³⁷³ responded to his call. They went to him with their families and possessions, and he settled them at al-Aḥsā'. They encouraged him to win over the Banū Kilāb and all those Arabs who were near him. He supplied them with men. They set off and killed many. Then they came to al-Aḥsā' with their families, possessions and goods. The people submitted to him. He directed an army against the Banū 'Uqayl and gained victory over them; so they also submitted to his authority.

372. These three brothers established close familial ties with the Qarāmiṭa leadership and were thus embroiled in various Qarāmiṭa activities, including the sacking of Mecca and plundering of the Black Stone in 317/930.

373. The Banū Kilāb were the northernmost of bedouin tribes in the Syrian desert.

When the bedouins joined him, he raised their hope of conquering the entire earth. To the bedouins who had responded to him, he returned their children and possessions which he had previously seized from them. However, he did not return male and female slaves, camels and boys, unless they were under four years old.

He gathered the youths in houses and appointed a group of people over them. He provided what they needed, marking them so they could be distinguished from others. Having appointed supervisors over them, he began to teach them how to ride and fight. They grew up knowing nothing but warfare and his [Abū Sa'īd's] *da'wa* became natural to them.

He confiscated all the wealth, fruits, wheat and barley from the land. He appointed herdsmen for camels and sheep and a group to guard them. They moved with the herd at certain, fixed times. He remunerated his companions, but no one received more than what was sufficient for his sustenance.

During all this, he did not ignore Hajar. He continued its siege for over twenty months, reducing people to eating dogs. He gathered his companions and prepared siege towers that the men dragged up to the walls. They engaged in battle all day and a large number of people were killed. Then he left for al-Aḥsā', but [not before] attacking them [the people of Hajar] again early in the morning. They engaged him in skirmishes, so he left for [a place] near al-Aḥsā'. He returned with the cavalry and encircled Hajar whilst he thought of a ruse against them. Hajar had a large spring flowing from the high ground near the town. Its water used to gather straight into a river that flowed alongside Hajar and then descended to the date palms, thus irrigating them. Hence, throughout the siege, they [the people of Hajar] were not deprived of water.

After the existence of the spring became clear to him, he left for al-Aḥsā'. The following day, having stationed numerous troops at the city gate, he returned to al-Aḥsā'. He gathered all the people and set off [for Hajar] towards the end of the night, arriving at the spring early in the morning with spades, sand, weighty loads of tattered clothes, fur and wool. He ordered rocks to be gathered and taken to the spring. He also had sand, pebbles and soil gathered. Then he ordered that fur, wool and weighty clothes be flung into the spring and upon them be hurled sand, pebbles, soil and rocks. The spring,

however, washed them away. What he did was not sufficient [to dry it up]. So he left for al-Aḥsā' with the people who had accompanied him.

The following day, he set off on horseback to explore the land until he realised that the [course of the] spring came to an end at the seashore and that the current weakened as it flowed toward it. So he returned with all his men. He went a couple of miles down the river, ordering that a canal be dug there. He began to go there every day with his men while the workmen dug a swamp such that all the water would be diverted and flow [directly] into the sea. Then he set out and descended upon Hajar where [by then] the water had been cut off from its inhabitants. Consequently, some of them fled by sea and some of them went to him, whereupon he relocated them to al-Aḥsā'. A group of them were unable to flee, as they were frail. Since they did not join his *da'wa*, he had them killed. He looted the town and destroyed it; [Hajar] has since remained in ruins. Consequently, al-Aḥsā' became the capital of Bahrain.

Having sent a raiding party of 600 men to Oman, he reinforced them with another 600 men. The inhabitants of Oman fought them until they were almost annihilated. Only five of them survived. Six of the Qarāmiṭa were left. They came to Abū Sa'īd. He commanded that they be killed, saying, 'These men betrayed my covenant, for they did not support their companions who were killed.' He [Abū Sa'īd] regarded the perishing of his raiding party as a bad omen and so he left the inhabitants of Oman alone.

[Abbasid attempts to curb the Qarāmiṭa]

News about him [Abū Sa'īd] reached [the Abbasid caliph] al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh who feared an attack on Baṣra; so he sent al-'Abbās b. 'Amr al-Ghanawī to Bahrain with a thousand men and appointed him governor over it. He departed in 289 [901–902] and confronted Abū Sa'īd, but his companions were defeated and al-'Abbās was captured together with about 700 of his men. They [Abū Sa'īd's men] surrounded his camp and the following day all the prisoners, save al-'Abbās, were put to death. The corpses were then burned. Those who had escaped [execution] fled but most of them became lost in the land and many of them perished from thirst. Some of them reached Baṣra where the inhabitants were so alarmed that they

began moving out of the town.

A few days after the battle Abū Sa'īd ordered al-'Abbās b. 'Amr to be brought to him and said, 'Would you like me to set you free?' He replied, 'Yes.' He said, 'On the condition that you convey what I say to your master.' He [al-'Abbās] responded, 'I will do so.' He [Abū Sa'īd] asserted, 'Say to him, whatever happened to your troops was because of your oppression. You have no control over this land. I conquered it and I rule over it. I have the capacity to conquer more than I have, but I did not touch what is yours. I did not attempt to do so, nor did I cause any fear or harm to any of your subjects. So why did you send your troops against me? Know that I will not leave this place and you will not gain control over it as long as there is life in this band of people with me. Stay away from me. Do not concern yourself with what is not beneficial to you or you will not fulfil your wishes except hasten your death.'

Then he released him and sent him with someone who would take him back safely. He [al-'Abbās] reached Baghdad in Ramaḍān [August–September 902]. The people used to extol him, talk of him often and call him the 'leader of the martyrs' (*qā'id al-shuhadā*). When he arrived in the presence of al-Mu'taḍid, the latter censured him for failing to take precaution. So he [al-'Abbās] made excuses and did not leave until al-Mu'taḍid was satisfied with him.

Then he [al-Mu'taḍid] enquired about what had happened; he told him everything. He also conveyed to him what the Qarmaṭi had said. He [al-Mu'taḍid] responded, 'He speaks the truth. He has not taken anything that is under our suzerainty.'

He bowed in thought. Then he raised his head and said, 'He lied, that infidel, the enemy of God. [All] Muslims are my subjects wherever they are on God's earth. By God, if I am granted life, I will go in person to Baṣra with all my *ghilmān*. I will dispatch a large army against him. If he defeats it I will send another one. If he defeats that I will proceed with all my commanders and troops to confront him until God decides between him and me.'

But al-Mu'taḍid became preoccupied with matters other than that of the Qarmaṭi, such as that concerning Waṣīf, the *ghulām* of Abū'l-Sāj.³⁷⁴

374. Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Sāj, Abū 'Ubayd Allāh was an eastern Iranian nobleman, appointed Abbasid governor of Ādharbāyjān and Armenia in

He [al-Mu‘taḍid] passed away in Rabī‘ II of the year 289 [March–April 902], having continued to mention Abū Sa‘īd al-Jannābī during his illness.

He used to sigh and say, ‘I regret something that I would have liked to have achieved before my death. By God, I wish I could ride towards Bahrain, so that I could behead anyone taller than my sword, for I am fearful of the ominous events that will ensue from there.’

After al-‘Abbās’s release Abū Sa‘īd began gathering horses, preparing weapons, producing armour and helmets, taming camels, organising men, and making swords and lances, food sacks and water-skins. He also trained young men in riding. He expelled the bedouins from his town and blocked all the routes from which his land would be exposed to spying by posting guards. He cultivated farmlands and palm fields. Alongside all this work and its management, he appointed overseers and supervisors to watch over the men. So organised was all this that his supervisors would even oversee the killing of a sheep and the distribution of the meat to those whom he had earmarked for it. The head, legs and stomach were given to the slaves and maidservants. He supervised the shearing of the animal wool and fur and distributed it for spinning. Then he gave it to those who would make gowns, bags, sacks and saddlebags and twist ropes. The leather was given to the tanners and then to the water-skin makers to make water-skins and food bags. [Leather] suitable for making shoes was used specifically for that. All of this was collected in storehouses.

This was a regular practice he never neglected. Now and again he sent horsemen towards Baṣra to capture whomever they could, bring them back to him and enslave them. That is how [the population of] his land increased and fear of him intensified in people’s hearts.

He [Abū Sa‘īd] fought famous and victorious battles against the Banū Ḍabba.³⁷⁵ He arrested many of their men and built a massive

279/892. He made several abortive attempts to assert his independence, then submitted and was pardoned by the caliph al-Mu‘taḍid. See Hamilton A.R. Gibb, ‘Muḥammad b. Abī’l-Sādj’, *EI2*, and W. Madelung, ‘The Minor Dynasties of Northern Iran’, in R.N. Frye, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran: Volume 4, The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 228–229.

375. The Banū Ḍabba were mostly settled in Baṣra and fought against

prison in which he gathered them and locked them up, depriving them of food and water. They cried out but he did not help them. They were left in that state for a month. Then he opened the door to find that most of them had died; a few of them were almost dead and reduced to eating the flesh of other men. He counted them and abandoned them there so that nearly all of them died.

He had captured a servant from the army of al-ʿAbbās and made him responsible for his food and drink. He stayed with him a long time during which period he did not see Abū Saʿīd praying even once, nor fasting during the month of Ramaḍān or at any other time. So he resolved to kill him, entering the bathhouse which was within the precincts of the house, with him. He kept at hand a sharp dagger and, when the bathhouse was deserted, he took the opportunity and slit his throat. Then he left and called out for someone from the Banū Sanbar who was brought in. When he entered, he seized and slew him. The servant continued doing this until he had killed a number of their leaders and notables. When the last of them entered, he saw blood flowing from the [bath] house so he became suspicious and left immediately. He informed the people who came and surrounded the slave and entered the bathhouse. They also found the men who had been killed. That was in the year 301 [913–914]. It has also been said that this was in the year 302 [914–915]. He [Abū Saʿīd] was killed at al-Aḥsāʾ in Bahrain.

He was just over sixty years old when he was killed. Abū Saʿīd left [behind him] a number of sons: Abūʾl-Qāsim Saʿīd, Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān, Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, Abūʾl-ʿAbbās Muḥammad and Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf.

Abū Saʿīd had gathered the leaders of his realm and instructed them that upon his death the ruler over their affairs was to be his son Saʿīd until Abū Ṭāhir was old enough to rule, for Abū Ṭāhir was younger than Saʿīd. When Abū Ṭāhir came of age, he would be the leader. When he [Abū Saʿīd] died, that is indeed what happened.³⁷⁶

the Qarāmiṭa, but were almost annihilated in the ensuing battles. W. Caskel, 'Ḍabba', *EI*2.

376. Abū Ṭāhir was one of Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī's younger sons who took over leadership of the Qarāmiṭa in 305/917–918. Under his command, the Qarāmiṭa plundered Mecca and the Kaʿba in 317/930. As Madelung has argued (in his 'The Fatimids and the Qarmatīs', p. 37), this version of the succession to Saʿīd originated from the anti-Ismaʿili writer Ibn Rizām.

He [Abū Saʿīd] had also told them that he would be victorious. After the death of his father, Saʿīd began to organise his affairs. He ordered that the servant be tied up in ropes and his body would be cut with scissor blades until he died. In the year 305 [917–918] Saʿīd handed over the leadership to his brother Abū Ṭāhīr Sulaymān. They [the people] extolled him.

Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Jannābī had begun his rule in al-Qaṭīf and its neighbouring areas in the year 286 [899–900]. His rule lasted approximately fifteen years.

AL-ṢANĀDĪQĪ [IBN ḤAWSHAB]

In that year Yemen was seized by al-Najjār Abu'l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Faraj al-Ṣanādiqī.³⁷⁷ His troops were stationed at al-Mudhaykhira³⁷⁸ and Sahfana.³⁷⁹ One of the *dāʿīs* of ʿAbdān, Ibn Abi'l-Fawāris, had sent him as a *dāʿī* to Yemen.³⁸⁰ He [al-Ṣanādiqī] was from the people of al-Nars,³⁸¹ the place where the Narsī clothes made from linen were produced. He headed for Yemen where a large number of people joined his *daʿwa*. He committed atrocities, killing children and taking

According to the Baghdad chronicles, Abū Saʿīd had appointed his eldest son as his successor and Abū Ṭāhīr had then forcibly taken over.

377. Al-Najjār al-Ṣanādiqī, better known as Ibn Ḥawshab, was the pioneering *dāʿī* of the Ismaili *daʿwa* in Yemen, thus earning himself the epithet Manṣūr al-Yaman (the victorious one of Yemen). He established the *daʿwa* there in 267–268/880–881 along with another *dāʿī* called ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl. Whereas there is some evidence that Ibn al-Faḍl joined the Qarāmiṭa from 292/905 onwards, there is no validity in al-Maqrīzī's report that Ibn Ḥawshab became one of them and introduced the practices described here. For an Ismaili report of Ibn Ḥawshab and his activities, see al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Iftitāḥ*, trans., pp. 20–40, 45–47, 122–123.

378. This was a fortified castle at the summit of Mount Ṣabir in the district of Ṣanʿā in Yemen.

379. A village in the direction of Mecca towards al-Janad, now called Safna.

380. According to al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān in his *Iftitāḥ*, it was the Ismaili imam who had converted Ibn Ḥawshab and appointed him as the chief *dāʿī* of Yemen. Yemen then became a hub of the Ismaili *daʿwa* from where *dāʿīs* were sent to different parts of the Muslim world. See Shainool Jiwa, 'The Genesis of Ismaili Da'wa Activities in Yemen', *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 15 (1988), pp. 50–63.

381. A village on the Nasses Canal, now called Nassā.

women into captivity, and calling himself *rabb al-‘izza* (the lord of might). He was addressed by that appellation. He publicly reviled the Prophet, blessings of God be upon him, and the rest of the prophets. He seized a particular place that he named the *dār al-ṣafwa* (house of the elect). He gathered the women there and ordered the men to mingle and have sexual intercourse with them. He took care of those women who became pregnant on that night and who gave birth after that. He took these children as servants for himself and called them *awlād al-ṣafwa* (children of the elect). One of them [the men] said, ‘I stepped in to have a look and I heard a woman saying, “O my dear son!” To which he replied, “O slave woman, we need to accomplish the commandment of the *walī Allāh* (friend of God) among us.”’ He [al-Ṣanādīqī] used to say, ‘If you do this, there will be no distinction of wealth, nor of one child to another. It will be as if you are one.’

His heresy heightened in Yemen. He drove away most of its inhabitants and expelled its ruler. He waged war against Abu’l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī al-Hādī³⁸² and ousted him from his rule at Ṣa‘da, making him flee with his family to al-Rass. Then God granted him victory over him [al-Ṣanādīqī]. He defeated him according to what God had ordained, for God, the Exalted, showered freezing cold and snow upon his men while he [Abu’l-Qāsim] was lying in wait for him at night, killing most of his companions in one night. This was unheard of in this region.

God chastised him [al-Ṣanādīqī] with an itching. Abu’l-Qāsim sent him a doctor with a poisoned lancet with which he bled him, thus killing him. God also punished the lands that he had subjugated. Boils that caused instant death appeared on the shoulders of men. In those lands this pustule was known for a long time as ‘the Qarmaṭī boil’. God destroyed most of the lands that he had conquered and He annihilated its inhabitants with a devastating death. His [al-Ṣanādīqī’s] son took refuge in the mountains and settled there. He communicated with the people of their *da‘wa*, heading his correspondence ‘from the son of the lord of might’.

God made him perish. Only a handful of them [the Qarāmiṭa] survived and they sought protection from al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad

382. Abu’l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā was the Zaydī imam who held power in Yemen from 298 to 310/911–922.

al-Hādī. Consequently, neither al-Najjār [al-Ṣanādīqī], may God curse him, nor the adherents of his *da'wa*, remained.

[The Ismaili-Qarāmiṭa split]

Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ used to correspond with the one who was at Salamiyya [the Ismaili imam]. When the one who was [the leader] of his time died and was succeeded by his son [ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī], he wrote to Qarmaṭ who became suspicious about certain matters. He [Qarmaṭ] had misgivings, so he sent Ibn Malīḥ, one of his *dāʿīs*, to ascertain the matter, but he was held at bay. Hence he sent ʿAbdān who discovered that the person they used to communicate with had died. He questioned the son about the *ḥujja*³⁸³ and the imam to whose cause he was calling. The son asked, 'Who is the imam?' ʿAbdān replied, 'Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, *ṣāhib al-zamān* (lord of the age).' [The son] denied that and said, 'There was no imam except for my father and I take his place.'³⁸⁴

ʿAbdān returned to Qarmaṭ and apprised him of the news. Thereupon he gathered the *dāʿīs* and ordered them to sever ties with the *da'wa* in contempt of what the person in charge at Salamiyya had said, [that] 'Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl has no right in this matter nor to the imamate.'³⁸⁵

Qarmaṭ used to summon to the imamate of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Although [later] they ceased to recognise it [the Ismaili *da'wa*] in their lands, they were still unable to enforce [this disavowal] outside their domains for it had spread to other regions. It was from that time that the [Qarāmiṭa] *dāʿīs* ceased corresponding with those who were at Salamiyya.

383. The term *ḥujja* here refers to the highest dignity of the Ismaili *da'wa*, representing or deputising for the hidden imam or the *mahdī* to come in the future. See note 218 above.

384. This is a reference to ʿAbd Allāh's claim to the imamate for himself, in contrast to the Qarāmiṭa's understanding that the imam was Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the awaited *mahdī*. As al-Maqrīzī goes on to report, this led to the severance of ties between the Ismailis and the Qarāmiṭa who subsequently became their bitter enemies. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, pp. 116–126.

385. This statement can to be understood as ʿAbd Allāh's denial that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl would return to claim the imamate as, he claimed, it had passed on to his descendants.

[The Qarmaṭī leaders Zikrawayh and al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh]

One of their [Qarmaṭ's] men had gone to al-Ṭāliqān³⁸⁶ where he had disseminated the *da'wa*. When correspondence ceased, he waited for a long time before going forth to enquire about Qarmaṭ. He stayed with 'Abdān in the Sawād of Kūfa. He censured him ['Abdān] and the *dā'īs* for discontinuing their correspondence. 'Abdān informed him of their severance from the *da'wa*, that they would not return to it and that he [himself] had truly renounced it. Thereupon the person took their leave and went to Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, to summon to the *da'wa* as his father had done and to recruit men.³⁸⁷ Zikrawayh said, 'Indeed, this cannot be achieved with 'Abdān [present], for he is the *dā'ī* of the entire land and [the leader] of all the *dā'īs* in it. The way to [do it] would be to scheme against him so that we kill him.'

He confided thus to a group of people who were close to him and whom he trusted. He said to them, 'Indeed, 'Abdān is a hypocrite; he has rebelled and has left the community.'

So they spent a night with him and killed him. When this became known, the *dā'īs* and the companions of Qarmaṭ sought Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh in order to kill him – so he went into hiding. All the people opposed him except for his own *dā'īs*. He moved from one village to another, that was in the year [2]86 [899–900], and the Qarāmiṭa were searching for him until [2]88 [900–901]. Then he sent his son al-Ḥasan to Syria, accompanied by a Qarmaṭī who was known as Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad. He [Zikrawayh] ordered him to seek out the Banū Kilāb, to trace his ancestry to Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, and to invite them to the [cause of the] imam who was from his ancestry.³⁸⁸ A clan of the Banu'l-'Ulays³⁸⁹ and their clients responded and pledged allegiance to him. He [al-Ḥasan]

386. Ṭāliqān was a city in south-east Khurāsān, near Maymana, where the Ismaili *da'wa* had flourished since the 2nd/8th century. According to Halm (*Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 29–30), Ṭāliqān and Salamiyya were corners of the triangle along which the *da'wa* in Iraq stretched out.

387. On Zikrawayh see note 355 above.

388. It is noteworthy that Zikrawayh should devise and propagate for himself a genealogical link to Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, as also did his father Mihrawayh and son al-Ḥasan.

389. The Banu'l-'Ulays were a sub-unit of Banū Kalb who controlled the semi-desert region between Palmyra and the Euphrates.

sent a message to Zikrawayh informing him about those who had responded to him in Syria. He [Zikrawayh] sent his nephew, named ‘Abd Allāh and titled al-Mudaththir (the one who covers himself) to them. He claimed that he was the one who was mentioned in the Qur’an as al-Mudaththir.³⁹⁰ It was said that al-Mudaththir’s name was ‘Īsā b. Maḥdī and that he was named ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far al-Šādiq. *The šāḥib al-khāl* (man with a mole) made him his successor. He [Zikrawayh] also sent a slave from the Banū Mihrawayh, a maker of swords called al-Muṭawwaq (the one with the necklace).³⁹¹

He [Zikrawayh] wrote to his son al-Ḥasan informing him that he was the son of the *ḥujja*. He ordered him to heed and obey him. This son of the *ḥujja* alleged that he was Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh, or it is said that he was ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far al-Šādiq. Some people repudiated this lineage and said that in fact his name was Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, his *kunya* was Abū’l-Qāsim, he was called al-Shaykh, and was known as *šāḥib al-nāqa* (master of a she-camel) and *šāḥib al-jamal* (master of a camel), and that he was the brother and successor of *šāḥib al-khāl*. He [Zikrawayh] travelled until he reached the Banū Kulayb where he was received by al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh, who was pleased to see him. He gathered the people and said, ‘This is the *šāḥib al-imām* (companion of the imam).’ So they obeyed his command and were happy with him. He ordered them to prepare for war and said, ‘Your victory is at hand.’ So they did.

Shibl al-Daylamī, a *mawlā* (client) of [the Abbasid caliph] al-Mu‘taḍid, heard of their news in [2]89 [901–902], and so he pursued them. They fought and killed him and a number of his companions at al-Ruṣāfa, on the west of the Euphrates. They entered the town, pillaged it and torched its mosque.

Thereafter they departed for Syria, slaying people, setting villages on fire and plundering until they arrived at the outskirts of Damascus. Ṭuhj b. Khuff,³⁹² the governor there on behalf of Hārūn

390. Allusion to Qur’an 74: 1.

391. It seems that al-Mudaththir and al-Muṭawwaq were close companions of al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh until the three were captured and handed over to the Abbasid caliph al-Muktafi, who had them tortured and executed in 291/903–904. Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 70–88.

392. Ṭuhj b. Khuff (Juff) was the father of the Ikhshīdīd governor of

b. Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, came out to fight them. They defeated him and killed a great many of his companions, after which he [Khuff] fled to Damascus. However, they [the Banū Kulayb] besieged the town and fought against him.³⁹³

The Qarmaṭī [Zikrawayh] used to go to battle on a she-camel (*nāqa*). He would say to his companions, 'Do not leave your ranks until she [the camel] starts moving in front of you and when she does, attack. No banner of yours will be lowered for she is under divine order.' Because of that he was named *ṣāhib al-nāqa*.³⁹⁴

Ṭughj remained besieged in Damascus for seven months. He wrote to Egypt that he had been besieged, most of his companions had been killed and the town was devastated. So Badr al-Kabīr, a *ghulām* of Ibn Ṭūlūn, known as al-Ḥammāmī, was dispatched. He marched until he arrived near Damascus where he met up with Ṭughj to join battle with the Qarmaṭī. The Qarmaṭī [Zikrawayh] was killed and his companions sought protection [from the opposing side]. They withdrew and departed.

The Qarmaṭī had minted dinars and dirhams upon which was inscribed, 'Say: The truth has come and falsehood has been dispelled.' On the reverse was inscribed, 'There is no god except God. Say: No reward do I ask of you except the love of those near of kin.'³⁹⁵

When the Qarāmiṭa departed from Damascus and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, the *ṣāhib al-nāqa*, had been killed, they gave allegiance to [his son] al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh. He was the one who was called Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh, or it was said 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, known as *ṣāhib al-khāl*. He led them and conquered a number of Syrian towns. He [also] occupied Ḥimṣ and killed people. He was proclaimed the Commander of the Faithful, the *mahdī*, from the pulpits and in his correspondence. This was in the year [2]89 [901–902] and a part of [2]90 [902].

Then they [the Qarāmiṭa] went onwards to al-Raqqā.³⁹⁶ The *mawlā*

Syria, Muḥammad b. Ṭughj, who later became the *amīr* of Egypt.

393. Although Zikrawayh's men surrounded Damascus, they could not besiege it as it was well fortified and they lacked the requisite siege equipment. Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, p. 71.

394. The camel guided by divine provenance has a long tradition among the Arabs of the Syrian desert from pre-Islamic times.

395. References to Qur'an 17: 81 and 42: 23.

396. Al-Raqqā was a medieval Islamic town on the left bank of the

(client) of al-Muktafi³⁹⁷ came forward to fight them. However, they defeated and killed him. They captured his soldiers and returned to Damascus, subjecting all the villages that they passed through to plunder, pillage and killing. A sizeable force under Bashīr, a *ghulām* of ʿUṭḡh, marched against them. He fought them until he was killed along with some of his companions.

News of this reached [the caliph] al-Muktafi bi'llāh thirteen days before the end of Rabī' II [2]90 [19 March 903]. He appointed Abu'l-Agharr al-Sulamī at the command of a 10,000-strong force and granted him a robe of honour. [Abu'l-Agharr] marched and camped at Aleppo, [then] he departed but was attacked unawares by the Qarmaṭī army led by al-Muṭawwaq. Abu'l-Agharr was defeated. The Qarāmiṭa overwhelmed the people, taking them prisoner and killing them until by nightfall they had annihilated most of the troops. Abu'l-Agharr rejoined with a group of his companions and they took refuge in Aleppo. His troops numbered about a thousand men. The Qarāmiṭa fought him but, unable to gain an upper hand, they left.

Al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh gathered his companions and led them to Ḥimṣ. His name was pronounced from the pulpits of the city.³⁹⁸

Then he proceeded to Ḥamā and al-Ma'arra,³⁹⁹ murdering men, women and children. Thereafter, he returned to Ba'albakk,⁴⁰⁰ massacring most of its inhabitants.

He then set upon Salamiyya and fought its inhabitants, but they defended themselves. Assuring them safety, he entered the town.

Middle Euphrates, at the junction of its tributary, the Nahr al-Balikh. Today it is the administrative centre of al-Raqqā governorate in Syria. M. Meinecke, 'al-Raḡḡa', *EI2*.

397. Al-Muktafi succeeded al-Mu'taḍid as the Abbasid caliph in 289/902 and reigned until 295/908.

398. This detail suggests that Zikrawayh, and after him his son al-Ḥasan, were seeking to establish their own rule and not in the name of the Ismaili imam.

399. Ma'arrat Maṣrīn/Miṣrīn is a small town in north Syria, 40 km north of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and 50 km south-west of Aleppo. N. Elisséeff, 'Ma'arrat Maṣrīn/Miṣrīn', *EI2*.

400. Ba'albakk is a small oasis town in inland Lebanon, situated on the edge of the high plain of the Biqā'.

But there were a number of the Banū Hāshim there, whom he began slaying.⁴⁰¹

Then he attacked [the rest of] its inhabitants, killing all of them and laying the town to waste. When he left, there were no signs of life. He did not pass a single village without destroying it, nor did he spare a single person. He demolished the towns and massacred the people. Yet no one was able to oppose him. All of Ṭughj's men perished, but he survived, one of only a handful. The Qarāmiṭa advanced towards Damascus, yet no one offered resistance except for the common folk, who were on the verge of annihilation. There was an outcry in Baghdad. The subjects met with Qāḍī Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb and asked him to relay the news to the authorities.

Messages arrived from Egypt to al-Muktafi with news of the destruction of their army that had left for Syria at the hands of the Qarāmiṭa, and the devastation of Syria. Al-Muktafi ordered the army to be on alert. He departed for his campsite accompanied by the commanders and troops on 12 Ramaḍān [15 August 903]. He departed towards al-Raqqā with his troops and halted there. The troops spread out between Aleppo and Ḥimṣ. He appointed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, the chief of the *dīwān al-ʿaṭā* (salary bureau), to fight against al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh and supplied him with a well-equipped force.

He reviewed the army and set off against them [the Qarāmiṭa]. He confronted them at a place twelve miles distant from Ḥamā on 6 Muḥarram 291 [29 November 903]. They engaged in a fierce battle only to be separated by the night. Most of the Qarāmiṭa troops were killed and the rest of them fled.

When al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh realised that the armies were approaching, he selected his men and prepared them for battle. When his companions were defeated, he fled immediately, followed gradually by those [of his companions] who had also escaped. He said to them, 'You have been afflicted because of yourselves and your sins and because you were insincere to God.' He urged them to resume the fighting. They put forward excuses that a large number of their men had been injured or killed. He replied, 'A number of people in Baghdad have written to me pledging their allegiance and

401. The Banū Hāshim refers in this context to members of the Abbasid family, of whom there were a significant number settled in Salamiyya.

my *dāʿ*is there are awaiting my orders, for it is currently devoid of a ruler. I am heading towards it to declare [my authority] there. I have appointed my companion, Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad, [as leader] over you. My letters will instruct him on what is to be done. So listen to him and obey him.'

They assured him [al-Ḥasan] of this. His relative ʿĪsā, a nephew of Mihrawayh called al-Mudaththir, his companion known as al-Muṭawwaq and his Byzantine *ghulām* accompanied him. He took a guide to assist them in finding the way. They headed towards the Sawād of Kūfa. He travelled by land, avoiding villages and towns, until he was near al-Raḥba at a place known as al-Dāliyya. He ordered the guide to head towards it. They halted at a place near it, behind a hill. He sent one of his men to enter the village and purchase the things that he needed. However, one of the town's inhabitants considered his attire suspicious and questioned him about his intentions. He was ambivalent and agitated. He had misgivings about him so he seized him and took him to the administrator called Abū Khubza, who was the deputy of Aḥmad b. Kushmard, the commander along the Euphrates, al-Dāliyya being a village of the Euphrates district. Abū Khubza questioned and threatened him. So he informed him that the Qarmaṭī [al-Ḥasan], whom the caliph al-Muktafi was in search of, was behind a hill and he pointed toward it. So the headman set off with a group of armed men. He arrested and fettered them and took them to Ibn Kushmard, who proceeded with them to al-Muktafi who was at al-Raqqa. There they were publicly exhibited. Al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh was wearing a *durrāʿa* [brocade overgarment] and a *burnus* [silk tailored hat] and al-Mudaththir had donned a silk garment and a silk tailored hat. This incident took place four days before the end of Muḥarram [19 December 903].

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān came with his troops to al-Raqqa, accompanied by the captives. Al-Muktafi left his troops with Muḥammad b. Sulaymān at al-Raqqa and departed with his close companions and his *ghilmān*. He was followed to Baghdad by his wazir, al-Qāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh. The Qarmaṭī and his companions were with him.

When he arrived at Baghdad, a dais (*kursī*) was constructed for him [the Qarmaṭī] that was two and a half cubits high. It was placed on an elephant upon which he was made to ascend. Al-Muktafi

entered [the city] in front of him, together with his captive companions. That took place on 3 Rabī' I [24 January 904]. Thereafter, they were imprisoned.⁴⁰²

On 12 [Rabī' I/8 February 904], Muḥammad b. Sulaymān arrived with the rest of the Qarāmiṭa. Al-Muktafi instructed his commanders to receive him and to enter [the city] with him. He entered wearing fine clothing and with him were just over 70 captives. He was bestowed with a robe of honour and decorated with a gold necklace and two gold armlets. The rest of the commanders were also presented with robes of honour and decorated with necklaces and armlets.

Al-Muktafi ordered the building of a square enclosure that was twenty cubits in length and width and ten cubits in height, and which could be ascended by steps on the eastern side. When four days were left [in Rabī' I] [16 February 904] all the commanders and the ordinary people came out [to see it] and the Qarāmiṭa were transported there on camels. They were all put to death, 360 of them. It is also said that they numbered fewer than that.

Then al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh and 'Isā, the nephew of Mihrawayh, were taken to the top of the enclosure along with thirty-four of the most distinguished Qarāmiṭa who were known to be ruthless (*ahl-al-nikāya*).⁴⁰³ One of them was thrown down on his face, his right hand severed and hurled below for people to see; then his left foot was severed followed by his right foot and both were tossed to the ground. Finally, his head was severed and hurled to the ground.

Then al-Mudaththar was brought in and they did likewise to him after he had been scorched, tormented and beheaded.

Thereafter, al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh was brought in. He was first dealt 200 lashes and then his hands and feet were dismembered. Finally, he was burned and beheaded. Subsequently, his head was raised on a pole. Those who were on the enclosure cried out, 'God is Great', and the people watching followed suit and then departed.

The heads were impaled at the bridge and the body of the Qarmaṭī was crucified and left there for almost a year.

402. This event is also reported by 'Arīb b. Sa'īd al-Qurṭubī in his continuation of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rikh al-Ṭabarī al-ma'rūf bi ta'rikh al-umam wa'l-mulūk* (Beirut, 1989), 7: 5.

403. The *ahl al-nikāya* were those accused of torturing their victims.

Among the letters of al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh to his administrators is a copy which begins thus after the *Basmallah*:

From al-Mahdī,⁴⁰⁴ the one who is victorious by God, the one who supports God's religion, the one who acts on the order of God,⁴⁰⁵ the one who summons to the book of God, the one who protects the sanctuary of God, the one who is chosen among the progeny of the Messenger of God, the Commander of the Faithful, the imam of the Muslims, the humiliator of the hypocrites, the vicegerent of God over the worlds, the reaper of the oppressors, the shatterer of the aggressors, the annihilator of the heretics, the killer of the unjust, the destroyer of the corrupt, the lamp of those seeking insight, the disperser of the deviators, the one who upholds the *sunna* of the best of messengers, the offspring of the *afḍal al-waṣiyyin* (most excellent of the vicegerents), may God bless him and his noble progeny and grant him salvation.

Letter to so and so: Peace be with you.⁴⁰⁶ I thank God; there is no deity other than Him. I beseech Him to bless my ancestor, Muḥammad, the Messenger of God.

We have heard about what has happened at your end concerning the enemies of God, the unbelievers, about the oppression, destruction and corruption that they have caused in the land. This distresses us. We have decided to send our troops there so that through them God may take revenge on the oppressive enemies who are spreading corruption on earth. We have sent our *dā'ī*⁴⁰⁷ and a group of faithful to the town of Ḥimṣ. We will follow them shortly and have ordered them to set off towards your region so as to pursue the enemies of God, wherever they may be. We hope that through them God will reward us His best reward, according to His best custom.

You must strengthen your heart and the hearts of your followers among our *awliyā'* (friends). Place your trust in God and in His aid that has never failed us against all those who have renounced obedience and who have deviated from the faith. Report urgently the news of the region and the happenings there. Do not conceal any of its matters from us.

Glory is to You, O God, their greeting therein is peace. The end of their invocation is: Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds. May God

404. This is a clear example of al-Ḥasan claiming the status of the *mahdī* for himself.

405. Literally, 'the one who rules by the rule of God'.

406. The letter was sent to Ja'far b. Ḥāmid al-Kurdī, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, as cited in *Itti'āz*, 1: 174.

407. Al-Ṭabarī names him 'Uṭayr in *Ta'rikh*, 11: 384, as cited in *Itti'āz*, 1: 174.

bless my ancestor [Muḥammad], the Messenger of God, and the Ahl al-Bayt, and grant him salvation.

His administrators addressed him in a similar style.

Al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad Abu'l-Ḥusayn, the deputy of al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh, escaped and came to Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh in the Sawād of Kūfa. He informed the latter about those whom his son had left under his command. They were in a state of unrest, so he feared them and abandoned them. Zikrawayh rebuked him sharply for his arrival and said to him, 'Why did you not correspond with me before proceeding to me?' He [Zikrawayh] found him [al-Qāsim] to be terrified of being pursued by the [Abbasid] ruler and by 'Abdān's companions.

Subsequently, he [Zikrawayh] disregarded Abu'l-Ḥusayn and in [2]93 [905–906] sent for one of his men, a teacher (*mu'allim*) called Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd, surnamed Abū Ghānim, who adopted the name Naṣr (victory) as a guise. He [Zikrawayh] ordered him to travel in the region of the Kalb and to invite [its people] to the *da'wa*, which he did. Some of the Aṣbaghis and the Banu'l-'Ulays responded to him, so he marched with them to Syria. In those days, Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh was the governor of Damascus and Jordan, on behalf of al-Muktafī bi'llāh who at that time was occupied in fighting a war against Ibn al-Khalij in Egypt. Therefore, the teacher Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mu'allim took this opportunity and went towards Buṣrā⁴⁰⁸ and Adhri'āt⁴⁰⁹ and fought its inhabitants. He captured their families, seized all their possessions and killed their troops. Then he headed for Damascus. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Faḍl, the deputy of Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh, marched against him with his warriors. They [the Qarāmiṭa] defeated and killed his troops, and captured and killed him [Ṣāliḥ]. They then attempted to occupy Damascus but its inhabitants repelled them. So they left for Tiberias. They engaged in battle along the River Jordan and emerged victorious. Then they plundered Tiberias, killing [the men] and capturing the women.

Consequently, al-Muktafī sent al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān, accompa-

408. Buṣrā is a town in southern Syria approximately 30 km north of the present frontier of Jordan. Nowadays it is called Boṣrā Eski Shām.

409. Present-day Der'a in the Ḥawrān region.

nied by eminent commanders, to pursue them. He entered Damascus while they were in Tiberias. They [the Qarāmiṭa] departed towards al-Samāwa⁴¹⁰ being pursued by Ibn Ḥamdān overland, so they began to dry up the wells wherever they travelled. Because of the shortage of water, Ibn Ḥamdān stopped pursuing them and went towards Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawq. The Qarāmiṭa travelled by night to Hīt⁴¹¹ and raided it nine days before the end of Shaʿbān in the year (2)93 [16 June 906]. They plundered its environs and the boats that were moored on the Euphrates and killed around 200 people.

Two days later they left with their spoils.⁴¹² Al-Muktafi sent a strong force and a group of commanders under Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Kundāj to Hīt, followed by Muʿnis,⁴¹³ only to find that they had dried up the wells there too. So he supplied them with water and provisions from Baghdad. He [al-Muktafi] wrote to Ibn Ḥamdān to order them to proceed from al-Raḥba.

When they [the tribesmen] realised that, they conspired against their master, al-Muʿallim. One of his followers, called al-Dhiʿb b. al-Qāʾim, pounced on him and killed him. He then left for Baghdad seeking acknowledgement for what he had done. He was given a splendid reward and his people were no longer being pursued. The head of this [pretender] al-Qāʾim, also known as Naṣr al-Muʿallim, was carried off to Baghdad.

Later, some of the Banū Kalb disapproved of al-Dhiʿb's killing of al-Muʿallim and his subsequent actions, while others accepted it. This led to severe infighting and they split into two groups. The group that accepted the killing of al-Muʿallim set off for ʿAyn al-Tamr,⁴¹⁴ while the other group stayed back. Zikrawayh heard of

410. A semi-desert region between Palmyra and the Euphrates, and home to the Banū Kalb.

411. A town on the Middle Euphrates.

412. According to al-Ṭabarī, the Qarāmiṭa made away with 3,000 loads of wheat, which was of immense value to the bedouins. Cited in Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, p. 185.

413. Muʿnis al-Muẓaffar seized control of the Abbasid state in Baghdad in 316/928. In the ensuing struggle for power, the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir was murdered in 320/932 and Muʿnis himself was executed the following year. Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, p. 160.

414. ʿAyn al-Tamr was a small town in Iraq in a fertile depression on the borders of the desert between Anbār and Kūfa, approximately 130 km

this while Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim was with him. So he sent him back to them. When he [Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim] arrived, he gathered them and admonished them saying, 'I am the messenger of your master. He reproves you for what al-Dhi'b b. al-Qā'im has done; you have apostatised from your faith.'

They apologised and swore that they too were not pleased with that. They informed him that there were disagreements and conflict amongst them.

So he said to them, 'I am bringing you something that no one prior to me has ever brought you. Your master says to you, "Your cause is ready and your *zuhūr* (advent) is imminent. Forty thousand inhabitants of Kūfa have pledged allegiance to him [Zikrawayh] and greater numbers than that have done so in the Sawād [of Kūfa]. I promise you that the day which God has mentioned [concerning Moses, blessings of God be upon him, and his enemy the Pharaoh, when he said, 'your tryst']⁴¹⁵ is the day of the festival; so let the people be assembled when the sun has arisen." Organise your affairs and set off towards Kūfa for no one can shield you from that. I have fulfilled the promise that my messengers have given to you.'

They rejoiced and travelled towards Kūfa. They set up camp thirty-six miles from it, a day before the day of 'Arafa in the year [2]93 [905–906]. They left their servants and their possessions there, for he [Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim] had ordered them to follow him to [a place that was] six miles from al-Qādisiyya.

Then he consulted his notable companions about an opportune time to enter Kūfa. They agreed that they should hide at al-Najaf to allow the horses and the riding beasts to rest and to set off at dawn to attack it [Kūfa] while its inhabitants were at *ʿid* prayers.

Thus, they set out and arrived [at al-Najaf] where they slept. By way of God's mercy upon the people [of Kūfa], they did not wake up until sunrise on the day of the *ʿid*, so they did not arrive at Kūfa until the prayer was over and the people had dispersed all over the town. The *amīr* of the town had sent out scouts, as rumours had been spread in the town that trouble might occur. They [the Qarāmiṭa] advanced; some of their horsemen entered Kūfa, took

west of Karbalā'. Saleh A. El-Ali, 'Ayn al-Tamr', *EI2*.

415. The insert has been added from Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 7: 215, for clarity of meaning by al-Shayyāl. The reference to the Qur'an is 20: 59.

to the sword and killed many people and torched [the town]. This caused an uproar in Kūfa. People emerged bearing weapons, rallied against them and hurled stones at them, killing a number of them. Then the rest of them [the Qarāmiṭa] approached, so Ishāq b. 'Imrān marched against them with some of his troops. The people joined him and they fought a fierce battle on an intensely hot summer's day. The Qarāmiṭa withdrew exhausted and halted at a place that was a couple of miles away from Kūfa. In the evening they set off for their Sawād. They passed by al-Qādisiyya, where [the people] had prepared to fight them, so they departed [once again]. The *amīr* of Kūfa sent this news to Baghdad.

The Qarāmiṭa advanced to the Sawād of Kūfa. There Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim met Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, who had been in hiding. He said to his troops, 'This is your master, your lord and your ruler whom you have been awaiting.'⁴¹⁶

Thereupon they all dismounted and touched their cheeks to the ground. They pitched a large tent for Zikrawayh, encircled him and rejoiced much in being with him. The people of his *da'wa* at the Sawād joined him, considerably augmenting his army.

Al-Muktafi dispatched a massive army. They [the troops] set off with supplies, banners and falcons, uniformed but untrained in warfare and underestimating their enemy. They arrived fatigued, their backs aching.⁴¹⁷ The Qarāmiṭa attacked and defeated them, putting them to the sword and killing most of them. Only a handful escaped to al-Qādisiyya. They [the Qarāmiṭa] stayed in town for three days gathering booty.⁴¹⁸ Almost 1,500 of [al-Muktafi's] troops were killed. The Qarāmiṭa were fortified by the booty. The news reached al-Muktafi who became concerned about the pilgrims. He sent Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Kundāj to protect the pilgrims and to pursue the Qarāmiṭa. A vast number of people joined him.

The Qarāmiṭa headed towards the pilgrims. They attacked the

416. Al-Qurṭubī, *Šilat*, p. 8, claims that Zikrawayh had gone into hiding in underground chambers and houses.

417. No mention is made by al-Ṭabarī in his *Tārīkh* that the army was untrained and fatigued by the time it faced the enemy. This may well be indicative of him glossing the weakness of Abbasid forces, according to Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 187–188.

418. The loot was substantial: 500 mules, 300 swift camels loaded with weapons, and mule-loads of grain. Halm, *ibid.*, p. 188.

Khurāsānī [pilgrims] on 11 Muḥarram of the year (2)94 [1 November 906], decapitating them with their swords and killing a great many of them. Zikrawayh seized all their possessions.

Ibn al-Kundāj arrived and stayed at al-Qādisiyya and those Khurāsānī pilgrims who had managed to escape joined him. He said [to them], 'I will not betray the ruler's [al-Muktafi's] army.'

The second and the third convoy of pilgrims arrived.⁴¹⁹ They battled fervently against the Qarāmiṭa but were overpowered and a large number of them were killed. They [the Qarāmiṭa] seized everything in the convoy. They also captured the women and released only those whom they did not need. Numerous pilgrims died of thirst. It was said that almost 20,000 of them perished. This caused fear and dread in Baghdad.

Eleven days before the end of Muḥarram [9 November 906], al-Muktafi expended money and [disbursed] weapons from the storehouses to dispatch troops from Kūfa.

Zikrawayh departed, having flung corpses into every stretch of water. He sent out his scouts as the [third] convoy [of pilgrims] approached with the commanders and the *shamsa* that al-Mu'taḍid had adorned with precious jewels. Eminent dignitaries, leaders, rich merchants, indescribable treasures and wealth were all part of the convoy as well. Zikrawayh confronted them at al-Habīr⁴²⁰ and fought them as a convoy of pilgrims of the *'umra* (minor pilgrimage) reached them. Those who wished to perform the *'umra* used to stay back after the departure of the *hajj* pilgrims in a convoy at the beginning of Muḥarram, a [practice] stopped from that year on when people assembled and fought on the day. When the water ran out, he [Zikrawayh] took possession of the convoy, killed people and captured all the women, wealth and other goods.⁴²¹ Some people escaped but the majority of them died of thirst. Then he [Zikrawayh] departed and captured the inhabitants of Fayd.⁴²²

419. Although al-Maqrīzī mentions the arrival of the second and third convoys, here he describes the fate of the second convoy only. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 7: 12.

420. Al-Habīr is a lowland region on the way to Mecca.

421. The material cost of the goods taken by the Qarāmiṭa was estimated at one million dinars. Reported by al-Qurṭubī in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, p. 12.

422. Yāqūt mentions this place as a small, inhabited town midway

Baghdad, Kūfa and the whole of Iraq were similarly afflicted so that there was not a single home that had been spared calamity, weeping, sobbing and wailing. In sorrow and grief, al-Muktafi secluded himself from the women and he set out to march after Zikrawayh. He sent his troops ahead who caught up with Zikrawayh seven days before the end of Rabī' I [11 January 907]. A severe battle ensued between them in which both sides held their ground, until finally Zikrawayh was routed, most of his men were killed and a large number of them were captured. When fire was hurled into his tent he escaped from the back but a man caught up with him and struck him until he fell to the ground. Another man came upon him who, on recognising him, placed him on a thoroughbred horse and set off towards Baghdad. He [Zikrawayh] died of his wounds. He was taken to Baghdad, dead and in fetters, and publicly exhibited in that state. His womenfolk and those of his companions and their captive children accompanied him. The heads of those [of his men] who had been killed were carried in front of him in the saddlebags. News of the Qarāmiṭa died with the death of Zikrawayh.

[The Qarmaṭī leader Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī]

In the year 295 [907–908] a man from the Zuṭṭ⁴²³ emerged in the Sawād; he was called Abū Ḥātim al-Zuṭṭī and he presented himself as a *dā'ī* to the companions of al-Būrānī, who were known as al-Būrāniyya. He forbade them garlic, onions, leeks and radishes. He also prohibited them from shedding the blood of any animals and ordered them to adhere to the *madhhab* of al-Būrānī. He commanded them to do things that only fools would accede to. He stayed with them for almost a year. Then he disappeared. Subsequently, disagreements occurred among them [his followers]. A group of them alleged that Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh was alive and that the people had confused him with someone else, while another group claimed that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl was the *ḥujja* of God.

between Mecca and Kūfa. Cited in al-Shayyāl, ed., *Itti'āz*, p. 179n1.

423. In his edition of the *Itti'āz*, Sayyid notes that the word *zuṭṭ* comes from the Persian word *jatt*, which was ascribed to people from north India who had migrated in large numbers to southern Iran and the Sawād region of Iraq during the early Abbasid period.

Subsequently, a Qarmaṭī from the Banū 'Ijl,⁴²⁴ who was known as Muḥammad b. Quṭba, emerged. Almost a hundred men joined him, so he led them towards Wāsiṭ, which he plundered and where he wreaked havoc. Consequently, the commander of the region confronted him, and killed some and captured a number of them.

The affairs of the Qarāmiṭa were on the wane until in 310 [922–923] Abū Ṭāhir b. Abī Sa'īd al-Jannābī took the initiative of planning an attack on Baṣra.⁴²⁵ He built ladders that had steps wide enough for two men to climb up simultaneously and which could be set up when needed and otherwise be folded and carried. Then he set off for Baṣra. When he came close to it, he distributed weapons [to his men]. He filled sacks with sand and had them carried on camelback. He arrived at the city wall before dawn and set up the ladders that a group of men climbed over to descend to the other side. They killed [the guards] and broke the locks, thus enabling the troops to enter. Their first course of action was to place the sandbags by the gates so as to stop them from closing. The people [of Baṣra] sprang upon them accompanied by their governor, who was killed in the ensuing battle. They spent the day fighting until finally darkness separated them, so they departed. A colossal number of people [of Baṣra] had been killed. They [the Qarāmiṭa] slept the night, returning early the following morning to the city to [continue] killing and plundering.

Then they left for al-Aḥsā'. The ruler [al-Muktafi] sent troops against them under Abu'l-Hayjā' 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdān who had been appointed as the tax official over Kūfa, the Sawād and the route to Mecca. He followed them in their tracks, took some of them captive and returned.

When the pilgrim convoys approached, Abū Ṭāhir intercepted them and killed some of the pilgrims. Abu'l-Hayjā' b. Ḥamdān came to their defence with a large number of troops but the Qarāmiṭa attacked relentlessly and defeated them, taking Abu'l-Hayjā' prisoner. When Abū Ṭāhir saw him, he jeered and said, 'We have come

424. The Banū 'Ijl were an ancient Arabian tribe.

425. Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān was one of the younger sons of Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī, the founder of the Qarmaṭi state in Bahrain, murdered in 301/913–914. It was under Abū Ṭāhir's leadership that the Qarāmiṭa attained the height of their power, extending their activities from Iraq to Syria, Egypt and all of Arabia, culminating in their attack on Mecca and theft of the Black Stone from the Ka'ba in 317/930.

to you ‘Abd Allāh as we did not want to trouble you to come to us.’

Abu’l-Hayjā’ was polite to him and sought his protection. He [Abū Ṭāhir] commanded that the pilgrims be separated from the camel drivers and the artisans. They [the Qarāmiṭa] took whatever the pilgrims had and abandoned them. Consequently, the pilgrims returned almost dead. He [Abū Ṭāhir] departed the following day, after he had taken nearly 20,000 dinars and an indescribable amount of wealth from Abu’l-Hayjā’ alone. After a few months, he released Abu’l-Hayjā’, who returned to Baghdad.

In 312 [924–925] a massive army set out from Baghdad to protect the pilgrims. Abū Ṭāhir al-Qarmaṭī caught up with the pilgrims at al-‘Aqaba,⁴²⁶ so the pilgrims changed their route to Kūfa. The Qarmaṭī pursued them, halting in its [Kufa’s] vicinity on 13 Dhu’l-Qa‘da [10 February 925]. The people engaged him in skirmishes; thus harassed, he retreated. The following day he forestalled them by attacking them, so the [Abbasid] ruler’s troops marched against him. He fought and defeated them. Their commanders were killed, as were a great number of common folk. He plundered the town until the 20th of the month [17 February 925] and then departed.

In 315 [927–928] the Qarmaṭī set off from his town to fight Ibn Abi’l-Sāj, who had been sent by the [Abbasid] ruler with a large army to Wāsiṭ to march against the land of the Qarmaṭī. He [Ibn Abi’l-Sāj] found the advance cumbersome because of the large number of people who were with him and because the march across the desert was arduous for him. So he [decided to] beguile the Qarmaṭī by corresponding with him, offering to collude with him and enticing his support to seize Baghdad. Thus duped, he [Abū Ṭāhir] set out with his family, retinue, followers and a full-strength army, and headed towards Kūfa.

Ibn Abi’l-Sāj left with his troops from Wāsiṭ to Kūfa. The Qarmaṭī arrived there before him. He [Abū Ṭāhir] had entered the town on 7 Shawwāl [5 December 927] and established his control over it. He took provisions from it and prepared what he needed. Ibn Abi’l-Sāj arrived without any preparation and crossed the river, misjudging the Qarmaṭī’s power and contemptuous of him. He fought the Qarāmiṭa with an army so unwieldy that he was unable

426. Al-‘Aqaba, the sole seaport of Jordan, lies at the head of the Gulf of ‘Aqaba.

to direct it as the troops dispersed; they rode out and plundered the villages, harming people and exhibiting a great deal of depravity. The Qarmaṭi headed towards him and fought him. The forces of Ibn Abī'l-Sāj were routed after a vast number of people were wounded and killed on both sides. People suffered such horrific massacres that the dead were spread out over two to four parasangs.⁴²⁷ He [Abū Ṭāhir] seized his [Ibn Abī'l-Sāj's] camp and the peasants of the Sawād marauded all they could. He stayed there for forty days, and when he no longer expected an army to be sent against him, he set off towards Baghdad. He camped in the Sawād of al-Anbār⁴²⁸ and crossed the Euphrates to its western side. He proceeded [on a route] between the Euphrates and the Tigris, heading for Baghdad. Troops were sent against him. Mu'nis marched towards him, catching up with him approximately three parasangs away from Baghdad and engaged the Qarāmiṭa in heavy fighting. A message arrived from al-Muqtadir⁴²⁹ commanding Mu'nis to speed up the fighting and enquiring as to the amount of money that would be required until the time of his arrival.

He [Mu'nis] replied, 'Indeed, our stay here, may God lengthen the life of our master, will require the expenditure of money and our fighting will require the expenditure of men. We ought to choose the expense of money over the expenditure of men.' Then he sent a message to the Qarmaṭi saying, 'Woe betide you! You thought that I was like the ones who met you before and that I was going to send my men to fight you. By God, it does not please me to gain victory over you by sacrificing a single Muslim amongst my companions. But I will contend with you and deny you food and drink until, God willing, I apprehend you myself.'

Then he [Mu'nis] sent Yalbaq at the head of an army to fight those who were in Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra.⁴³⁰ The Qarmaṭi was worried and perturbed by this.

His [Abū Ṭāhir's] companions sought to escape and aban-

427. As one parasang equals three miles or approximately five km, the dead would have been spread over 10 to 20 km.

428. Al-Anbār was a town on the left bank of the Euphrates and controlled an important crossing on the river.

429. Al-Muqtadir succeeded al-Muktafi as the next Abbasid caliph in 295/908.

430. Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra was a village north of Babylon.

doned their tents. Mu'nis looted whatever they had left behind. The Qarāmiṭa army marched along the western bank of the Euphrates whilst Mu'nis's troops moved along its eastern side until the Qarmaṭi reached al-Raḥba. Mu'nis sought to trick the Qarāmiṭa by sending out boatloads of poisoned fruits, which the Qarāmiṭa consumed. Consequently, a large number of them died and many others suffered from diarrhoea and exhaustion. They retreated with very few supplies and provisions. They fought the people of Hit and departed in confusion. He [Abū Ṭāhir] entered Kūfa on 3 Ramaḍān 316 [20 October 928] in a state of weakness, suffering from wounds and ailments. He stayed there until the beginning of Dhu'l-Ḥijja [January 929], neither killing nor plundering. Then he left.

In the year [3]17 [929–930] he marched with his army and arrived at Mecca on 8 Dhu'l-Ḥijja [12 January 930]. He mercilessly massacred the people in the city mosque and plundered the Ka'ba, taking its *kiswa* (covering) and its decorations. He ripped off its gate and its curtains, displaying his contempt for it. He pulled out the Black Stone and took it away with him, for he thought that it was a magnet that attracted hearts.⁴³¹ He also took the waterspout.

He returned to his hometown in Muḥarram [3]18 [February–March 930] greatly fatigued. He had seized 26,000 camel-loads, destroyed [other people's] tools and set ablaze their provisions. He had captured so many women, *ghilmān* and children that they overcrowded the space. The Hudhayl encircled him and he was on the brink of death when his guide swerved away from the well-known road to his hometown.

In Ramaḍān 319 [September–October 931], he headed for Kūfa. His troops ravaged the Sawād and captured a great many people. They plundered goods and returned to their hometown having stayed there for fifty nights.⁴³²

431. In Muslim eyes this was a highly sacrilegious act. Along with the killing and plundering that took place, the Qarāmiṭa are also reported to have looted the sacred emblems safeguarded in the Ka'ba, such as the horn of Abraham's ram, the staff of Moses and the earrings of Mary. See Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 256–257, and the various sources that he cites.

432. Al-Maqrīzī does not report here the extraordinary episode of Abū Ṭāhir transferring the rule of his Qarmaṭi state to Abu'l-Faḍl Zakariyyā, a young man from Iṣfahān, whom he recognized as the *mahdī* in 319/931. After eighty days Abū Ṭāhir accused Abu'l-Faḍl of being an imposter and

Abū Ṭāhir sent out a naval raiding party consisting of around forty boats. They put the people of the coastal region to the sword and massacred everyone they came across, man, woman or child. Only those who fled to the mountains were spared. They took the [remaining] women captive. The people [of the coastal lands] joined forces and, in the war that ensued, killed a large number of them. A group of them [the Qarāmiṭa] were taken captive. They united against them, motivated by martyrdom. They exerted themselves and killed most of them [the Qarāmiṭa]. All the rest were taken prisoner so that not a single one among them slipped away. The captives were taken to Baghdad along with the heads [of those who were killed]. There were almost a hundred men and a hundred heads. Subsequently [the men] were imprisoned in Baghdad.

Then they [the Qarāmiṭa] were released. After their release, they went to Abū Ṭāhir informing him that a significant number of notables and others were corresponding with them to win their favour. The reason for their release was the correspondence that had taken place between them, resulting in a truce concerning the return of the Black Stone, the release of prisoners and the non-interception of the pilgrims. This was agreed upon.⁴³³

The Qarmaṭī entered Kūfa in the year [3]23 [934–935], after the pilgrim caravan had departed from it in Dhu'l-Qa'da [October 935]. When the caravan returned, he was unable to fight them, so he captured whatever he was able to. He did not indulge in massacring the pilgrims, but seized only what he could.⁴³⁴

It came to the Qarmaṭī's attention that a companion of his had

executed him. See Daftary, *The Ismā'īlis*, pp. 162–163.

433. This release was motivated by the change of rule in Baghdad. In 322/934 the Abbasid caliph al-Qāhir was replaced by al-Rāḍī, who entered into negotiations with Abū Ṭāhir. The Fatimid caliph al-Mahdī had also earlier written to Abū Ṭāhir, severely reprimanding his conduct and demanding the return of the Black Stone to Mecca (Daftary, *ibid.*, p. 149). This letter does not seem to have been preserved, unlike the one sent by al-Mu'izz to the Qarmaṭī leader al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad cited by al-Maqrīzī later in the text.

434. According to al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn al-Athīr and other sources, Abū Ṭāhir stayed peacefully at Kūfa and allowed the safe passage for pilgrims because a number of Kūfan 'Alids had successfully negotiated these matters with him. Halm, *Empire of the Mahdī*, p. 382.

said, 'By God, we do not know why our master Abū Ṭāhir is tearing people from the east and the west apart, antagonising them and those who follow them. It is only the bedouins and a few others who benefit from much of their money. When he secures a victory over them, he should demand that each man pay a dinar before releasing them and granting them protection. None of them would object to this for it would be light and easy for them. This would enable people from all lands to make the pilgrimage for which they have a deep longing. There would not be a single ruler who would not correspond with him [Abū Ṭāhir] and send him gifts. Each of them would be in need of him to protect the inhabitants and the notables of their lands. Each year he would receive more money than any other ruler does from the collection of taxes. He could establish his power over the land and people would submit to him. If a ruler objected to that, he would be blamed for being the one hindering the people from performing the pilgrimage.'

The Qarmaṭī approved of this view, so he immediately proclaimed safety for the people. He invited the Khurāsānī pilgrims and organised their affairs such that they could perform the pilgrimage; in exchange for this, they gave him money each year. He granted them protection for their lives and their wealth. The people of Egypt also paid levies for the pilgrims from the money due to the [Abbasid] ruler. Thereafter, those who succeeded to the rule of Iraq did not consider this to be a vile act or a vice; hence a tax benefiting them [the Qarāmiṭa] was introduced upon the people of Kūfa for the performance of the pilgrimage.

In the year [3]25 [936–937] Abū Ṭāhir attacked Kūfa and arrested its governor, Shafi' al-Lu'lu'i, granting him personal safety. He sent Shafi' to the caliph to inform him that they were destitute and in dire need of money. If he gave them money, they would not cause trouble against him and would serve him in whichever way he sought. Otherwise, they would have no recourse but to live by their swords. Abū Ṭāhir treated Shafi' kindly and gave him gifts. He arrived in the caliph's presence and conveyed the message to him. He [the caliph] sent a man to the Qarmaṭī who argued with him and made him fearful of the caliph and his followers. This weakened him further and he left the town. God afflicted him with smallpox, which killed him. After him, his brothers and Ibn Sanbar succeeded

to take charge of affairs.⁴³⁵

In [3]39 [950–951] they [the Qarāmiṭa] attempted to win over the people, so they carried the Black Stone to Kūfa and placed it on a column in the mosque there.⁴³⁶

It had been reported on the authority of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, called Zayn al-Ābidīn,⁴³⁷ that 'indeed the Black Stone will be placed in the mosque of Kūfa at the end of time.'

Subsequently, Sanbar b. al-Ḥasan b. Sanbar came to Mecca with it, accompanied by the ruler of Mecca. When he reached the precinct of the Ka'ba he lifted the [Black] Stone out of the basket in which it had been kept protected. Silver braces had been fitted horizontally and vertically on the Stone so as to secure the fissures that had appeared in it when it had been pulled off. He had brought an artisan with him who strengthened the Stone with gypsum. A number of Ka'ba gatekeepers were present. Sanbar b. al-Ḥasan b. Sanbar himself placed the Stone in its place in the presence of the gatekeepers and the artisan strengthened it with gypsum. After it had been returned, he [Ibn Sanbar] said, 'We took it by the might of God and we return it by His will.'⁴³⁸ People gazed at it, kissed it and touched it while Sanbar was circling the Ka'ba.

The stone had been hauled from the corner of the Ka'ba on Monday, 14 Dhu'l-Qa'da 317 [19 December 929]. It was returned on Tuesday, 10 Dhu'l-Ḥijja – the Day of Immolation [Sacrifice] – of the year 339 [19 May 951]. It had been in the possession of al-Jannābī and his companions for four days short of twenty-two years.

435. After Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī's death in 332/944, his three surviving brothers succeeded him, with real power wielded by the eldest Abu'l-Qāsim Sa'īd. They were also assisted by seven wazirs belonging to the Banū Sanbar.

436. This was due to a reward of 50,000 dinars offered to the Qarāmiṭa by the Turkish general Bajkam during the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Rāḍī.

437. Zayn al-Ābidīn was the title of the early Shi'ī imam 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and not that of his son, Muḥammad, who was called al-Bāqir.

438. Quoted from al-Musabbiḥī, as noted by Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, p. 384.

[The Qarāmiṭa in Iran]

The Qarāmiṭa had begun their activities in the Sawād of Kūfa in the year 316 [928–929] when Abū Ṭāhir al-Qarmaṭī left Baghdad and headed towards Syria.⁴³⁹ They summoned each other to gather at their *dār al-hijra* and their numbers increased. They attacked the regions of Wāsiṭ and killed a large number of people. They seized weapons and other supplies that the troops had gathered there, which reinforced their power. ‘Īsā b. Mūsā and al-Ḥijāzī, who were *dā’īs*, led them. Al-Ḥijāzī was from Kūfa, where he used to sell bread. He associated with Yazīd al-Naqqāsh. Some *ghilmān* (slaves) joined them and they set off plundering and terrorising people after the town had been weakened by the continuous sedition and devastation perpetrated by al-Būrānī in the Sawād of Kūfa, and the fragile hold of the government. They ordered all the people of the Sawād to go to them. Almost 10,000 of them gathered. They sent out tax collectors and then headed towards Kūfa, entering it forcibly. Its governor fled and they appointed officials over its land-tax and warfare. They introduced changes to the call to prayer. The authorities sent an army against them that fought and defeated them. Countless were killed, some drowned and the rest fled. The captives were taken to Baghdad where they were killed and their bodies suspended on crosses. ‘Īsā b. Mūsā was imprisoned for a while. Later, he escaped as a result of the negligence of the authorities and the disturbances that broke out towards the latter part of al-Muqtadir’s reign. He remained in Baghdad, summoning the people, and wrote works that he ascribed to the *dā’ī* ‘Abdān, portraying him as a philosopher. He claimed that he [‘Abdān] knew of events prior to their occurrence. He gathered a following, caused immense corruption and was succeeded by deputies for some time.

The *da’wa* was brought to Khurāsān by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Khādim. Initially, it surfaced in Nīshāpūr. At his death, he appointed Abū Sa’īd al-Sha’rānī as his successor.⁴⁴⁰ A significant

439. In this short section, al-Maqrīzī recaps the early activities of the Qarāmiṭa under Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī and the spread of the Ismaili *da’wa* from the Sawād to Iran. The historian may have intended to incorporate it in the foregoing section to render a chronological sequence of events in the final version of the text.

440. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Khādim was said to have been a chamberlain

number of those who joined him were chiefs and weapon bearers.

In Rayy a cotton ginner called Khalaf al-Ḥallāj,⁴⁴¹ after whom the al-Khalafiyya, a large group, are named, spread [the *da'wa*]. A group of Daylamids, Asfār and others responded to them.⁴⁴² When al-Mardāwīj⁴⁴³ killed Asfār, the might of the Qarāmiṭa increased in Rayy during his reign. They killed people in stealth and a large number perished.

Then al-Mardāwīj headed for Jurjān to fight Naṣr b. Aḥmad al-Sāmānī.⁴⁴⁴ He took them by surprise, killing them along with their women and children. None of them survived. Some of them [the Qarāmiṭa] went to Mufliḥ, the *ghulām* of Ibn Abī'l-Sāj, who responded to them and joined their *da'wa*.

of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī. Abū Sa'īd al-Sha'rānī, his student and successor, began his activities for the *da'wa* in 307/919 and was executed sometime after 321–329/933–939. After his death the *da'wa* in Khurāsān was steered by al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Marwazī, a former Sāmānid officer who had joined the *da'wa* at the hands of Ghiyāth, the *dā'ī* of Rayy. See Stern, *Studies*, pp. 216–218.

441. Khalaf al-Ḥallāj was the one who established the *da'wa* at Rayy. He initially stayed in the village of Kulīn in the district of Pashāpūya and worked as a cotton carder (*ḥallāj al-quṭn*). When his activities became known, Khalaf fled Kulīn and returned to Rayy. Nothing more is known about him except that he was succeeded by his son Aḥmad. Stern, *ibid.*, pp. 189–195.

442. Asfār b. Shīrawayh was a Daylamī mercenary and was converted to the *da'wa* by the *dā'ī* Abū 'Alī at Jurjān. Stern, *ibid.*, pp. 200–202.

443. Al-Mardāwīj was a Daylamī prince. In 318/930 he began to advance through Rayy, Hamadān, Iṣfahān and down to the plains of Iraq, establishing his control over these territories. He seems to have favoured the Ismaili *dā'ī* Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī for a while, but when the latter fell into disfavour, he began to persecute the Ismailis in the area, massacring them at Rayy in 321/933. His death in 323/935 left the way clear for the Buyids to establish themselves in the region. Halm, *Empire of the Mahdi*, pp. 289–291.

444. Naṣr b. Aḥmad al-Sāmānī began his political career as the Abbasid governor of Samarqand. He announced his independence by declaring himself the *amīr* of Khurāsān in 250/864 and continued to rule until 279/892. He was won over to the Ismaili cause by the *dā'ī* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nakhshabī (al-Nasafī), who then assumed an influential position at the Sāmānid court. This proved detrimental to Naṣr who was removed from office and succeeded by his son, Nūḥ. Halm, *ibid.*, pp. 291–293.

[Fatimid forces battle the Qarāmiṭa in Syria]

In 358 [968–969], as al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ṭughj was at Ramla preparing to fight whomsoever from commander Jawhar’s side was going to attack him, he learned that the Qarāmiṭa were advancing against him. They reached Ramla and defeated al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ubayd Allāh. Thereafter, there was a peace settlement between them. In Dhu’l-Ḥijja of that year [October–November 969], he concluded a marriage alliance with them. The Qarmaṭī stayed in the vicinity of Ramla for thirty days and then departed.⁴⁴⁵

[The Fatimid commander] Ja‘far b. Falāḥ marched from Egypt and fought al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ṭughj, killing his men and taking him prisoner. He headed for Damascus and camped at its outskirts. However, its people resisted and fought him fiercely. After much fighting, he entered the city, whereupon a group of people including Zālim b. Mawhūb al-‘Uqaylī and Muḥammad b. ‘Aṣūdā fled from him. They joined the Qarāmiṭa at al-Aḥsā’ and incited them to march to Syria. They [the Qarāmiṭa] were favourable to that because every year the Ikhshīdiyya had sent them 300,000 dinars. When al-Mu‘izz’s armies reached Egypt under Jawhar, and the Ikhshīdīd state ceased to be, the Qarāmiṭa levies were discontinued. Hence, they [the Qarāmiṭa] set off after they had sent their officials to gather the bedouins. They arrived at Kūfa and corresponded with the ruler at Baghdad who sent them a supply of weapons and wrote them a promissory note of 400,000 dirhams to Abū Taghlib b. Nāṣir al-Dawla b. Ḥamdān. So they headed towards al-Raḥba, which was ruled by Abū Taghlib. He gave them the money and the fodder that they had been promised.

Ja‘far b. Falāḥ gathered his companions and prepared for battle, but the people dispersed and returned to their own homes. They did not concern themselves with the guards on the roads. The chief of the Qarāmiṭa was al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Abī Sa‘īd al-Jannābī. Abū Taghlib sent a message to him saying, ‘This is a matter which I would have wished to head myself. I am staying at this place until I receive news about you. If you need me to march to you, I will do so.’ He then proclaimed to his troops, ‘Whosoever wishes to join the

445. Some of the events narrated here have already been mentioned earlier in the text under the year 359/969–970.

Ikhshīdiyya and others to Syria under al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, we have no objection to that for we have granted him permission to march as the two forces are one.'

Consequently, a group from Abū Taghlib's army joined the Qarmaṭī army. Amongst them were a number of the Ikhshīdiyya who had formerly been in Egypt, and who had come over to him when Jawhar entered Egypt and Palestine. The reason for this course of action by Abū Taghlib was that Abū Ja'far b. Falāḥ had previously sent him a *dā'ī* from Tiberias called Abū Ṭālib al-Tanūkhī, who was from Ramla and who had said to him, 'I have come to you so we can establish the *da'wa*.' Abū Taghlib, who was at Mosul, then replied, 'This cannot be achieved as we are at the threshold of Baghdad and the troops are near us. If, however, your armies come close to these regions, what you suggest may be feasible.' However, the *dā'ī* departed from him without achieving anything.

When the Qarmaṭī heard about this, he was pleased and strengthened by the news. So he departed from al-Raḥba. Once the Qarmaṭī approached Damascus, Ja'far's companions suggested that they confront him at the edge of the desert. So he [Ja'far] set off and fought them, but he was defeated and killed on 6 Dhu'l-Qa'da 360 [18 September 971].

The Qarmaṭī camped outside al-Mizza and collected taxes there. He headed for Ramla, which was then under the command of Sa'āda b. Ḥayyān who later fled to Jaffa. The Qarmaṭī attacked it, as the Syrian bedouins and his militia supporters had joined him there. He engaged them in battle [and besieged them] until its inhabitants were reduced to eating carcasses and the majority of them died of starvation. Then he left, having appointed Zālim al-'Uqaylī and Abu'l-Hayjā' b. Munajjā⁴⁴⁶ to continue the siege. In every place that they conquered, the Qarāmiṭa proclaimed the suzerainty of the Abbasid al-Muṭī' li'llāh.⁴⁴⁷ They adopted the black [Abbasid] banners and renounced all their [previous] ideological pretensions. They presented themselves as governors of the regions ruling on

446. Abu'l-Hayjā' b. Munajjā was one of the companions of the Qarmaṭī leader al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-A'ṣam. The latter appointed him as his deputy in Damascus after his defeat by the Fatimid commander Abū Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Kutāmī.

447. The Abbasid caliph al-Muṭī' li'llāh reigned from 334/946 to 363/974.

behalf of the Abbasids.

On 1 Rabī' I 361 [2 January 971], he [the Qarmaṭī] attacked Egypt. Jawhar fought him around the trench and defeated him. So he retreated to al-Aḥsā'.

Jawhar dispatched an army towards Jaffa and occupied it. Hence the besiegers withdrew to Damascus. They set up camp in its vicinity, where a dispute broke out between Zālim al-'Uqaylī and Abu'l-Hayjā' over the collection of taxes. Each of them wanted the money to spend on his own men. The Qarmaṭī favoured Abu'l-Hayjā', trusting him and appointing him deputy over his administration.

Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Qarmaṭī returned from al-Aḥsā' and halted at Ramla, where he met up with Abu'l-Hayjā' and Zālim. He heard about the disagreements that had occurred between them. He arrested Zālim and imprisoned him briefly, then released him.

The Qarmaṭī dispatched a number of boats that he had loaded with warriors. He sent them to Tinnīs and other coastal areas in Egypt. He gathered those he could among the bedouins and others, and made preparations to march against Egypt. This was after the Qarāmiṭa had initially made up tales about the Mahdī and feigned that he was the ruler of the Maghrib and that their *da'wa* was on his behalf.⁴⁴⁸ They had corresponded with Imam al-Manṣūr Ismā'il b. Muḥammad al-Qā'im b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī and had intimated to their prominent companions that they were his supporters, until their falsehood was brought to light by commander Jawhar who fought them, killed many of them and broke their *qubba* (dome).⁴⁴⁹

[Al-Mu'izz's letter to the Qarāmiṭa]

When al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh arrived from the Maghrib to Cairo and became certain about the news of the Qarāmiṭa, he wrote a letter to al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Qarmaṭī which was addressed, 'From the servant of God and His friend, His elect and His chosen, Ma'add

448. Al-Maqrīzī here clearly conveys his disbelief of the Qarāmiṭa claim that they were propagating the cause of the Fatimid caliph 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī. The following sentence asserts that the Qarāmiṭa had initiated correspondence with al-Manṣūr, but nothing seems to have come of it.

449. The *qubba* was considered an insignia of authority. The Spanish *alcoba*, which entered the English language as 'alcove', is derived from this term. See Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City*, pp. 22–26.

Abū Tamīm al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, Commander of the Faithful, descendant of the best of the prophets and offspring of the best of the legateses (*awṣiyyā*)⁴⁵⁰ to al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad.⁴⁵¹

[The text of the letter is as follows:]

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

The customs of the *nuṭaqā'* (speaker-prophets), the ways of the imams and prophets, the paths of the messengers and legateses, those of us who have passed before and those who shall come, blessings of God be upon us and upon our ancestors, the possessors of authority and discernment, in the preceding epochs and eras, and bygone periods and ages, when they carried out the rules of God and stood up for [fulfilment of] the order of God. We begin by offering pardon and conclude with a warning before executing the [divine] decrees upon schemers and criminals as an example to those who have opposed and rebelled, and a punishment for those who deviated and went astray, according to what God, may He be exalted and glorified, has said: 'We never punish until We have sent a messenger.'⁴⁵² 'And there is not a nation but a warner has passed among them.'⁴⁵³

And His words, glory be to Him, 'Say: This is my way. I call on Allah with sure knowledge, I and whosoever follows me — glory be to Allah — and I am not of the idolaters.'⁴⁵⁴ 'And if they believe in the like of that which you believe, then they are rightly guided. But if they turn away, then are they in schism.'⁴⁵⁵

Now then, O people, we praise God with all forms of praise, a continuous and eternal praise and we glorify Him with all forms of glory, a sublime and ever-lasting glory, for the completion of His bounty and His great blessing and seek as a means to good fortune and assistance, to obey Him. [We seek] right direction in His help, and we beseech Him to protect us against inclination to passion and straying from the right guidance. We further beseech His perfection of benedictions and the flowing of His blessing and auspicious salutations upon His past

450. Plural of *waṣī*, legatee or executioner of a will; in this context the successor to the Prophet Muḥammad, i.e. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. See E. Kohlberg, 'Waṣī', *EI2*.

451. This letter was initially preserved in the writings of Akhū Muḥsin from whom al-Maqrīzī copied without acknowledging the source. Madelung, 'The Fatimids and the Qarmaṭīs', pp. 52–53.

452. Qur'an 17: 15.

453. Qur'an 35: 24.

454. Qur'an 12: 108.

455. Qur'an 2: 137.

friends and His vicegerents who followed them, from us and from our chosen, rightly-guided, and elect forefathers who enjoined right and were just by it.

O people, 'Proofs have come unto you from your Lord. So whoever sees, it is for his own good, and whoever is blind is blind to his own hurt',⁴⁵⁶ So let those who remember, recollect, and let those warn who perceive and reflect.

O people, indeed when God, may He be exalted and glorified, wills a matter He decrees it and when He decrees it, He accomplishes it. Concerning us, it was His decree prior to creation to create us as shapes and manifest us as spirits, possessors of power and precedent, before the heavens were formed, or an earth stretched out; [before there was] a sun radiant, a moon orbiting at night, a star revolving, a night dark, a horizon hiding, a tongue speaking, or a wing fluttering; neither a night nor a day, neither a sphere orbiting, nor a planet revolving.

Thus, we are the first thought and the last act, according to the ordained destiny and a matter approved from pre-eternity. Then, at the integration of the order and soundness of resolve, and at the creation of creatures by God, may He be exalted and glorified, when He brought forth the *ummahāt* (elements) from primordial matter, He moulded us as lights and darkness, motion and stillness.

By His command, which preceded in His knowledge, exists whatever you see of a revolving sphere, a planet, a day, a night, and whatever is in the external world of horizons, of traces of miracles and bright destinies, and whatever is in the region of remains and what is in the souls of *genera*, forms and species of dense and subtle, existent and non-existent, apparent and hidden, perceptible and intangible, near and far, descending and ascending [things].

All that is for us and because of us. They guide to us and point to us, and through them God guides him who has sound understanding and correct opinion, to whom good fortune has proceeded from us, and who believes in the meaning.

Then He, the Exalted and Most High, made manifest from the hidden knowledge and the stored judgement in Adam and Eve, the two parents, a male and a female, as a cause for the creation of mankind and as evidence to manifest [His] mighty power. He paired them and they procreated, and the children and the numbers increased. We were transferred through the chaste loins and pure and approved wombs. Whenever a loin and a womb brought us together, power and knowledge were manifest from us. This continued until our last ancestor, the best father, the chief of the messengers, the leader of the prophets, Aḥmad and Muḥammad, blessings of God be upon him and his

456. Qur'an 6: 104.

progeny in every circle and in every assembly; his family are blessed and his self-sufficiency is evident. Thus, he destroyed the polytheists and shattered the wrongdoers; he made manifest the truth and instated veracity. He made apparent the oneness [of God] and professed [His] eternal lordship. Then the idols collapsed, Islam was established, faith spread, sorcery and sacrifices became void, and the idols vanished. He brought the Qur'an as a witness of the truth and proof, and in which is contained knowledge of what has been and what will be until the day whose time is appointed, making known the scriptures that have preceded, in what has been sent down, as explanations for everything, a guidance, a mercy, a light and a luminous lamp.

All those are signs pointing to us and portents before us and reasons for the manifestation of our cause, [as] guides, signs and testimonies, sacred felicities, divine and everlasting established existents, and the returning beginnings.

Thus, there has not been a speaker-prophet who spoke, a prophet who was sent or a *waṣī* who appeared, who did not indicate us, allude to us and point to us in his scripture and speech, in the light of his banners and in the symbols of his discourse. He is existent, not void, manifest and hidden. It is known to the one who hears the call, who witnesses and sees the sublime assembly. Thus, he among you who neglects or forgets or goes astray or transgresses, let him reflect upon the first scriptures and the revealed scrolls, contemplate the verses of the Qur'an and the explanation contained in it, and ask the people of remembrance if they do not know. Indeed God, the Exalted and Most High, has commanded the question, for He has said, 'Ask the followers of the remembrance if you know not.'⁴⁵⁷

God, the Most Supreme and the Most Glorious, has said, 'If a contingent from every expedition remained behind, they could devote themselves to studies in religion and admonish the people when they return to them, that thus they [may learn] to guard themselves [against evil].'⁴⁵⁸ Do you not heed God's words as He says, 'And he made it a word enduring among his seed, that haply they might return?'⁴⁵⁹

And He says, may His names be sanctified, 'They were descendants one of another. Allah is the Hearer, the Knower.'⁴⁶⁰

And He to whom belongs the power says, 'He has ordained for you that religion which He commended unto Noah, and that which We commended unto Abraham and Moses and Jesus, saying: Establish the religion and be not divided therein. Dreadful for the idolaters is that

457. Qur'an 16: 43.

458. Qur'an 9: 122.

459. Qur'an 43: 28.

460. Qur'an 3: 34.

unto which you call them.’⁴⁶¹

There are many similar verses in the Book of God, may His glory be exalted; would there not be [an issue of] prolixity, we would have mentioned many of them. That which He confirmed to us and made known to us is His Word, mighty is He and glorified, ‘as if there were a niche and within it a lamp; the lamp enclosed in glass, the glass as it were a brilliant star; lit from a blessed tree, an olive, neither of the east nor of the west, whose oil is well nigh luminous, though fire scarce touched it. Light upon light! God guides whom He will to His light. God sets forth parables for men and God knows all things.’⁴⁶²

And He says, concerning the excellence of the excellent ancestor and the perfect father, Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, proclaiming the majesty of our rank and our elevated status, ‘We have given you seven of the oft-repeated [verses] and the great Qur’an.’⁴⁶³

This is along with what He has indicated, alluded to, explained and illustrated, in secret and in the open, by every simile, miraculous sign, report, indication and signification, as when He says, ‘As for these similitudes, We coin them for mankind, but none will grasp their meaning save the wise.’⁴⁶⁴

God the Most Supreme, the Most Exalted, has said, ‘Lo! In the creation of the heavens and the earth, and [in] the difference of night and day are signs for men of understanding.’⁴⁶⁵

His words, the Exalted and Most High: ‘We shall show them Our portents on the horizons and within themselves until it will be manifest to them that it is the truth.’⁴⁶⁶

If a thoughtful man were to consider and rise to reflect upon what is on the earth and in the regions and the vestiges, and on the different forms, composite parts, miraculous signs and portents, accidents and spontaneous events, *genera* and species in the soul, as well as upon the human forms, heavenly bodies, letters of the alphabet, arrangement of numbers, obligatory acts and norms, and the seasons, months and days in the years; the classification of the Qur’an into sixty parts or seven parts, and on the meanings and quarters of the Qur’an, on the place of the previous religions and sound practice, and the parts, letters and sections in the words of the [Sūra] Ikhlāṣ,⁴⁶⁷ all of which are in the

461. Qur’an 42: 13.

462. Qur’an 24: 35.

463. Qur’an 15: 87.

464. Qur’an 29: 43.

465. Qur’an 3: 190.

466. Qur’an 41: 53.

467. Qur’an 112.

realm of origination; and on the regions, provinces, land and sea, plains and mountains, longitude and latitude, what is above and below, all of which are on the earth; [he sees] that there is agreement in all letters on the names of the seven ruling planets in the solar system, the legates and the vicegerents, and what the laws have decreed about obligatory acts, norms and incidents, and in the calculation of units and single numbers, pairs and numerals, thirds, quarters, twelfths, sevenths and multiples of tens, hundreds and thousands, and how they combine and include all that was mentioned earlier by a just witness, and a truthful word, sage wisdom and knowledgeable arrangement.

Thus, there is no god but He. To Him belong the most beautiful names and sublime similitudes.⁴⁶⁸ 'If you count the favours of God, never will you be able to number them.'⁴⁶⁹ 'Over every lord of knowledge there is one more knowing.'⁴⁷⁰

'And if all the trees in the earth were pens, and the sea with seven more seas to help it [were ink], the words of God could not be exhausted.'⁴⁷¹ Let him who has a heart or who can listen and bear witness know that we are the everlasting words of God and His perfect names, His radiant lights, His luminous signs, His evident lamps, His created wonders, His dazzling signs and His effective decrees. No matter passes us by and no age is devoid of us. And we, indeed, are just as God, the Most Sublime, the Most Exalted, has said: 'There is no secret conference of three but He is their fourth, nor of five but He is their sixth, nor of less than that or more but He is with them whosoever they may be; and afterward, on the Day of Resurrection, He will inform them of what they did. Lo! God is the Knower of all things.'⁴⁷²

Beware and witness, for the trumpet has been sounded⁴⁷³ and the pit has flared up,⁴⁷⁴ the warner has come preceding a dreadful punishment.⁴⁷⁵ Thus, let he who wishes [to do so], reflect and meditate, and there is no [obligation] upon the messenger except to convey the clear message.

This letter of ours is from Fustāṭ in Egypt. We have come to it according to a destined decree and at an appointed time. We do not lift a foot nor place it without firm knowledge, comprehensive command or fixed time, without a prior order and without fulfilling a [divine] decree.

468. Allusion to Qur'an 20: 8.

469. Qur'an 14: 34.

470. Qur'an 12: 76.

471. Qur'an 31: 27.

472. Qur'an 58: 7.

473. Allusion to Qur'an 74: 8.

474. Allusion to Qur'an 11: 40.

475. Allusion to Qur'an 34: 46.

When we entered [Egypt] the rumourmongers reckoned that an earthquake would engulf them and that lightning would strike them, so they scattered in chaos and rushed hither and thither, abandoning their families, their womenfolk, their children and their possessions. Indeed, we are 'the burning fire of God that rises up over the hearts'.⁴⁷⁶ However, I neither sought out their affairs nor pursued them in their tracks. Instead, I issued a proclamation granting safety to every nomad and settled inhabitant, every hypocrite and rebel, every dissenter and defector, every stubborn and ambitious one, and to whomever showed his true face and displayed his evil disposition to me. The supporter and the opposer, the sincere and the hypocrite, all gathered, so I responded with kindness to the former and with forgiveness to the latter, in order that the runaways and the fugitives would return, and the two groups became equal and the two parties came to an agreement. Consequently the frowns disappeared and the paleness ceased according to the usual practice of goodwill, forgiveness, favour, clemency and pardon. Thus, benefits increased and blessings became widespread.

All that was by divine omnipotence and demonstrated authority. I carried out the punishments (*ḥudūd*) with evidence and witnesses among the Arabs and the slaves, the dignitaries and the ordinary people, the nomads and the settled people, according to the laws of God, the Exalted and Most High, His moral norms, His truth and His righteousness, so the friend is safe and joyful while the foe is frightened and timorous.

As for you [al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmād al-Qarmatī] disloyal and treacherous [one], perfidious and divergent from the guidance of your forefathers and your ancestors, who has abandoned the religion of his forebears and his companions, who has lit the fire of dissension, and who has deviated from the community and its customs, I am not negligent of your affairs, nor am I unaware of news about you, nor are your deeds concealed from me. Be certain that I can see you and hear you, for God the Exalted and Most High has said, 'I am with you, I hear and see [everything]'.⁴⁷⁷ 'Your father was not a man of evil, nor was your mother a harlot'.⁴⁷⁸

Thus, we have come to know on what opinion you are firmly rooted and what path you have followed. Was there no example for you in your grandfather Abū Sa'īd and no model for you in the actions of Abū Ṭāhir? Have you not studied their writings and their accounts? Have you not read their instructions and their poetry? Were you ignorant of

476. Qur'an 104: 6–7.

477. Qur'an 20: 46.

478. Qur'an 19: 28.

their abodes and their vestiges?⁴⁷⁹

Do you not know that they were our servants with great power, right resolve, a rightly-guided cause and good deeds? Our spiritual help poured forth to them and our blessings showered upon them until they conquered lands and every ruler and governor obeyed them. They were given the title of 'lord' and they became lords, and a name of our names as a gift from us. Thus, their names were elevated, their aspirations grew, and their resolve strengthened. Delegations from far away lands approached them. Glances were extended to them and necks bowed to them in awe. There was fear that they would dissent and oppose, and that they would become the opponents of the Abbasids. Troops were mobilised and every army of chosen men, with polished arms and advancing soldiers, marched towards them. However, no army encountered them without being defeated by them, nor was there a leader who was not captured by them. We were watching them and supporting them, for God the Exalted and Most High has said, 'We will, without doubt, help Our messengers and those who believe in this world's life.'⁴⁸⁰ And our forces, they surely must conquer.⁴⁸¹ And, indeed as our protégés, they surely are victorious.

They persevered in this with God's gaze over them until He chose for them what He did by transferring them from the temporal world to the eternal world, and from transient ease to everlasting grace. Thus, they lived commendably and were missed when they departed to repose and ease and the gardens of bliss, 'glad tidings for them and a beautiful place of return'.⁴⁸²

Nonetheless, there is no province on earth nor a region in which we do not have *ḥujjas* and *dā'īs* who summon towards us, give evidence of us, take the oath of allegiance for us, mention our return, disseminate our knowledge, warn of our power and give glad tidings of our days, in various languages and different tongues. In every province and region there are men from whom they learn and under whom they study, as God the Exalted and Most High says, 'We sent not an apostle except [to teach] in the language of his [own] people, in order to make [things] clear to them.'⁴⁸³ And you are cognisant of that.

O you perfidious offender, what has thwarted you and turned you away? Was there something about which you were doubtful, or a matter

479. This could be construed as al-Mu'izz acknowledging al-Ḥasan's predecessors, Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī and his son Abū Ṭāhir, as having once been part of the Ismaili *da'wa*.

480. Qur'an 40: 51.

481. Allusion to Qur'an 37: 173.

482. Qur'an 13: 29.

483. Qur'an 14: 4.

concerning which you were suspicious and which dissuaded you from the path? Or are you devoid of wisdom and have departed from the word, and this has removed you from the path? Indeed, it is nothing but enticement for you and enjoyment only for a while.

By God, it would be most conducive to your glory, most elevating for your rank, most excellent for your honour, most expansive for your deputation, most refreshing for your scion and most beneficial for your exculpation to unveil the states of your ancestors, even though they are hidden to you, and to follow their tracks, even if they are obscure to you, so that you may proceed along this path, enter their company and journey in their wake, adhering to their affairs in their time and their mode in their age, so that you become the descendant who followed his forefathers with an earnestness, a concomitant determination and cause that do not deviate from theirs.

However, lust has overpowered your heart and whim has overtaken your intellect; so they caused you to deviate from the right guidance and deterred you from insight and light, and removed you from the paths of the friends [of God]; and after them [your forefathers] you became, in the words of God the Exalted and Most High, 'Now there has succeeded them a later generation who have ruined worship and have followed lusts. But they will meet deception.'⁴⁸⁴

Then you were not content with your perversions, your return to decline, your confusions and your reversals by contravening your ancestors, your marching backward and retreating, and your assumption of titles; 'ill-seeming a name is wickedness after someone has believed.'⁴⁸⁵ Your sedition has become your master, and your denial has turned you away, so that you retraced your steps and became weighed [down] with grave offences in order to restore a *da'wa* that was extinct and a reign that had been obliterated. Indeed, you are among the deceived. Indeed, you have strayed from the straight path.⁴⁸⁶

Do you wish to return to the foregone centuries and bygone peoples? Have you not read the scriptures and the writing and information contained in them? So where will they go? There is nothing but your life in this world; you die and you think that you will not be resurrected.⁴⁸⁷ 'Say: Yes, by my Lord, you shall surely be raised up, then shall be told

484. Qur'an 19: 59.

485. Qur'an 49: 11.

486. At this point, al-Shayyāl noted the following insertion in two manuscripts: 'that is he [the Qarmaṭi] wanted to restore the Abbasid state, and to do so he took weapons and money from Abū Taghlib b. Ḥamdān and proceeded to fight al-Mu'izz, in support of them'.

487. Allusion to Qur'an 23: 37.

[the truth] of all that you did. And that is easy for God.'⁴⁸⁸

Do you not know that al-Muṭī' is the last of the sons of al-'Abbās and the last pretending to leadership among people? Do you not see them, 'as if they had been roots of hollow palm-trees tumbled down, then do you see any of them surviving?'⁴⁸⁹

By God, the account is sealed, the book has been closed, the rule has returned to its [rightful] owners and time to its beginning. The threatened hour is nigh and the event has occurred, the hour of the last judgement has struck, the sun has risen from where it set, the sign from its origin, and the angels and the prophets have been brought near. There the liars have lost. There the allegiance is to God, the True, and the kingdom belongs to Him, who is the One, the Irresistible. 'His is the command, before and after. That day the believers will rejoice with the help of God. God helps whom He will.'⁴⁹⁰ 'On the day when you behold it, every nursing mother will forget her nursling, and every pregnant one will be delivered of her burden, and you [Muḥammad] will see mankind as drunken, yet they will not be drunken, but the doom of Allah will be strong [upon them].'⁴⁹¹

Your work has gone astray and your endeavour has failed, your unlucky star has risen and your lucky star has set when you preferred the life of this world over that of the hereafter. Passion dragged you and caused you to deviate from the right guidance. 'If you show ingratitude, you and all on earth together, yet God is free of all wants, worthy of all praise.'⁴⁹²

As if that were not enough, along with the affliction and long misery caused by you, then you gathered all your filthy and impure people and, assembling this lowly rabble, headed towards Damascus where Ja'far b. Falāḥ was stationed with a small group of the Kutāma and Zuwayla. You killed him and them, defying God, rejecting His command. You took their possessions and seized their women as booty, despite there having been no war or avenging of blood between you and them, nor rancour or damages, like the act of the Banu'l-Aṣfar, the Turks and the Khazars.⁴⁹³ Then you marched on and did not withdraw. You persisted in your unbelief and did not desist until you reached Ramla, where

488. Qur'an 64: 7.

489. Qur'an 69: 7–8.

490. Qur'an 30: 4–5.

491. Qur'an 22: 2.

492. Qur'an 14: 8.

493 The Khazars were a nomadic people in the South Russian steppes who flourished in the early 8th–9th centuries. A contingent of Khazars had served in the Abbasid army since the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. See W. Barthold and P.B. Golden, 'Khazar', *EI2*.

Sa'āda b. Ḥayyān was stationed with a small group of people and some companions. He withdrew from you to Jaffa so as to save himself from your evil and to avoid fighting with you. You persisted in your perfidiousness, day after day, back and forth, waylaying them at every point, attacking them in every corner and aiming at them in every place as if they were Turks, Byzantines or Khazars. No faith restrained you from shedding blood, nor prevented you [breaking] any covenant or [inflicting] death. Your breast has embraced perdition and your trunk has fallen upon misery.

Is there not a reminder for you, a rebuker concerning some of your actions, or have you not found a warning in the Book of God, the Exalted and Most High, when He says, 'Whoever slays a believer intentionally, his reward is hell forever. Allah is wroth against him, and He has cursed him and prepared for him an awful doom.'⁴⁹⁴

Sufficient for you will be such an act that will meet you on the day of your arrival and your resurrection when there will no longer be time to escape. Nor is there any deliverance from God. You will not be able to face it. How can you be released from it when I am the repealer?

But oh! The stray ones will perish and the liars will lose there. The helpers will be few and the kin will vanish. Henceforth, your persistence in deceit and your stand in rebellion is a transgression against God and His friends; [it is] rejection of them, and tyranny, blindness and slander.

Do you reckon that you will live forever [and] that there is anything that repels God's command, or 'Fain would they put out the light of Allah with their mouths, but Allah disdains [everything], save that He shall perfect His light, however much the disbelievers are averse.'⁴⁹⁵

Verily, none of these are eternal, nor is there anyone who can revoke what has been decreed, nor is there anyone to extinguish the light, nor is there [lasting] abode for someone born, nor is there permanency for an appointed, promised [time]. All hope has ebbed away from you and the time of your fate has arrived. If you so wish, then prepare a door for repentance and a garment for your migration. The book has come to its appointed time and the ruler his hope. Indeed, God has lifted His hand from the mouths of His wisdom. Those who were silent yesterday speak today. Those who used to be frightened previously have stood up. We are forms above the order and the soul beyond the intellect; we are spirits in the world of sanctity, in essential relation and transcendent signs. We hear and we see. 'You knew not [before] what was revelation, and what was faith, but We have made the [Qur'an] a light, wherewith We

494. Qur'an 4: 93.

495. Qur'an 9: 32.

guide such of Our servants as We will.'⁴⁹⁶ 'You will see them looking at you, but they see not.'⁴⁹⁷

We are offering you three choices, and the fourth is the most destructive and the most distressing for your heart. Yet, I do not see you making any other choice but this one. So choose.

Either you offer yourself up in exchange for Ja'far b. Falāḥ, along with your followers, for the lives of those martyred with him at Damascus and Ramla and for the men of Sa'āda b. Ḥayyān, and return all their men, animals and goods to the last piece of the she-camel's hobble and the camel's halter – this is the easiest option for you.

Or you revive them in their forms and selves, [and revive] their property and their conditions. But this is not possible for you, nor do you have the ability to do so.

Or you proceed without any authority or safety with those who are with you, and I will judge you and them the way I deem necessary by enforcing one of the three options: requital and either grace or ransom.⁴⁹⁸ Perhaps this will redeem you of your offences and absolve your companions.

If you persist acting as the accursed, 'then get out from here, for you are rejected, accursed, and the curse shall be on you till the Day of Judgement.'⁴⁹⁹

So expunge yourself of it, for you are not permitted to be arrogant about it. It is said, 'Begone therein, and speak not unto Me.'⁵⁰⁰ You are nothing, like a wicked tree that is torn up by the root from the surface of the earth. It has no stability. There is no sky to shade you or earth to raise you, no night to veil you and no day to shelter you, no eminent personality to shield you or people to help you. The means of your impending departure have been severed. Indeed, you are as God, the Exalted and Most High, has said, '[They are] distracted in mind even in the midst of it, being [sincerely] for neither one group nor for another.'⁵⁰¹

There will be no place of refuge or deliverance from God for you on that day. The armies of God, glorious avengers and courageous men, are searching for you and continue to pursue you in rancour. You will neither find ascent in the skies nor a resting-place on earth, neither a path on land or sea nor a course through the mountains, nor a ladder into the air, nor a refuge anywhere in creation.

At that time all your companions will part from you, your loved ones

496. Qur'an 42: 52.

497. Qur'an 7: 198.

498. Allusion to Qur'an 47: 4.

499. Qur'an 15: 34–35.

500. Qur'an 23: 108.

501. Qur'an 4: 143.

will abandon you and your comrades will forsake you. You will be left utterly alone, banished in fright, a bewildered fugitive. You will be restrained by distress, encumbered by apprehension, betrayed by your offences and overwhelmed by your disgrace. 'Alas! No refuge! Unto thy Lord is the recourse that day.'⁵⁰² 'That will be a day when they shall not be able to speak, nor will it be open to them to put forth pleas.'⁵⁰³ 'And other faces on that day, with dust upon them, veiled in darkness. Those are the disbelievers, the wicked.'⁵⁰⁴

Know that we are not granting you respite, nor are we neglecting you until we receive your reply and we know the import of your response. So see for yourself your day, you wretched one, and your return before the closure of the door of repentance and the advent of the time of affliction. At that time, 'no good will it do to a soul to believe in them then, if it believed not before, nor earned righteousness through its faith'.⁵⁰⁵

If you are certain about your case and at ease about the issue of your time and your age, then stay in your place, rest on your side, and your fate will be the same as that of 'Ād and Thamūd before you.⁵⁰⁶ 'And the dwellers in the wood, and the folk of Tubba',⁵⁰⁷ every one denied their messengers, therefore My threat took effect.'⁵⁰⁸ We will march towards you with soldiers whom you will not be able to face, and we shall expel you from there in disgrace, and you will be humbled, 'submissive to men of great strength'⁵⁰⁹ and firm resolve, 'lowly with the believers, mighty against the rejecters',⁵¹⁰ with pure hearts, devout souls, and lofty spirits (*nufūs*); victory precedes them and success pervades them. Strong, stern angels assist them who do not disobey what God has commanded them but do what they are ordered.

You and your people are no better than the grounds on which cattle and sheep graze. 'Or We shall show you what We have promised, for verily We shall prevail over them.'⁵¹¹ You will be fettered in a cage and we will make you perish. Then, 'to Us is their return'.⁵¹² Then you will

502. Qur'an 75: 11–12.

503. Qur'an 77: 35–36.

504. Qur'an 80: 40–2.

505. Qur'an 6: 158.

506. 'Ād and Thamūd were ancient Arab tribes, frequently mentioned in the Qur'an.

507. Tubba' is a dynastic title of Himyarite rulers who, between the late 3rd and early 6th centuries, controlled the whole of south-west Arabia.

508. Qur'an 50: 14.

509. Qur'an 17: 5.

510. Qur'an 5: 54.

511. Qur'an 43: 42.

512. Qur'an 10: 46; 10: 70; 31: 23.

lose [both]. 'He loses both, the world and the hereafter. That is the sheer loss.'⁵¹³ 'Therefore, do I warn you of a fire blazing fiercely; none shall reach it but those most unfortunate ones who give the lie to truth and turn their backs.'⁵¹⁴ '[On the day] that they shall see the [punishment] promised them, [it will be] as if they had not tarried more than an hour in a single day. [Yours but] to proclaim the message, but shall any be destroyed except those who transgress?'⁵¹⁵

So let him who has the capacity to ponder, contemplate; and let him who has the ability to think, reflect; and let him be warned of the Day of Judgement, of distress and remorse, 'Lest the soul should [then] say: "Ah! Woe is me in that I neglected [my duty] towards God".'⁵¹⁶ [They say:] 'Ah! Woe is upon us for what we have neglected; "would that we might return",⁵¹⁷ we would act differently than what we did.' But oh, your wretchedness has overwhelmed you, for you are a people [worthless and] lost.⁵¹⁸

Peace be upon the one who follows the right guidance and escapes the consequences of perdition and is related to the 'council on high'.⁵¹⁹ Our accounting is to God;⁵²⁰ God is sufficient for us, 'and for us He suffices, and He is the best disposer of affairs',⁵²¹ the best to protect and the best to help.⁵²²

'Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds.'⁵²³ And blessings of God be upon our prophet, the unlettered prophet, and the pure ones from his progeny, peace and greetings.

Al-Ḥasan b. al-A'ṣam replied as follows:

From al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Qarmaṭī al-A'ṣam:

In the name of God the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful. We have received your letter which was full of detail but with little content. We will be marching on its trace. Salutations. 'For us God suffices, and He is the best disposer of affairs.'⁵²⁴

513. Qur'an 22: 11.

514. Qur'an 92: 14–16.

515. Qur'an 46: 35.

516. Qur'an 39: 56.

517. Qur'an 6: 27.

518. Allusion to Qur'an 25: 18.

519. Qur'an 38: 69.

520. Allusion to Qur'an 4: 6 and 33: 39.

521. Qur'an 3: 173.

522. Allusion to Qur'an 8: 40 and 22: 78.

523. Qur'an 1: 2.

524. Qur'an 3: 173. In his analysis of al-Mu'izz's motives in writing this letter to the Qarāmiṭa ('The Fatimids and the Qarmaṭīs', pp. 52–54),

[Defeat of the Qarāmiṭa in Egypt]

After that al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Qarmaṭi advanced to Egypt. He camped at Bilbays with his troops and sent ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, Akhū Muslim, to Upper Egypt. His detachments spread over the Egyptian terrain. Al-Mu‘izz began preparations. On 3 Rajab 363 [30 March 974] he inspected his troops, ordered the distribution of weapons among them and expended provisions upon them. He sent the dignitaries and the bedouins with them.⁵²⁵

Al-Mu‘izz also sent his son Prince ‘Abd Allāh with them who set out under his parasol, accompanied by men, weapons, animals, banners, chests of money and robes of honour. He [al-Mu‘izz] also sent with him his sons, his entire family and an assembly of Egyptian soldiers except for al-Sharīf Muslim, who had been relieved of fighting.⁵²⁶

The Qarāmiṭa raiding party spread across the regions of Lower Egypt, so al-Mu‘izz sent 4,000 men [to this region] under Rayyān al-Ṣaqlabī.⁵²⁷ He repulsed the Qarāmiṭa from al-Maḥalla and its regions, killing and taking prisoners.

On the eighth [of Rajab] [18 April 974], the Qarāmiṭa raiding party arrived at the trench. The Maghribīs set out against them and defeated them. Then they [the Qarāmiṭa] retaliated against the Maghribīs, killing [some] and capturing a group of them. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Khāzin fled from them and joined the Qarāmiṭa.

News arrived that ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, Akhū Muslim, had advanced further into Upper Egypt, killing, extorting money and exceeding all bounds in killing the Maghribīs and capturing

Madelung concludes that it was an exercise in political diplomacy, seeking to win over the Qarmaṭi leader to his side. While there was no immediate political advantage to be gained from it, the significance of the letter as a Fatimid articulation of the imamate cannot be underestimated.

525. Al-Maqrizī relates these events earlier in the text under the year 363/974.

526. This was due to a number of considerations, including his advanced age and to spare him the humiliation of fighting his own brother.

527. Rayyān was a Slav eunuch appointed as the Fatimid governor of Tripoli where he became embroiled in the intense power struggles between various forces in Syria. Among his significant achievements was victory over Byzantine forces in 365/975.

them. Then he retreated to Ikhmīm.⁵²⁸

On 16 [Rajab] [10 April 974], al-Mu'izz gathered the sons of the Ikhshīdiyya and other soldiers, and arrested them.

At the end [of the month] nine Qarāmiṭa were paraded on hooded camels; with them were three heads.

In that month al-Mu'izz's troops advanced under his son 'Abd Allāh to Jubb 'Umayra. The Qarāmiṭa army had divided in two halves; one half was under al-Nu'mān, the brother of al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Aṣam, who was confronting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'izz, and the other half was under al-Ḥasan and stationed above al-Jubb.

'Abd Allāh sent troops who surrounded al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad. He camped and then advanced towards al-Nu'mān. He fought and defeated him [al-Nu'mān], killing some of his companions. The others fought al-Ḥasan until he was almost captured, for they had surrounded him and he was in their midst. However, he found an opportunity and escaped through an opening [in the line of troops]. The bulk of his equipment was plundered, his litter was seized and his men were captured. A large number of his and his brother's troops were captured, as were a group of people who were with the Egyptians.

A letter was brought by pigeon post to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh Akhū Muslim, informing him of the defeat of the Qarāmiṭa while he was in Upper Egypt. He hastened to the eastern bank so as to retreat to Syria. Then he was apprised of al-Mu'izz's advancing troops, so he returned to the western side.

Al-Mu'izz received a letter by pigeon post from his son, Prince 'Abd Allāh, that 'Abd Allāh Akhū Muslim had been captured. So al-Mu'izz sent a message to his brother, Abū Ja'far Muslim, informing him of the news, and bestowing a robe of honour on the news-bearer.

In the desert, a detachment of al-Mu'izz's soldiers had blocked the path of 'Abd Allāh Akhū Muslim. During the night, a bedouin fell into their hands who said, 'I am 'Abd Allāh Akhū Muslim.' The news was brought to Prince 'Abd Allāh, who wrote by pigeon post informing him [al-Mu'izz] of the arrest of 'Abd Allāh. When the bedouin was brought to Prince 'Abd Allāh the following day whilst

528. Ikhmīm was a town in Upper Egypt approximately 320 km north of Aswān.

he was in his camp, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Shuwaykh, who was among the people in his assembly, said to him, 'This is not my paternal uncle 'Abd Allāh', and so the pretence was disclosed.

The bedouin was, in fact, with 'Abd Allāh Akhū Muslim in Upper Egypt and he had crossed over with him heading towards Syria. He ['Abd Allāh] had wanted to water his riding beasts, so the bedouin had said to him, 'We are not safe [if] there is a search at the well, so let me go ahead of you. If I do not find anyone, I will return to you, but if I am slow to do so, then know that I have been captured.'

When the bedouin reached the well, he was captured. He said to his captors, 'I am 'Abd Allāh Akhū Muslim', in order to detain them from searching for him. When the bedouin did not return, [Prince] 'Abd Allāh knew that he had been arrested. So he retreated to the western side, sailed to 'Aynūnā and set off for the Ḥijāz.

Hārūq was the commander of some of al-Mu'izz's forces. Although his [Hārūq's] companions caught sight of 'Abd Allāh [Akhū Muslim], he escaped from them on a black Arab horse after shedding his litter by striking it off with his sword. Hārūq captured his camels. 'Abd Allāh then went to Medina and was conversing in its mosque when he was told, 'News about you has preceded you, for a great deal of money has been offered for you.' He left immediately, advancing towards al-Aḥsā' to incite the Qarāmiṭa who, however, had no energy to fight. Upon witnessing their weakness he rebuked them by saying, 'Show me the strength by which you will challenge the ruler of Egypt.' So they apprised him of what they had in the way of money, weapons and riding animals. He considered it insignificant, so he said to them, 'With this you hope to confront the master of Egypt, all of Syria and the Maghrib?'

He ['Abd Allāh] departed from them, heading for Iraq. They [the Qarāmiṭa] sent a man, allegedly from the Banū Sanbar, after him who poisoned his milk at a place called al-Naṣīriyya, two miles away from Baṣra. He rose about two hundred times in the night and died there. His body was washed, shrouded and taken to Baṣra. Prayers were led over him and he was buried there until Ḥasan b. Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad came and carried the corpse to Medina.

News reached al-Mu'izz who informed the people about his ['Abd Allāh's] death and that of al-Muṭī'.⁵²⁹ His son had poisoned him in

529. Following the death of the Abbasid caliph al-Muṭī' from poisoning

the same manner as the Qarāmiṭa had poisoned 'Abd Allāh Akhū Muslim.

[The Qarāmiṭa defeat in Syria]

As for the news of the Qarāmiṭa: The writings of the eastern historians, who are biased against the Fatimid reign, argue that the defeat of al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Qarmaṭī by al-Mu'izz's troops stems from the time when the bedouins ravaged Egyptian lands with their raiding parties.⁵³⁰ Al-Mu'izz resolved to defeat the Qarāmiṭa troops by deceiving Ḥassān b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Ṭā'ī, the bedouin chief in Syria, who had accompanied the Qarmaṭī with a strong force that reinforced the Qarāmiṭa army. Al-Mu'izz sent a message to Ibn al-Jarrāḥ offering him 100,000 dinars for deserting the Qarāmiṭa army, which he accepted.

Subsequently, al-Mu'izz considered the sum exorbitant, so he had dinars minted in copper and then plated with gold. He had them put in sacks, and placed a few gold dinars at the top of each sack so as to cover what was underneath. Then the sacks were tied and sent to a man trusted by Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, after they had made certain that they had his commitment and that he would not betray them. When he received the money, he proposed to his senior aides that they follow him when the two forces confronted each other and fighting broke out. As the battle intensified, Ibn al-Jarrāḥ turned to flee and was followed by his companions in large numbers.⁵³¹

When the Qarmaṭī [al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad] saw that he [Ibn al-Jarrāḥ] was fleeing, he was perturbed. He made an effort to fight on with those who were with him until he could escape but they had surrounded him from all sides. Then he feared for his own life and so he turned to flee. They pursued him and entered his camp, capturing nearly 1,500 men, taking them prisoner and plundering the camp.

Five days before the end of Sha'bān [18 May 974], al-Mu'izz sent

in 363/974, he was succeeded by his son with the title al-Ṭā'ī.

530. Al-Maqrīzī's suspicion of the accuracy of eastern, that is Baghdadi sources, is apparent from his observation here.

531. Ibn al-Jarrāḥ continued to challenge Fatimid hegemony in Syria even during the reign of al-'Azīz. On this see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 9: 5–6.

Abū Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar⁵³² to Syria after the Qarmaṭī with an army said to have numbered 20,000. On the way, he captured a group of the companions of the Qarmaṭī and sent them to Egypt.

Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Qarmaṭī set out and descended upon Adhrīʿāt. He sent Abu'l-Hayjā' with a raiding party to Damascus.

When al-Muʿizz heard what had happened between Zālim b. Mawhūb al-ʿUqaylī and the Qarmaṭī, he sent a message to persuade him to cooperate against the Qarāmiṭa. So he [Zālim] advanced towards Baʿalbakk where he received the news of the defeat of the Qarāmiṭa and the arrival of Abu'l-Hayjā' at Damascus. Hence the Qarmaṭī went across the desert towards his homeland, intending to return.⁵³³

Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Qarmaṭī composed a poem which included verses on the companions of al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh.

The men of the west claimed that I feared them;
May blood then be shed among them.
O Egypt, if I do not quench your land with blood,
Irrigating your soil, then may the Nile not quench it either.

[The Qarāmiṭa defeat in Iraq]

In the year 375 [985–986] Ishāq and Jaʿfar, the two Qarāmiṭa from Hajar, occupied Kūfa and pronounced the sermon in the name of

532. Abū Maḥmūd was the son of Jaʿfar b. Falāḥ and accompanied his father to Cairo. Following the death of his father at the hands of the Qarāmiṭa, he was appointed to lead the Fatimid campaign in Syria. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 1: 127–136.

533. Al-Shayyāl notes at this point in the margin of the original manuscript the following addition in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting: "Aḍud al-Dawla Fanākhusrāw al-Daylamī sent an army from Iraq to al-Aḥsā' which was ruled at the time by Abū Ya'qūb b. Abī Sa'īd al-Jannābī, a paternal uncle of al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-A'sam. Hence Abū Ya'qūb fled, so the troops raided whatever they could in al-Aḥsā'. Al-A'sam arrived in Syria, defeated and accompanied by those who were left with him. His paternal uncle joined him. They advanced and fought the forces (of 'Aḍud al-Dawla), killing and plundering wantonly. This strengthened him. He corresponded with the bedouins, who responded, and he sent a messenger to al-Muʿizz seeking reconciliation.' It could be surmised from this that when the Qarmaṭī leader's attempt at reconciliation with al-Muʿizz did not materialise, he declared allegiance to the Buyids.

Sharaf al-Dawla.⁵³⁴ This alarmed the people, who dreaded their violence. Out of fear, 'Aḍud al-Dawla b. Būya⁵³⁵ and Bakhtiyār⁵³⁶ had granted them [the Qarāmiṭa] a great deal of *iqṭā'* (land grants). They had a deputy at Baghdad called Abū Bakr b. Shūhawayh⁵³⁷ who was ruling as if he was a wazir. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla b. 'Aḍud al-Dawla arrested him. When the Qarāmiṭa arrived at Kūfa, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla⁵³⁸ wrote to both of them and politely sought the reason for their move. They responded that it was their deputy's arrest that had made them advance to his country. They sent their companions to collect the taxes. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla sent out troops accompanied by bedouins. They crossed the Euphrates, fighting them [the two Hajarīs] and taking captives. The fighting between them and the Qarāmiṭa led to the [latter's] defeat. A group of their vanguard was killed, a number of them were taken prisoner and the bulk of their equipment was plundered. Those who were left retreated from Kūfa. They were pursued by the troops [of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla] up to al-Qādisiyya, but they could not catch up with them. After this, they [the Qarāmiṭa] lost their power.

In the year 378 [988–989] a man known as al-Aṣḥār⁵³⁹ from the

534. Shirdhīl Sharaf al-Dawla, a son of 'Aḍud al-Dawla became the chief Buyid (Buwayhid) *amīr* in 376/987. By citing Sharaf's name, as opposed to any other Buyid, the Qarāmiṭa were apparently fanning the feud within the Buyid confederacy.

535. The rule of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (338–372/949–983) represents the highpoint for the Buyid family. He added Kirmān to the Buyid realm in 357/968, followed by Iraq in 367/978. For the next five years, as Shāhānshāh or King of Kings, he was effectively the monarch of the Buyid realm, but after his death the struggle for power lasted until the end of the century. See Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, pp. 410–415, and Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, pp. 232–236.

536. Bakhtiyār, titled 'Izz al-Dawla, was son and successor of the first Buyid ruler of Iraq, Aḥmad Mu'izz al-Dawla in 356/967. However, he lacked his father's military ability and the political acumen of his cousin, 'Aḍud al-Dawla, who later took control of the realm. Kennedy, *ibid.*, pp. 224–232, 234–235.

537. On Ibn Shūhawayh's complex relationship with the Buyids and the Qarāmiṭa in Iraq, see Madelung, 'Ebn Šāhawayh', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

538. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla was another son of 'Aḍud al-Dawla who sought to establish his authority in Baghdad after the death of his father in 372/983 but was supplanted by his brother, Shirdhīl Sharaf al-Dawla, in 376/987.

539. Al-Aṣḥār was the chief of the bedouin Banu'l-Muntafiq, who were

Banū'l-Muntafiq gathered a large number [of troops]. There was intense fighting between him and a group of the Qarāmiṭa in which their commander was killed. His companions were routed and a large number of them were killed or taken captive. Then al-Aṣfār marched on al-Aḥsā' and the Qarāmiṭa fortified themselves in the town. He crossed over to al-Qaṭif and seized all the money, slaves and livestock there, marching on with it to Baṣra.

THE FINAL PHASE OF AL-MU'IZZ'S REIGN

Let us now return to the rest of the account of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh Abū Tamīm Ma'add al-Fātimī, the founder of Cairo, and we say:

After the defeat of al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Qarmaṭī in Sha'bān 363 [April–May 974], the *ashrāf*, Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir, the jurists, the certified witnesses, prominent merchants and a large number of subjects went to the camp of Prince 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'izz on the outskirts of Mashtūl to congratulate him on his victory. He honoured them and was hospitable to them. They departed the following day.

In the middle of Sha'bān [May 974], al-Mu'izz replaced al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh with Qāḍī Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir and Muḥammad b. Iqrīṣh to oversee the religious endowments, on the condition that they guaranteed to pay out 1,500,000 dirhams to the beneficiaries according to their rights and that the rest be deposited in the treasury.⁵⁴⁰

Forty heads of ['Abd Allāh] Akhū Muslim's companions that had been sent from Upper Egypt were paraded.

After he had finished fighting the Qarāmiṭa, Prince 'Abd Allāh entered Cairo on 1 Ramaḍān [26 May 974] under a parasol, with his armies and with the captives and the heads [of the dead]. His father, al-Mu'izz, sat in his litter at the palace gate to receive him. When Prince 'Abd Allāh beheld his father al-Mu'izz's gathering, he dismounted and kissed the ground. Hence, all the soldiers dismounted as well. He walked to the palace and the people walked with him.

News arrived of [the Fatimid commander] Abū Maḥmūd's
a branch of the Banū 'Uqayl.

540. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh was named earlier (at the beginning of 363/973–974) as one of the four officials to oversee the collection of the *kharāj* (land-tax).

peaceful entry into Ramla. A group of the Qarmaṭī troops sought safety from him.

In it [Ramaḍān] al-Mu'izz had a group of schemers and vagabonds arrested and imprisoned, as they were causing harm to people.

A messenger arrived with a message from the Byzantine emperor.⁵⁴¹ The people gathered to look at him. Al-Mu'izz sat on his gold throne. The messenger entered his presence and kissed the ground several times. Al-Mu'izz permitted him to sit on a cushion. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, *qāḍī* of Adhana, was present and said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, blessings of God be upon you. This man', pointing at the messenger, 'is a curse on Islam and detrimental to the Muslims and the captives.' Al-Mu'izz looked at him disapprovingly and he was removed [from his presence]. The messenger spoke about truce. Al-Mu'izz accepted his letter and lodged him in a house.

In it [Ramaḍān] al-Mu'izz released ten *ṭanjamiyya*,⁵⁴² each of them containing 800 quarters of gold weighing 200 *mithqāl*.

News arrived that the Qarmaṭī had fled and disappeared, and that his armies had been rent apart. To this day they have not prospered.

Thirteen hundred Qarāmiṭa captives wearing hooded cloaks were paraded on camels. Their commander, Muḥliḥ al-Munajjimī, was placed on a camel and covered in a large hooded cloak on the back of which was written his name and what he had done. He was followed by a group of prominent Qarāmiṭa. In front of them were thousands of heads carried on lances. It was a momentous day witnessed by a great number of people. When the parade was over, they were detained in Cairo.

In it [Ramaḍān] al-Mu'izz came out on horseback, as a number of the *ashrāf*, the commanders, the administrators, the *kuttāb* (secretaries) and the Maghribis had gathered. They stood before him. So he said to them, 'Indeed God, may He be exalted and glorified, has favoured, graced and strengthened us; we wish to perform the pilgrimage and visit the grave of my forefather, the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, as well as to under-

541. The Byzantine emperor John Tzimiskēs (d. 365/976) pursued an aggressive policy of attacking key Syrian cities and towns with the ultimate aim of establishing Byzantine control over Jerusalem.

542. The meaning of this term is not clear.

take the *jihād*; so what prevents us from doing so? If I say that I do not have money, then I would be lying; if I say that I do not have riding animals and weapons, then I would be lying; if I say that I do not have men, then too I would be lying. O God, aid me with determination that is firmer than mine.’⁵⁴³

In it [Ramaḍān] a decree was issued to execute the prisoners who had been in captivity. Thus, each of them was put to death and they were buried in trenches that had been dug for them. When al-Mu‘izz heard of this he said, ‘By God, I did not command their execution; indeed, I had ordered that they were to be released and each of them was to be paid three dinars.’ He grieved for them, distributed alms and freed captives.

News arrived of the death of ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-‘Aqīqī, one of the *ashrāf*, and of his son Dhā min Yaḥ al-Ḥusaynī,⁵⁴⁴ whom the bedouins had killed in Upper Egypt. They were among the companions of Akhū Muslim.

In it [Ramaḍān] Abū Ismā‘īl al-Rassī arrested his [‘Alī b. al-‘Aqīqī’s other] son, ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm. Al-Mu‘izz was informed of this. Al-Mu‘izz said to him, ‘Keep him under your custody.’ He had been among the companions of Akhū Muslim who had collaborated with the Qarāmiṭa.

Abū Maḥmūd sent Syrian administrators to Cairo who investigated the Ikshīdīd garden there.

On the day of ‘Īd al-Fiṭr [25 June 974], al-Mu‘izz led the ‘īd prayers and delivered the sermon as was his custom.

[Turmoil in Damascus]

On that day news arrived that [the Fatimid commander] Abū Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm b. Ja‘far had entered Damascus and established his rule and control over it. He arrested the faction of Abu’l-Hayjā’ al-Qarmaṭī and his son. A band of Ikshīdiyya and Kāfūriyya sought protection from him. He arrested Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b.

543. Al-Mu‘izz was unable to fulfil his wish to perform the pilgrimage as he died the following year.

544. The ‘Alid ‘Aqīqī family were well established in Syria and considered among the prominent people of Damascus. They sided with the Qarāmiṭa and participated in their incursion into Upper Egypt.

Sahl al-Nābulusī⁵⁴⁵ and sent him with the group to al-Mu'izz.

It was relayed that Abū Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far had marched from Ramla and descended upon Adhri'āt, while Zālim b. Mawhūb al-'Uqayli had set out towards Damascus, as a result of his correspondence with Abū Maḥmūd, to assist him against Abu'l-Hayjā' al-Qarmaṭī. Meanwhile, Abu'l-Hayjā' b. Munajjā al-Qarmaṭī was at Damascus with around 2,000 men. His soldiers demanded money from him, to which he replied, 'I have no money.' Zālim b. Mawhūb al-'Uqayli marched to 'Aqabat Damr, so Abu'l-Hayjā' set out against him with his son and those accompanying him. A number of his [Abu'l-Hayjā's] soldiers fled and joined Zālim, seeking his protection. He was strengthened by them and marched with them, surrounding Abu'l-Hayjā' who was unable to escape. He [Zālim] apprehended him [Abu'l-Hayjā'] and his son, following some skirmishes that took place, and all the soldiers rejoined Zālim. Thus, he occupied Damascus on 10 Ramaḍān 360 [7 July 971], imprisoning Abu'l-Hayjā' and his son, arresting a band of their companions and seizing their possessions.

Then amongst the people of Ramla, he searched for an old man called Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nābulusī who considered it his duty to hate and kill the Maghribīs. He used to say, 'If I had ten arrows, I would shoot nine of them at the Maghribīs and one at the Byzantines.'

When al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Qarmaṭī was defeated in Egypt, Abū Bakr al-Nābulusī went to Damascus where he was arrested and imprisoned by Zālim b. Mawhūb. Abū Maḥmūd camped at Damascus eight days before the end of Ramaḍān [19 July 971], where he was received by Zālim. Abū Maḥmūd was friendly with him, so he extricated Abu'l-Hayjā' b. Munajjā al-Qarmaṭī, his son and Abū Bakr b. al-Nābulusī from him. He then had a wooden cage built for each of them and sent them to Egypt. They entered Cairo in Shawwāl [July–August 971]. They were paraded on camels, wearing hooded cloaks and in shackles. Ibn al-Nābulusī was placed upon a camel, in

545. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Nābulusī was a prominent Egyptian personality who fled to Ramla when Jawhar arrived. In Syria he incited the Qarāmiṭa to fight against the Fatimids and was arrested by Abū Maḥmūd in 363/974. Ibn Zūlāq, *Sirat al-Mu'izz*, as cited in al-Maqrizī, *Muqaffā*, 5: 175–178.

a hooded cloak and chained. The people reviled and vilified him, pulling on his legs while he was mounted on a camel.

Accompanying them were some twenty Qarāmiṭa men on camels. When the parade was over, they were returned to the palace. Abu'l-Hayjā', his son and the rest of the Qarāmiṭa were detained whilst Ibn al-Nābulusī was sent to al-Manẓar to be skinned. When he realised this, he threw himself on to a rock so as to kill himself. However, he was remounted on the camel. He tried to throw himself off a second time but he was remounted, tied on and rushed to al-Manẓar where he was skinned. His skin was stuffed with straw, and his corpse and skinless body were displayed on a pole there.

Abū Maḥmūd stayed at Damascus, which was in turmoil with mobs and armed men on the increase. Plundering increased in villages and caravans were waylaid. Due to his lack of money Abū Maḥmūd was unable to restrain his companions, so paying no heed to him nor abstaining from anything that he prohibited, they took to plundering. Ẓālim b. Mawhūb took the ruler's taxes from the city and did not give Abū Maḥmūd any of it, remonstrating that it was he who had taken the city from Abu'l-Hayjā' and had marched against him because of al-Mu'izz's correspondence with him.

Additionally, each of the two factions was apprehensive of the other. Ẓālim knew that the people of Damascus detested the Maghribīs, but he concealed the matter. The Maghribīs increased their highway robberies, preventing the people from coming and going. Villagers fled to the town, leaving its outskirts deserted. Fighting, lasting many days, erupted between the Maghribīs and the Damascenes in which Ẓālim sided with the Damascenes, fighting against the Maghribīs. However, he was defeated and set out towards Ba'albekk. Fires were set ablaze in the town and fighting intensified. The town notables went to Abū Maḥmūd, assuaging him. He replied, 'I did not come to fight you, but only to expel those dogs from you', meaning his companions.

The people rejoiced and were delighted. They went to his tent and the subjects mingled with his companions for their fear had dissipated. The Maghribīs received what they needed from him. Abū Maḥmūd appointed two men over the *shurṭa*, one of whom was a Maghribī and the other from the Ikshidiyya, who entered the city with a large number of people with horns. They sat at the

shurṭa. Despite their night patrol they were unable to deter the armed men who were bent on dissension. Abū Maḥmūd threatened and warned the elders of the city. The Damascene miscreants, led by Ibn al-Māward, revolted because of a quarrel over a youth that had occurred between the people of the town and a Maghribī. The Maghribī wanted to arrest him, but a Damascene lifted his sword and murdered the Maghribī in the market. So rioting recurred, weapons were drawn, the city fell into disorder and markets were shut. The troops revolted, taking up the murdered man's cause. The townsfolk called for war and pronounced the *takbīr* from the rooftops. Ibn al-Māward went out with a group. Fighting intensified between the two sides. The Maghribīs torched homes. So the town's notables and shaykhs went to Abū Maḥmūd with their elders and continued to plead with him until he sent troops [against the Maghribīs], who had almost succeeded in overwhelming the townsfolk. At the end of Dhu'l-Hijja [October 971], he restrained them from fighting. Matters calmed down. The dignitaries went to Abū Maḥmūd. The Maghribī head of the *shurṭa* entered the town, but the people of al-Ghūṭa had sought shelter in the city from the fear of being plundered, and among them were agitators. In the town there were a group of miscreants who seized feeble folk, took market profits, raided and plundered shops, and so they became wealthy. They detested the power of the government and killed a great many people.

While the head of the *shurṭa* was patrolling the city at night, he came upon a man carrying a sword, so he seized and killed him. The miscreants began to fear the persecution of the government, so they raised an armed revolt against the head of the *shurṭa*, who fled with his companions to their military camp. The common people ascended the minarets and shouted, 'Hasten to the mosque for war.'

The people rose up in arms. Abū Maḥmūd's troops rode out and set fire to anything that had survived. Fighting escalated, and the killing and torching increased. Fear and tumult heightened in the town. This occurred on 3 Muḥarram [3]64 [23 September 974].

People spent the night thus. When they awoke, fighting had escalated even further. The strength of the Damascenes increased as a leader had emerged among their miscreants, a *ghulām* called Ibn Sharāra and others called Ibn Būshirāt and Ibn al-Mughniyya. Each

one of them was given a band [of people] led by banners and trumpets. The Maghribīs wielded their power by stabbing their swords into every subject they could find in the city outskirts.

Fighting continued during most of Muḥarram [September–October 974]. A group of decent people went out to Abū Maḥmūd. They did not leave until he accepted their demand for peace. He dismissed the two heads of the *shurṭa* and appointed Abu'l-Thurayyā from Bānyās, a leader of the Kurds. He entered the city on 1 Ṣafar [21 October 974]. A number of the miscreants ambushed and attacked him, slaying many of his companions. He retreated to Abū Maḥmūd. The troops rode forth and captured a large number of people. The call to war spread in the city. Fighting continued between the two sides during Ṣafar [October–November 974] and Rabī' I [November–December 974], peace being concluded on 2 Rabī' II [19 December 974].

[Abū] Maḥmūd then appointed Jaysh b. al-Ṣamṣāma⁵⁴⁶ over Damascus, who lasted only a few days. Then the people rose against him and killed a number of the Maghribīs. They set out in search of Jaysh who fled from them. They pillaged his belongings. Fighting broke out again and many places were torched.

Abū Maḥmūd ordered that only the miscreants should be targeted amongst the people. However, the subjects had joined forces with them. Fighting raged until 1 Jumādā I [17 January 975]. They fought day after day, from early morning until late evening. The city was inaccessible during these hostilities. Battle took place in the city outskirts; most of it was between the Kaysān Gate to the Sharqī Gate, and from the Ṣaghīr Gate to al-Jābiyya Gate.

Abū Maḥmūd's Maghribī troops numbered 10,000 in addition to other men and those who came from the coast. Fighting continued unabated; sometimes the Maghribīs gained an upper hand over the Damascenes and at other times the Damascenes vanquished the Maghribīs. Whenever the Maghribīs captured anyone, they cut their head off. Thus they slew a large number of people.

Al-Ghūṭa was deserted, as no one remained there. The city [Damascus] was restricted and no one could deliver anything at all.

546. Jaysh had arrived in Cairo in the retinue of al-Mu'izz and was sent to Syria with his uncle, Abū Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far b. Falāḥ. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 3: 117–121.

Consequently, prices soared, trading came to a standstill and water was cut off from the city. Thus people were unable to use the ducts and baths. Markets shut down, women sat by the roadside and men shouted the war cry. During this conflict the situation was dire for a large number of people. They perished by the roadside because of the cold, nevertheless they fought hard in battle. They set up catapults along the city gates. Fighting did not cease even for a day. At night trumpets were sounded to rouse people out of their beds. So they would walk carrying torches and staying awake until morning.

When the situation became increasingly alarming and the calamities increased, with the miscreants gaining control over the city dwellers and consuming people's wealth, the city's shaykhs wrote to [Abū] Maḥmūd seeking a truce. They brought Ibn al-Māward and Ibn Sharāra and reprimanded them. They departed with the agreement that no one in the city should oppose the authority of the ruler. Muslims opened their Qur'ans, Christians their Gospel and Jews their Torah. They all gathered in the mosque, supplicating vociferously. They went round the city carrying these scriptures over their heads.

Al-Mu'izz heard about the warfare in Damascus and the devastation that had accompanied it. So he wrote to Rayyān al-Khādim, who was in Tripoli, [telling him] to advance to Damascus to safeguard the interests of the subjects and to dismiss Abū Maḥmūd from the city. Rayyān arrived at Damascus and ordered Abū Maḥmūd to depart from it. So he left with a small number of his troops for most of them decided to stay with Rayyān. Abū Maḥmūd arrived at Ramla where he received a letter from al-Mu'izz reprimanding him. The dismissal of Abū Maḥmūd from Damascus occurred in Sha'bān [3]64 [April–May 975].

This is what happened in Damascus.

As for Cairo, some forty severed heads that had been brought from Upper Egypt were paraded in Dhu'l-Qa'da [3]63 [July–August 974].

It was proclaimed in Dhu'l-Hijja [August–September 974] that women should not wear loose trousers. Some trousers were made of five pieces and others of eight *dabiqī* pieces.

In it [that month] the Byzantine Emperor's envoy died. So al-Mu'izz sent his corpse in a coffin to Byzantium.

Al-Mu'izz rode out to open the *khalij*.

In it [that year] al-Mu'izz forbade the lighting of fires along the streets on the night of Nawrūz and the spraying of water on the day of Nawrūz.⁵⁴⁷

There were many rumours that the Byzantines were advancing on Antioch.

On the day of 'Arafa the *shamsa* was displayed at the palace.

Al-Mu'izz led the *'id* prayer and delivered the sermon according to the aforementioned custom. He returned to the palace and hosted a feast for the dignitaries.

The Nile rose to seventeen cubits. As the customary reward, Ibn Abī al-Raddād was presented with a robe of honour and two mounts.

In it [that month] a plague broke out in Egypt killing a large number of people. Al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥayyūn died.

THEN BEGAN THE YEAR 364 [974–975]

The caliph was the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh Ma'add.

In charge of the land-tax and financial affairs were Ya'qūb b. Killis and 'Uslūj.

The *qāḍī* was Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Aḥmad.

The chief of *al-shurṭa al-suflā* was Jabr b. al-Qāsim.

The chief of *al-shurṭa al-'ulyā* was Jabr al-Musālimī.

The parasol-bearer was Shafī' al-Khādim al-Ṣaqlabī.

The [court] physician was Mūsā b. al-'Āzār.

The imam of the Friday prayers was 'Abd al-Samī' b. 'Umar al-'Abbāsī.

The chief of the treasury was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muhadhhab.

The imam of the five [prayers] was al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Khayyāṭ.

547. Al-Ḥasan b. Zūlāq, as cited by al-Maqrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 31. The Fatimids began to celebrate this festival from the time of al-Mu'izz in 363/973–974 until the end of the dynasty. Al-Maqrīzī mentions (*Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 389–391) that the Copts also observed it to mark the beginning of their year on the 1st of Tūt. On the ritual and symbolism associated with Nawrūz in Fatimid times, see Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City*, pp. 44, 81, 83, 118.

The *muḥtasib* was 'Abd Allāh b. Dhalāl.

In Muḥarram [September–October 974] Aflaḥ al-Nāshib⁵⁴⁸ came from Barqa. The state dignitaries, the *qāḍī* and the subjects went to receive him at Giza. He was given accommodation.

News arrived of the abdication [of the Abbasid caliph al-Muṭī'] and allegiance being given to his son al-Ṭā'ī.

Abu'l-Hayjā' b. Munajjā al-Qarmaṭī and his son were released. He was given a robe of honour and a mount. More than ten Qarāmiṭa were also released with them.

Al-Mu'izz's mother passed away six days before the end of Rabī' II [10 January 975].

In Jumādā I [January–February 975], al-Mu'izz rewarded the *ashraf* and others from the Ḥijāzī delegation with 400,000 dirhams.

Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī al-Kūfī was appointed *qāḍī* of the provinces of Syria, the overseer of the mint and the supervisor of markets. He was mounted on a mule, and on a workhorse with him were thirteen chests and 6,000 dirhams. A diploma of investiture was issued in his name.

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī and Abū Ṭāhir Sahl b. Qumāma were appointed for the collection of taxes and the military administration of al-Ashmūnayn. They were both gifted a robe of honour and they set out with banners and drums.

Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umar al-'Addās was appointed over Kūrat Būṣayr and its districts. He was given a robe of honour and a mount. He set out with banners and drums.

[Demise of Prince 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'izz]

Prince 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'izz fell ill and passed away when seven days were left in it [Jumādā I, 8 February 975], nineteen days after his grandmother passed away.⁵⁴⁹ Al-Mu'izz received condolences. The dignitaries entered his presence without [their] turbans. Some of them mutilated themselves so as to express their intense grief. Al-Mu'izz calmed them by saying, 'Fear God and return to Him.'

548. Aflaḥ al-Nāshib was the governor of Barqa in North Africa.

549. There is a discrepancy in the dates given for the demise of al-Mu'izz's grandmother, as al-Maqrīzī reports above that she passed away six days before the end of Rabī' II [10 January 975].

The markets were closed. The dignitaries sat in their same clothes and some of them remained standing. Qāḍī Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān was instructed to wash the body whilst al-Mu'izz spoke. He was asked about particular verses of the Qur'an and their meaning because the Qur'an reciters were reciting them. His son 'Abd Allāh was described as being meritorious and pious. Abū Ja'far Muslim said to him [al-Mu'izz], 'I seek God's protection from losing a pious son.' Al-Mu'izz said to him, 'What is your opinion about a disobedient son and a disobedient brother?', indicating his [Abū Ja'far's] son Ja'far and his brother 'Abd Allāh, for they had sided with the Qarāmiṭa. Abū Ja'far Muslim replied, 'If one were afflicted with a disobedient son and a disobedient brother, then in God and in our master's longevity is a compensation.' Al-Mu'izz replied, 'May God not protect those who do not protect you; may He not honour those who do not honour you; may He weaken those who do not strengthen you; and may He lower those who do not exalt you.'

Abū Ja'far, followed by those in the gathering, stood up, kissed the ground, and thanked him [al-Mu'izz] for his words.

Then 'Abd Allāh's coffin was brought out surrounded by the dignitaries of the state who were screaming and wailing. Al-Mu'izz prayed over him. Then he entered the palace with his [son's] body where he buried it.

In Jumādā II [February–March 975] news arrived that 'Abd Allāh Akhū Muslim had died on the outskirts of Baṣra, as mentioned previously, and that al-Muṭī' had died at Baghdad in Muḥarram and that his son al-Ṭā'i' had poisoned him. Riots broke out in Baghdad between the Turks and the Daylamids, and between the [Sunni] subjects and the Shi'a. Prices soared and markets and houses were looted. Abū Taghlib b. Ḥamdān set out for Baghdad as a mediator between al-Ṭā'i' and Bakhtiyār.⁵⁵⁰

In it [Jumādā II] Naṣīr al-Khādim al-Ṣaqlabī, a *ghulām* of al-Mu'izz, went to Syria with a large army and entered Beirut.

550. The arrival of the Buyids as overlords in Baghdad proved challenging for the Abbasid caliphs. The Buyids encouraged the practice of Shi'i customs and rituals, which gave rise to rioting between Sunnis and Shi'is in Baghdad. It was further inevitable that the Daylamī troops of the Buyids would clash with the Turks who dominated the Abbasid army. Another cause for internecine conflict was the power struggle among the Buyid princes.

At the beginning of Rajab [March 975], the Fustāt bridge was repaired. People had been forbidden from crossing it as it had been damaged for years.

Al-Mu'izz rode out for al-Maqs going along the Nile bank, accompanied by Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir who was conversing with him until he crossed the bridge to al-Jazīra. Then he went to al-Mukhtār.

In it [Rajab] 3,000 heads were brought from the Maghrib and paraded. This was because Khalaf b. Jabr had ascended the fortified castle of the Banū Hurāsh.⁵⁵¹ A large number of Berbers joined him. Yūsuf b. [Buluggīn b.] Zirī⁵⁵² advanced against him and fought fierce battles against them in which a large number of people were killed, until he seized the fortress on 10 Sha'bān [25 April 975]. Khalaf fled and thousands of people were massacred in the fortress from which 7,000 heads were sent to al-Qayrawān where they were paraded. Then, as mentioned previously, some of them were taken to Egypt.

In it [Rajab] a smallpox epidemic broke out. It affected a large number of people and lasted months.

A battle took place against the Byzantines at Tripoli.

[The rise of Aftakīn in Syria]

In Sha'bān [April–May 975] Aftakīn⁵⁵³ arrived with his Turkish troops at Damascus. He sent a message to al-Mu'izz seeking his

551. A Berber tribe from the eastern edge of Kutāma territory.

552. Ibn al-Athīr provides an account of Buluggīn's war with Khalaf in *al-Kāmil*, 8: 489–490.

553. Aftakīn was a commander of the Turkish *ghilmān* in Baghdad who was driven out of Iraq by the Buyids in 364/974, but then invited by the people of Damascus to become their protector against various invading forces, including the Fatimids and the Byzantines. Aftakīn defended Damascus from the Byzantine emperor Tzimisces, whose campaign of 364–365/975 along the Palestinian coast had resulted in his occupation of Ba'albakk and Tiberias. With the death of Tzimisces from typhoid and the lifting of the Byzantine threat in 365/976, Aftakīn marched on the Fatimid strongholds of Sidon, Tyre and Acre while his Qarāmiṭa allies set out for Ramla. When the Fatimid caliph al-'Azīz sent Jawhar on the conquest of Syria, he retreated to Damascus and successfully defended the city until Jawhar's supplies ran out. Aftakīn then pursued Jawhar through Tiberias and Ramla. With the help of his Arab ally Ḥassān b. al-Jarrāh, he besieged Jawhar for over a year at Ascalon until Jawhar was compelled to negotiate

permission to proceed. Al-Mu'izz sought Abū Ja'far Muslim's counsel, who said 'They are a treacherous people. If you permit them, they will take over Damascus.' Consequently, al-Mu'izz began to mobilise troops so as to dispatch them to fight him [Aftakīn].

As for the news of Aftakīn: The Daylamids and the Turks had disagreements at Baghdad. 'Izz al-Dawla Abū Maṣṣūr Bakhtiyār b. Mu'izz al-Dawla Abī'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Buwayh, the Daylamid ruler over Iraq, wanted to arrest Sabuktakīn the Turk, whom the Turks supported. There were 4,000 of them and he was their leader. They defeated Bakhtiyār who left Baghdad. Consequently, Sabuktakīn took over Baghdad. He had a good deal of wealth, weapons and men. Not long after establishing his rule over Baghdad, he died. He was succeeded by Aftakīn al-Sharābī, a *mawlā* (client) of Mu'izz al-Dawla b. Buwayh, as the chief of the Turks. He was courageous and resolute in warfare. He led the Turks from Baghdad to fight the Daylamīs. Severe fighting ensued between them.

Aftakīn fought until all but a few [of the men] around him were dispersed and his standard bearer had fled. He overtook him and struck him with an axe. He grabbed the banner and continued attacking the Daylamids until many of them fell under his axes. Then the Daylamids launched an attack and they [the Turks] were routed. Aftakīn had some 400 Turks with him. He advanced towards the Euphrates until he arrived at al-Raḥba, whereupon he proceeded through the desert wielding a power that none of the bedouins dared to challenge. Then he reached Jawshiyya, one of the villages of Syria. Zālim b. Mawhūb al-'Uqaylī, the ruler of Ba'albekk at the time, gathered for himself as many bedouins as he could muster and sent [a message] to Abū Maḥmūd before proceeding to Damascus demanding troops. Abū Maḥmūd sent him a group of men. Then he set out for Jawshiyya seeking Aftakīn who had 2,000 men with him.

Abu'l-Ma'ālī b. Ḥamdān sent Bishāra al-Khādīm with 300 men from Ḥimṣ to Jawshiyya to assist Aftakīn against Zālim. Bishāra sent a message to Zālim to discourage him from fighting Aftakīn, and Zālim returned to Ba'albekk. Bishāra set out with Aftakīn and

a humiliating retreat to Cairo. A few months later, Aftakīn was defeated outside Ramla by Fatimid forces, captured and taken to Cairo where he and his men were treated honourably. For a detailed account of Aftakīn's activities, see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kamil*, 8: 483–487.

camped with him on the outskirts of Ḥimṣ. He promised him the best treatment on behalf of his master Abu'l-Ma'ālī. Abu'l-Ma'ālī sent him a mount and honoured him generously. Then he [Aftakīn] went to Abu'l-Ma'ālī who seated him on a chair.

Aftakīn asked that he should be appointed over Kafr Ṭāb and, in return, he would support him. Shortly thereafter, a messenger of the agitator Ibn al-Māward arrived from Damascus asking him [Aftakīn] to advance to Damascus so as to lead its people to fight against the Maghribī [Fatimid] troops and to appoint him as their ruler. This met with his approval. So he sent a message to Ibn Ḥamdān saying, 'I have reflected upon your appointment for me. This cannot be achieved with the number of *ghilmān* that I have, so I wish to return to Baghdad.' He [Ibn Ḥamdān] responded, 'Do as you see fit.'

So he set out as if he were taking the land route to Baghdad and [instead] headed towards Damascus, which had been besieged by [the Fatimid commander] Rayyān [al-Khādim] who received news concerning Tripoli: 'The enemy has come forth and we are frightened that the town will be occupied.' He was alarmed and anxious about Tripoli. Then he learnt that Aftakīn had set out against him [Rayyān] with the agreement of the Damascenes. So he inspected his troops and headed towards 'Aqabat Damr.

Aftakīn stayed at Thaniyyat al-'Uqāb, for he did not know that Rayyān al-Khādim had withdrawn from the city [Damascus] with all his companions, so that not one of them remained. A few days before the end of Sha'bān [May 975], he arrived at the town fatigued and his companions were exhausted.

He halted at the outskirts of the city [Damascus] and the notables came out to welcome him. They asked him to rule over them, to get rid of the Egyptians and to restrain the armed youth (*aḥdāth*). He responded positively to them. He exacted an oath from them seeking obedience and assistance, and promised to defend them and to protect them from harm inflicted by himself or others.

He [Aftakīn] dropped al-Mu'izz's name from the *khuṭba* and replaced it with that of al-Ṭā'ī. He subdued the offenders and everyone became fearful of him. He improved the condition of the town considerably, staying there for a few days. News arrived that the adversary [the Byzantine commander] was approaching with a huge

army, and they [the Damascenes] made preparations to fight him. The adversary camped at Ḥimṣ where he faced no resistance from anyone because of a treaty that had been agreed between him and Abu'l-Ma'ālī b. Ḥamdān.

Aftakīn advanced to Ba'albekk in search of Zālim who fled from him. Aftakīn arrived at Ba'albekk. The bedouins had occupied all the lands outside the city wall of Damascus. So Aftakīn attacked and killed a large number of them. He demonstrated good management, sound character and courage. This elicited people's obedience to him. He allotted *iqṭā's* and as his following increased, his wealth abounded and his position was consolidated. He seized Ba'albakk from Zālim b. Mawhūb. The Byzantines led by the Domestikos marched against him.⁵⁵⁴ He fought valiant battles against them. Then they overwhelmed him [Aftakīn] and he was defeated.

The Byzantines entered Ba'albekk, looting and setting fire to it and its environs in the month of Ramaḍān [May–June 975]. Their cavalry and infantry spread out in the regions of Ba'albekk and al-Biqā', torching them and taking captives. They spread towards al-Zabadānī, so the people blocked the straits, thus preventing them from entering the valley.

A group came from Damascus to negotiate an armistice with the Byzantine commander. He demanded money in return for withdrawing from the town. Then Aftakīn came to speak to him on behalf of the town and gifted him some of what he had brought with him from Baghdad. So he [the Byzantine commander] honoured and welcomed him. Then Aftakīn addressed him concerning the situation of the city and told him that it was in ruins. It had no wealth and nothing save armed men. So he [the Byzantine commander] said to him, 'We did not come to take money. Indeed, we came to seize lands by our swords. You offered us a gift and we responded to your requests. Our purpose in taking the money is so that it would be said that we have seized the place and taken its gift.'

Aftakīn replied, 'This town is not mine and I have been here but

554. The Domestikos was Bardas Phocas, the commander-in-chief of the Byzantine army. On Fatimid and Byzantine relations in Syria during this time, see Shainool Jiwa, 'A Study of the Reign of the Fifth Fatimid Imam-Caliph al-'Azīz bi'llāh', (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 213–229, and the sources cited there.

a few days. I cannot command or forbid. The man who has authority over the town has accompanied me and he will prevent me from anything I do.' Ibn al-Māward had been with him. He [the Byzantine commander] asked, 'Who will forbid you from doing what you wish?' He [Aftakīn] replied, 'He [Ibn al-Māward] and his followers.'

He [the Byzantine commander] ordered the arrest of Ibn al-Māward, who was apprehended and shackled. An agreement was concluded according to which Aftakīn would collect taxes as part of the treaty. In return, the Byzantine commander would withdraw from Damascus and its regions. The Byzantine emperor confirmed this in a treaty.

When Aftakīn returned to Damascus, Ibn al-Māward's companions staged an armed revolt, seeking to apprehend him [Aftakīn], but the people curbed them.

[The Fatimid commander] Abū Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far was in Tiberias when he received news that Aftakīn had met with the Byzantines. He advanced from Tiberias sending Jaysh b. al-Ṣamṣāma with some 2,000 men to seize Damascus. Meanwhile, Shibl b. Ma'rūf al-'Uqayli had established himself over Shayniyya. However, Jaysh was not aware of this. Shibl set out against him with a group of bedouins who fought and defeated him. This news reached Aftakīn, who had left the presence of the Byzantine emperor. The Turks pursued [Jaysh] and caught up with his [troops], killing a large number of them. Jaysh was taken prisoner and sent by Aftakīn to the Byzantine [commander] who was camping at 'Ayn al-Jarr awaiting the money.

So Aftakīn forcibly raised 30,000 dinars from Damascus for him, whereupon he left and besieged Beirut, then ruled by Naṣīr al-Khādim on behalf of al-Mu'izz. The Byzantine emperor corresponded repeatedly with the inhabitants of Beirut, saying to them, 'I do not wish to destroy your town. All I require is that you surrender this eunuch [al-Khādim] and his men. I will then appoint someone on my behalf who will defend your land.'

[This continued] until Naṣīr al-Khādim and those who were with him came out to him [the Byzantine commander]. He arrested them and appointed one of his people with two hundred men over Beirut.

He [the Byzantine commander] set out for Tripoli where the ruler was Rayyān al-Khādim, who had previously ruled over Damascus

with a number of the Maghribīs. There was fierce fighting.

The Byzantine [commander] was afflicted with illness so he departed for his land but died on the way.

Aftakīn established himself at Damascus and sent Shibl b. Maʿrūf al-ʿUqaylī to Tiberias; therefore, Abū Maḥmūd and his men fled from there to Ramla.

[The year of the comet]

Al-Muʿizz's troops arrived in large numbers, frightening the bedouins. They fought the bedouins near Jerusalem, and defeated, routed and killed a large number of them. They sent a number of them to Damascus, where they were paraded on camels in the markets and filled the prisons. They were tortured and then beheaded. Throughout his stay at Damascus, Aftakīn was in correspondence with the Qarāmiṭa.

On the day of ʿĪd al-Fiṭr [14 June 975], al-Muʿizz rode out, led the prayer and gave the sermon as was his usual custom. He received the news of the battle between Rayyān and the commander of the Byzantines, of the latter's defeat and that Rayyān had taken many of them prisoner, killed some and secured booty. Al-Muʿizz was pleased with this and distributed alms. The dignitaries came into his presence to congratulate him. Poets extolled the occasion and composed many verses on the overthrow of [the Abbasid caliph] al-Muṭṭiʿ.

He [al-Muʿizz] sent money and provisions to the Ḥijāz, as well as the *kiswa* for the Kaʿba.

Heads were sent from the Maghrib and were paraded [in Cairo].

Drinking water was brought from a Maghribī spring whose digging he [al-Muʿizz] had ordered.

He [al-Muʿizz] sent a messenger with a letter to the Qarāmiṭa in al-Aḥṣā'.⁵⁵⁵

On that day [ʿĪd al-Fiṭr] riots broke out between the Egyptians and the Maghribīs. A group of people were arrested and flogged.

On 5 Dhu'l-Qa'da [17 July 975], it was announced in the ʿAtīq Mosque that the pilgrimage would proceed on land. It had been

555. This report indicates that dialogue between al-Muʿizz and the Qarāmiṭa continued despite the latter's terse reply to al-Muʿizz's long letter to them upon his arrival in Egypt.

suspended for some years.

In it [Dhu'l-Qa'da] 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Thawbān died. Al-Mu'izz had appointed him to oversee the grievances of the Maghribīs, but he extended his rulings among the Egyptians. He used to sign his letters 'the *qāḍī* of Miṣr [Fuṣṭāṭ] and Alexandria'. The Egyptian witnesses who were certified as being just, testified before him.

In it [Dhu'l-Qa'da] al-Mu'izz appointed 'Alī b. al-Nu'mān to administer justice and he permitted him to oversee the rulings (*aḥkāma*), which he did at his house and at his mosque.⁵⁵⁶

A number of bedouin and Byzantine heads were brought from Syria and Upper Egypt and paraded.

In the middle of Dhu'l-Qa'da [July 975], a reply came from the Qarāmiṭa of al-Aḥṣā'. The messenger and those accompanying him were given mounts and robes of honour.

In it [Dhu'l-Qa'da] a bright, luminous comet arose at dawn. It shone for a few days. The people were alarmed. When al-Mu'izz saw it, he prayed for protection.

Ṣaqālība (Slav) slaves were sought from all the people and were bought.

'Uslūj b. al-Ḥasan was given exclusive charge of the *dīwān* and the oversight of all financial matters.

At the beginning of Dhu'l-Ḥijja [August 975], a number of heads were paraded on lances. It was said that they numbered 12,000 and had been brought from the Maghrib. Amongst them was the head of Khalaf b. Jabr, who had rebelled in the Maghrib where the Berbers had joined him. Yūsuf b. Zīrī was victorious over him. He was killed along with a number of his family members on 5 Ramaḍān [19 May 975].

A group of the Ikhshīdiyya and the Kāfūriyya were arrested. They were asked to sell their properties and to hand over the money

556. Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Nu'mān, the son of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, was initially appointed by al-Mu'izz to administer justice in the two principal mosques of Cairo and also to oversee the mint. However, the overall responsibility of the judiciary was shared between him and Abū Ṭāhir who had been appointed earlier by Jawhar. It was in the reign of al-'Azīz that 'Alī b. al-Nu'mān became *qāḍī al-quḍāt* (chief judge) and *dā'ī al-du'āt* (chief *dā'ī*), as well as inspector of gold, silver coinage and markets. He continued in these posts until he died in 373/984. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 3: 565–569.

that was accrued from it.

One hundred cavalry and saddle-loads of money were received as gifts from Abū Maḥmūd in Syria.

On the day of ʿĪd al-Naḥr, al-Muʿizz rode out as was his custom. He led the prayer, gave the sermon and had a feast prepared for the dignitaries at the palace. The canal was opened but al-Muʿizz did not ride to it.

On the day of Nawrūz, jesting with water and the lighting of fires increased. The people of the markets were parading [themselves] and misbehaving. They then entered Cairo with their jesting and continued with it there for three days. They behaved abominably in their antics in the markets. They were ordered to stop their frolicking. A group of them were arrested, paraded and imprisoned.⁵⁵⁷

It was decreed that two jurists would oversee *al-shurṭa al-suflā*. Then [later] they were dismissed.

News arrived of fighting between Abū Maḥmūd and Ibn al-Jarrāḥ al-Ṭāʾī in the region of Tiberias.

Al-Muʿizz ordered that the standards for weights and measures were to be changed, and that the weights were to be of lead.

Al-Muʿizz ordered Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir and his witnesses to apprise him of all the happenings in the land and not to conceal anything. They appointed someone for this purpose, but he refused [the post].

The Nile reached a new height of seventeen cubits and nineteen inches. Ibn Abī'l-Raddād was rewarded, given a robe of honour and a riding beast, as was the custom.

The following people died in this year:

Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad, son of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān b. Muḥammad, at Fustāṭ on Tuesday, 5 Rabīʿ I [23 November 974].

Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Afranji in Cairo. Al-Muʿizz led the prayers over him and he was buried there.

Ismāʿīl b. Labūn al-Danhāji over whom al-Muʿizz led the prayers.

The administrator of the land-tax, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥarāsī.

Ḥasan b. Raṣṭaq al-Danhāji.

Abu'l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sakra in Rabīʿ II [December 974–January 975].

557. The same report is mentioned in al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, 2: 356.

[The final year of al-Mu'izz's reign]

The government remained the same [as in the previous year], except that the judiciary was in the hands of Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Aḥmad and Qāḍī 'Alī b. al-Nu'mān, who shared the responsibility with him. Each of them gave judicial rulings from their homes.

Ya'qūb b. Killis was reluctant to attend the chancery. He exclusively oversaw al-Mu'izz's affairs at his palace.

In Muḥarram [September–October 975] a church was built at Qaṣr al-Shām.⁵⁵⁸

The first of the pilgrims arrived and reported that the *da'wa* was proclaimed [in al-Mu'izz's name] at Mecca, in the Ibrāhīm Mosque on the day of 'Arafa, at the city of the Prophet [Medina], and in all the districts of Mecca. They also reported that the pilgrimage had been completed.

This was the first season in which al-Mu'izz's name was pronounced in the sermon in Mecca and in the city of the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace. Al-Mu'izz was delighted with this and gave alms in praise of God.⁵⁵⁹

A letter arrived from the ruler of Mecca, Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and from his brother al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī, seeking beneficence for their sister Ṣafiyya, the wife of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh, Akhū Muslim, as she had gone into hiding. So he [al-Mu'izz] ordered that her estates and revenues should be returned to her. Ya'qūb b. Killis summoned Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir and his certified witnesses, and asked them to witness the letter from al-Mu'izz ordering him to restore her estates and revenues to her. Then she came out of hiding and was safe.

Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī, the ruler of Mecca, wrote [to al-Mu'izz] requesting that the *ḥubs* (endowment) of the Banū

558. The building of a new church was unusual, since according to the rights and obligations of the Ahl al-dhimma (people of the covenant), the building of new places of worship by them was generally not permitted, although they were allowed to repair and restore existing structures.

559. As noted in the Introduction, the acknowledgement of Fatimid authority in Mecca and Medina was a matter to which al-Mu'izz had given assiduous attention since his succession to the caliphate.

Jumaḥ in Egypt and that of the progeny of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in Egypt be returned to them. Al-Mu‘izz released the bequests of the Banū Jumaḥ.

An envoy of the Byzantine emperor arrived; so the shops shut down and people came out to see him.

[The demise of al-Mu‘izz]

Ibn al-Athīr reports:

The cause of al-Mu‘izz’s death was that the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople had sent an envoy who used to frequent him while he was in Ifrīqiya. When he [al-Mu‘izz] was alone with him for a few days, he said to him, ‘Do you remember when you came as an envoy whilst I was in al-Mahdiyya and I said to you, “You will visit me in Egypt and I will be its ruler?”’ He replied, ‘Yes.’ He [al-Mu‘izz] continued, ‘I say to you [now] that you will visit me in Baghdad and I will be the caliph.’ The envoy replied, ‘If you grant me safety and are not vexed with me, I will tell you what I think.’ Al-Mu‘izz said, ‘Say [what you wish] and you will be safe.’ So he said, ‘The [Byzantine] emperor sent me that year and I witnessed your grandeur with my own eyes. The large number of your companions almost killed me. Then I arrived at your palace and I saw light that almost blinded me. Then I entered your presence and I saw you on your throne and I thought you were the Creator. If you had said then that you could ascend the heavens, I would have believed you. Now, when I have come to visit you [here], I do not see any of that. I arrived in your city and found it dark and gloomy. Then I came in your presence, but I do not find the awe that surrounded you that year. So I said [to myself] that luck was on your side before and now it is the opposite of what it was.’

Al-Mu‘izz bowed his head in silence and the envoy left his presence. Subsequently, al-Mu‘izz was afflicted with a severe fever and his illness continued until he died.⁵⁶⁰

Ibn Sa‘īd said in *Kitāb al-Mughrib*:

Al-Mu‘izz sent a message to Ibn al-Sawādakī saying, ‘Write to all your merchants in the Ḥijāz and ask them to write to their contacts in Aden to procure as much as they can of solid ebony wood that has a good gloss, is of full length and is strong beyond all comparison.’

560. As is clear from al-Maqrīzī’s comments later in the text, this account from Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil*, 8: 488–489) illustrates the bias in the works of the ‘eastern’ historians.

So he wrote to a merchant in Mecca demanding this. Almost two months later a reply arrived that he had found something unique and had loaded it on to a boat. This pleased him [Ibn al-Sawādakī] and he went immediately to al-Mu'izz, who was in al-Qulzum, to inform him of the news. Al-Mu'izz bowed his head in silence and his face lost colour. He [Ibn al-Sawādakī] said to him [al-Mu'izz], 'O master, this is a day of joy and happiness, for the matter which you had ordered would have taken a long time. However, God has facilitated it for you very quickly.' He replied, 'O Muḥammad, no one knows where I am going.'

Then he [al-Mu'izz] went to the outskirts of Cairo while reading *Sūrat al-Faṭḥ* to the end.⁵⁶¹ Each time he finished, he began reading it again. A week after he returned, he fell ill. His illness continued until he died in the fifth month [Dhu'l-Qa'da] [July 976]. He did not ask about the matter, nor did I remind him about it. He interpreted events as if his death were announced to him [even] when he saw that things were proceeding clearly for him.'

Ibn Zūlāq reports:

On 4 Ṣafar [13 October 975], the pilgrims returned by land route. The land route had not been travelled upon for years.

In it [Ṣafar] Qāḍī 'Alī b. al-Nu'mān came to the Cairo mosque and dictated his father's compendium on jurisprudence according to the Ahl al-Bayt. This compendium was called *al-Iqtiṣār*. It was a grand collection.⁵⁶²

In Rabi' II [December 975–January 976], a letter came from the Qarāmiṭa affirming their allegiance [to al-Mu'izz].⁵⁶³

In it [Rabi' II] al-Mu'izz granted a group of Egyptians an audience and spoke to them whilst seated on the royal throne. Amongst them was a man who shouted, 'O Commander of the Faithful! God, may He be exalted and glorified, has said, "Generations before you We destroyed when they did wrong; their messengers came to them with clear signs, but they would not believe! Thus do We requite those who sin! Then We made you heirs in the land after them, to see how you would behave!"'⁵⁶⁴ O Commander of the Faithful, let us observe how you act.' He [al-Mu'izz] responded, 'God speaks the truth. That is indeed

561. Qur'an 48. See note 77 above.

562. The *Kitāb al-Iqtiṣār* has been edited by M.W. Mīrẓā (Damascus, 1957) and 'Ārif Tāmīr (Beirut, 1996).

563. This marks a significant turn of events in Fatimid-Qarāmiṭa relations. The succession crisis among the Qarāmiṭa leadership may have precipitated their allegiance, as well as the waning of Qarāmiṭa military activity in Syria and Iraq.

564. Qur'an 10: 13–14.

what the Exalted and Glorified has said, and we seek success from God.'

Al-Mu'izz fell ill on 8 Rabī' I [15 November 975] and his illness lasted thirty-eight days. He was prescribed the *burullusi* melon juice. It was sought all over Egypt. Only one was found and bought for five dinars. Then eighteen more were purchased for eighteen dinars. The dignitaries frequented the palace. His physician Mūsā b. al-Āzār and his slave Jawhar nursed him.

Fourteen days before the end of Rabī' II [23 December 975], his illness worsened. He was made aware of the people gathering, with many petitions about their grievances and needs, and was asked as to who should look into the matter. He ordered that his heir apparent, Nizār [al-'Aziz], should investigate them and deputised him to do so. He sent his greetings to the people, who then departed.

The commander Jawhar and the physician Mūsā b. al-Āzār went to al-'Aziz and enthroned him. His brothers, paternal uncles and the rest of his family came to pledge their allegiance to him, followed by a large number of the *awliyā'*. They pledged him their fealty and congratulated him on ascending to power and becoming the heir apparent. People were gladdened by that.

The next day Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir and a group of his certified witnesses as well as the jurists came into his [al-'Aziz's] presence and greeted him as the heir apparent. They kissed the ground before him. He responded most kindly to their greetings and informed them that al-Mu'izz was well. He added, 'Our master, may God bless him, is in good health and spirits in every regard and in his care for you.' So they departed.

On Friday 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Umar al-'Abbāsī prayed for him [al-'Aziz] from the pulpit of the 'Atiq Mosque after he had prayed for al-Mu'izz. He said, 'O God, bless Your servant and friend, the fruit of prophecy, and the origin of distinction and the imamate, the servant of God, Ma'add Abū Tamīm, Imam al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, as You have showered blessings on his pure forefathers and his chosen ancestors before him. O God, assist him in what You have charged him to do and fulfil what You have promised him. Let him rule over the lands of the east and the lands of the west. O God, support him and strengthen his triumph through Prince Nizār Abu'l-Manšūr, the heir apparent of the Muslims, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, whom You have made *al-qā'im* (the executor) of his *da'wa* and of his proof. O God, reform the people through him, facilitate the rule of the land for him and fulfil through him what You have promised. Indeed, You never fail to keep Your promise.'

Al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh died on the evening of Saturday, 16 Rabī' II [23 December 975]. It was said [that he died on] Friday, 11 [18 December 975] or 13 [20 December 975]. For eight months, his death was not

announced nor was anyone told about it.⁵⁶⁵

It was said that when his illness worsened, his wife brought the commander Jawhar who was wrapped in a gown of ...⁵⁶⁶ Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf b. Killis, 'Uslūj the commander, Aflaḥ the chief of the archers, and Ṭāriq al-Ṣaqlabī who said to al-Mu'izz, 'We want you to enlighten us on the right course and inform us who has the authority.' Al-Mu'izz did not respond. So Jawhar said to him, 'I have heard you say words concerning this that dispense me from repeating the question. However, they have compelled me to come to you.' He [al-Mu'izz] said to them, 'You have confronted me with something that you should not have.' And he sobbed.

Hence, they departed. Three days later he [al-Mu'izz] passed away. Whenever matters were brought to al-'Azīz, he would enter [the room] as if he was consulting [al-Mu'izz] and leaving with an order.

Ibn Zūlāq said:

Al-Mu'izz was extremely virtuous, deserving of the imamate and a good leader.

He [al-Mu'izz] was born in 319 [931–932]. He was four years old when his great-grandfather al-Mahdī died, and sixteen years old when al-Qā'im died.

Al-Mu'izz had acquired wealth in Egypt, the like of which had not been gathered by his predecessors in the Maghrib. He had twenty-four chests of money, of which fourteen were bequeathed by al-Mahdī. Al-Qā'im did not leave any, but al-Manṣūr left one chest and one *kiswa*. Al-Mu'izz added nine more, thus totalling twenty-four. Most of these were expended on the conquest and entry into Egypt. Al-Mu'izz obtained four chests from Egypt, in addition to what he had expended and what he had brought with him.

His deputies in Egypt had collected more taxes on his behalf than had ever before been raised in Egypt. In one day alone 120,000 dinars were collected.

During his reign, the Qarāmiṭa were defeated four times: twice on land at the gates of Cairo and twice at sea. They had not experienced that since their military activities began.

The *da'wa* was pronounced in his name on the day of 'Arafa at the

565. Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil*, 8: 488) says that al-Mu'izz died on 17 Rabī' II/24 December, but according to Ibn Zūlāq the homage was given to al-'Azīz on 16 Rabī' II and al-Mu'izz died two days later. The confusion in the dates is linked to the fact that al-Mu'izz's demise was not publicly announced for a number of months after his death. During this time al-'Azīz performed his responsibilities only as the designated heir.

566. There is a lacuna here.

Mosque of Ibrāhīm, peace be upon him, at Mecca, at Medina and in all the provinces of the two Holy Cities, and his banner was not repulsed.

The Byzantine emperor Ibn al-Samīsaq⁵⁶⁷ set out to fight Rayyān, the *ghulām* of al-Mu'izz, who was at Tripoli. But he was defeated, his booty seized and his men taken captive.

His [al-Mu'izz's] name was embroidered on the *ṭirāz* in Tinnīs, Damietta, al-Qays and al-Bahnasā prior to his occupation of Egypt. His conquest continued unabated.

During his reign, prayers were recited for Fāṭima and 'Alī, peace be upon them both, from the *minbars* (pulpits) of all his regions and many regions in Iraq.

The curtains to the Ka'ba were fitted with his name embroidered upon them.

Miḥrābs (niches) of gold and silver were placed inside the Ka'ba with his name inscribed upon them.

The people of Iraq, Yemen, Khurāsān, the two Holy Cities and the Turks corresponded with him, acknowledging his caliphate.

He was preparing to set out for the pilgrimage and then to advance to Constantinople to conduct *jihād*.

He lived in Egypt for two years, seven months and ten days.

Ibn al-Athīr said:

His mother was an *umm walad*.⁵⁶⁸

He was born at al-Mahdiyya in Ifrīqiya on 11 Ramaḍān 319 [27 September 931] and was almost forty-five years and six months old when he died. His rule lasted twenty-three years and ten days.⁵⁶⁹ He was the first of the 'Alid caliphs to conquer Egypt and to immigrate there.

He was attracted to astrology and acted according to the sayings of the astrologers. An astrologer said to him that he should seclude himself at a particular time. He recommended that he should have a cellar built in which he should hide until that time had passed. This he did.⁵⁷⁰ He summoned his commanders and said to them, "There is a pact between God and me, and I am executing it. I have appointed my son Nizār [al-'Aziz] to succeed me, so listen to him and obey him."

He descended into the cellar. One of the Maghribis, whenever he saw

567. The reference is to John Tzimisce.

568. That is, a freed slave-woman.

569. Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil*, 8: 489) reports twenty-three years, five months and twenty days of al-Mu'izz's reign.

570. There is no mention in any other source that al-Mu'izz consulted astrologers and hid himself in a cellar. This anecdote is clearly another example of Ibn al-Athīr's antipathy towards the Fatimids, as maintained by al-Maqrīzī in the commentary that follows.

the clouds, would kneel down and greet it, thinking that al-Mu'izz was in it [the cloud]. He was absent for a year then reappeared. He lived for a while then fell ill and passed away. His son Nizār concealed his death until ʿĪd al-Naḥr of that year. Thus, he led the prayer and gave the sermon, pronounced the *daʿwa* in his name and accepted condolences for his father's death.⁵⁷¹

The Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Baṣrī mentioned al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh in his work, *Tathbīt nubuwwat nabīnā* (Affirming the prophethood of our Prophet), may God bless the Prophet and grant him peace. He said, 'He [al-Mu'izz] disappeared from the people for a while, then he reappeared and sat in green and gold silk garments and with jewels and precious stones around his face. He created the illusion that he had been absent and that God had raised him to Himself. He used to speak about what had been brought to him by his informants whilst he was in occultation (*ghayba*), while giving the impression that God had disclosed those unknown matters to him. He spoke in generalities without mentioning specificities.

The author [al-Maqrīzī], may God have mercy on him, says:

The matter is not as Ibn al-Athīr has said, for the esteemed Egyptian legist and historian Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Zūlāq, may God have mercy upon him, has related in his work, *Kitāb sirat al-Mu'izz*, and which I have read in his own handwriting, a day-to-day account from the time when al-Mu'izz entered Egypt until he died. [He reported] that al-Mu'izz only appointed his son [as heir apparent] on Thursday, fourteen days before the end of Rabīʿ II [23 December 975], which was two days prior to his death. The reason he did so was because the people had gathered at his palace gates and submitted numerous petitions. He was asked as to who would look into that. So he ordered that his son Nizār al-ʿAzīz should consider them and act as his deputy. I have mentioned the summary of the *Sīra* in the previous information about al-Mu'izz. Ibn Zūlāq was better informed than Ibn al-Athīr about events in Egypt, particularly those concerning al-Mu'izz, as he was present and witnessed them, as he was among those who came into his [al-Mu'izz's] presence and greeted him, together with the jurists. He narrates in this work the matters he witnessed and the matters reported to him by high-ranking and trustworthy members of the state as mentioned in it [the *Sīra*]. Ibn al-Athīr, on the other hand, has based his information on the Iraqi and Syrian historians. It is clear to those who have delved into the study of historical accounts that the latter are much prejudiced against the Fatimid caliphs and say abominable things about them, despite the fact that their knowledge of the conditions in Egypt

571. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 8: 489.

is extremely limited. Often, I have seen them relating in their histories events in Egypt, stories which are not accepted by intelligent scholars and rejected by those skilled and informed about the history of Egypt. The people of each region know best about their own events, and so the Egyptian historians know best about what took place there. 'But over all endowed with knowledge is the One, the All-Knowing.'⁵⁷²

Ibn al-Athīr said:

Al-Mu'izz was learned, meritorious and magnanimous, following his father's footsteps. He was of good conduct and just to his subjects. He concealed their teachings, sharing them only with the elite. Subsequently, he revealed them and ordered his *dā'īs* to make them public. However, he did not exceed in them [teachings] to a reprehensible degree.⁵⁷³

Ibn Sa'īd said in his *Kitāb al-Mughrib*:

When the commander Jawhar was at Ascalon, he was attacked by the enemy, who set alight his tent and burned everything else they could. The people fought until they pushed back the enemy and thus returned to their place. Then Jawhar dismounted, kissed the ground and said, 'My master, al-Mu'izz, cautioned me in the Maghrib and had said to me, "Beware of fire among your troops at Barqa." Consequently, when I arrived there I took precautions against fire. When I reached Egypt, I thought my master spoke the truth, so there was no alternative but to return to the Maghrib so that the incident may occur. When I arrived at this place, I learned that it was called Barqa and, by God, I was scared of what my master had said until I saw it with my own eyes.'

He [Ibn Sa'īd] said:

When the news reached al-Mu'izz that Yūsuf b. Zīrī, his deputy in the Maghrib, had arrested his tax collector there, he was furious. He summoned Ismā'il b. Asbāṭ, gave him a sealed letter and said to him, 'I trust you and have no misgivings about you. Say to him, "O Yūsuf, you change my orders and you ascribe to me what you yourself have done. By God, if I decide to come to you I will, and if I do I will not spare a single one of the Āl-Manad, or rather from the family of Buluggīn, or from the Ṣanhāja. Release Ibn al-Adīm and reinstate him over the collection of taxes. Follow all that I have commanded you and do not oppose any of it.'"

572. Qur'an 12: 76.

573. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 8: 489.

He [Ismā'īl b. Asbāt] said, 'I set off in the best condition until I entered al-Qayrawān, but I did not find him there, so I set out for him [Yūsuf b. Zīrī]. When he saw me, he alighted, kissed the ground where I had dismounted, then kissed me between the eyes and said, "These are the eyes that have seen our master." I gave him the decree, which he read secretly with his secretary and translator. When I gave him the verbal message, I saw him becoming darker, shaken and frightened. He said, "By God, we will do it." He wrote, reinstating Ziyādat Allāh b. al-Adīm to his post. We stayed [with him] for a while.'

Ibn al-Asbāt said, 'I was riding with him [Zīrī] one day when a courier brought a short letter which the translator read to him while he was riding. I saw him striking the horse and making it jump up and down. He brandished his lance right and left in front of his men and began saying, "O Buluggin, is his mother's name comely? O Zīrī, is his father's name pleasant? O Manād, is his grandfather's name delightful?"'

He [Ibn al-Asbāt] said, 'I said to myself, he must have received news that has pleased him. Then I reflected and came to realise that our master al-Mu'izz had died. He noticed the change in my facial expression, so he took me and went to his official residence. Turning towards me he said, "Why has your face changed?" I replied, "Our master al-Mu'izz has died, may God console you." He asked, "Who told you so?" I replied, "You informed me." He exclaimed, "How?" I responded, "After reading the letter, I saw you behaving in a manner that is not characteristic of you." So he said, "You speak the truth, our master al-Mu'izz is dead." I replied, "So you estimate that there is no one powerful enough to take his place." He said, "That is inevitable." I answered, "You should wait until you receive a letter from his son who has succeeded him and you will hear what will please you." He replied, "You speak the truth, keep this a secret. However, O Ibn Asbāt, Egypt is distant from the Maghrib and, by God, the Maghrib will be under our control for a long time."⁵⁷⁴ I stayed. A letter arrived from al-'Azīz to him [Yūsuf] offering condolences and confirming his rule; so he was pleased. He granted me a robe of honour and sent me back.'

Ibn Sa'īd reported from the *Kitāb sīrat al-a'imma* by Ibn 'Alā' 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn b. Muhadhdhab that Yūsuf b. Zīrī sent a reply to a letter that he received from al-'Azīz b. al-Mu'izz in which he said, 'God forbid that I would say the abominable things that the people of falsehood and unbelief [have said]. In fact, I am one of his [al-Mu'izz's] slaves. He has guided me by the

574. As reported earlier by al-Maqrīzī, the transformation of the Zirid governors into a hereditary monarchy was foreseen by al-Mu'izz when he appointed Yūsuf as his deputy in the Maghrib in 361/972.

light of his guidance; he has cloaked me with his wisdom; he has crowned me with the strength of his authority; he has filled me with his divine knowledge; and he has favoured me with his grace.' He [Ibn Sa'īd] mentioned that [initially] his heir apparent was his son the poet Tamīm, but then he renounced him; he then appointed his son 'Abd Allāh in Ifrīqiya, and in Egypt he appointed his son al-'Azīz who was worthy of the caliphate after him.

Ibn Sa'īd said, 'This is the most amazing thing that I have heard concerning the appointment of the heir apparent; I do not know anything like this event.'

Ibn al-Ṭuwayr said, 'Once as al-Mu'izz appeared, one of the Qur'an reciters who was an astrologer recited, "and the bearing of him [a child] and the weaning of him is thirty months..."⁵⁷⁵ Al-Mu'izz replied, "the end". He [the Qur'an reciter] responded, "praiseworthy". Al-Mu'izz rejoined, "Praise be to God".'

Among the best poetry eulogising al-Mu'izz are the verses of al-Ḥasan b. Hānī:

If you do not know his true merit,
Then ask for a revelation to be sent down and you should know.
I swear that if people do not accept his merit from God,
It will not be known and not be imagined.
Whatsoever rhymes of poetry for you I choose,
Has the Qur'an left anyone to chant?

On his [al-Mu'izz's] seal was engraved: 'By the assistance of the Mighty and Omniscient, the Imam Abū Tamīm will succeed.'

He [al-Mu'izz] was likened to the Abbasid al-Ma'mūn because of his journey from al-Qayrawān.⁵⁷⁶

575. Qur'an 46: 15.

576. Abū'l-Abbās 'Abd Allāh [b. Hārūn] al-Ma'mūn was the seventh Abbasid caliph (r. 198–218/813–833). In drawing this comparison between al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'izz, al-Maqrīzī may have had in mind the former's journey from the relatively peripheral Khūrāsān in the east to the centre of the Abbasid empire in Baghdad, and the latter's migration from the Maghrib to Cairo. The lasting intellectual and cultural legacies of both these rulers would be another shared feature of their reigns.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī. *Tathbīt dalā’il al-nubuwwa*, ed. ‘Abd al-Karīm ‘Uthmān. Beirut, 1966.
- Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Izz al-Dīn Abu’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī. *al-Kāmil fi’l-ta’rikh*, ed. C.J. Tornberg. Leiden, 1851–1876.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī. *Inbā’ al-ghum bi abnā’, al-‘umr*. Hyderabad, 1967.
- . *al-Durar al-kāmina fī a’yān al-mi’a al-thāmina*. Hyderabad, 1929–1932.
- . *Raf‘ al-iṣr*, ed. R. Guest, in appendix to al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-umarā’*.
- Ibn Hānī’ al-Andalusī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Dīwān*, ed. Zāhid ‘Alī. Cairo, 1933; ed. Karam Bustānī. Beirut, 1952.
- Ibn al-Haytham, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ja’far. *Kitāb al-munāẓarāt*, ed. and tr. W. Madelung and Paul E. Walker as *The Advent of the Fatimids: A Contemporary Shi‘i Witness*. London, 2000.
- Ibn ‘Idhārī al-Marrākushī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa’l-Maghrib*, ed. G.S. Colin and E. Levi-Provençal. New ed., Leiden, 1948–1951.
- Ibn Khaldūn. *The Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal as *Prolegomena*. New York, 1958.
- Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās. Beirut, 1968–1972; tr. M. de Slane as *Ibn Khallikān’s Biographical Dictionary*. Paris, 1842–1871.
- Ibn Muyassar, Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad. *al-Muntaqā min akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman F. Sayyid. Cairo, 1981.
- Ibn Sa’īd, ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Maghribī. *Kitāb al-mughrib fī ḥulā al-maghrib*, vol. 1, ed. M. Ḥasan and Ḥ. Naṣṣār. Cairo, 1953–1970.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Jamāl al-Dīn Abu’l-Maḥāsin Yusūf. *Al-Manhal al-ṣāfi wa’l-mustawfī ba’d al-wāfi*, ed. Muḥammad M. Amīn et

- al. Cairo, 1984–1990.
- *al-Nujūm al-zahira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira*. Cairo, 1929–1949, 1963–1971.
- Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām al-Murtaḍa. *Nuzhat al-muqlatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, ed. Ayman F. Sayyid. Beirut and Stuttgart, 1992.
- Ibn Zūlāq. *Akhbār sibawayh al-Miṣrī*, ed. M.I. Sa'd and Ḥ. al-Dīb. Cairo, 1933.
- Idris 'Imād al-Dīn b. Ḥasan, 'Uyūn al-akhbār wa funūn al-athār, ed. M. al-Ya'lāwī as *Ta'riḥ al-khulafā' al-Fāṭimiyyīn bi'l-Maghrib: al-qism al-khāṣṣ min Kitāb 'uyūn al-akhbār*. Beirut, 1985.
- al-Jawdhārī, Abū 'Alī Maṣṣūr al-'Azīzī. *Sīrat al-Ustādh Jawdhār*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. 'Abd al-Hādī Sha'īra. Cairo, 1954. French tr. M. Canard as *Vie de l'Ustadh Jaudhar*. Algiers, 1958.
- Khalil b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī. *Kitāb al-wāfī bi al-wafayāt*, ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid. Leipzig, 1993.
- al-Kindī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf. *Kitāb al-umarā' (al-wulāt) wa kitāb al-quḍāt: The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Rhuvon Guest. Leiden and London, 1912.
- al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī. *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a'yan al-mufida*, ed. Maḥmud al-Jalīlī. Beirut, 2002.
- *Imtā' al-asmā' bi-mā li'l-rasūl min al-anbā' wa-al-amwāl wa-al-ḥafadah wa-al-matā'*, ed. M. Shākir. Cairo, 1941; ed. A. al-Nuwaysī. Beirut, 1999.
- *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā'*, vol. 1, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl; vols. 2–3, ed. Muḥammad Ḥilmī M. Aḥmad. Cairo, 1967–1973.
- *Kitāb ma'rifat mā yajibu li-āl al-bayt al-nabawī min al-ḥaqq 'alā man 'adāhum*, ed. A. Al-Sirāwī. Damascus, 1998.
- *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār*, ed. Muḥammad Zaynhum and Madiḥat al-Sharqāwī. Cairo, 1998.
- *al-Nuqūd al-Islāmiyya al-musammā bi shudhur al-'uqūd fī dhikr al-nuqūd*, ed. al-Sayyid M. Baḥr al-'Ulūm. Najaf, 1967.
- *Kitāb al-muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī. Beirut, 1981.
- *Kitāb al-niza' wa-al-takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim*, tr. C.E. Bosworth as 'al-Maqrīzī's Book

- of Contention and Strife concerning the relations between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Monograph no. 3. Manchester, 1980.
- ____ *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. M.M. Ziyāda and S.A. 'Āshūr. Cairo, 1934–1972.
- al-Musabbiḥī, al-Mukhtār 'Izz al-Mulk Muḥammad. *al-Juz' al-arba'un min akhbār Miṣr*, Part 1, ed. Ayman F. Sayyid and Thierry Bianquis. Cairo, 1978; Part 2, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Cairo, 1984.
- Nāṣir-i Khusraw. *Safarnāma*, ed. M. Dabīr Siyāqī. 5th ed., Tehran, 1977; tr. W.M. Thackston, Jr., as *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*. Albany, NY, 1986.
- al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad. *Nihāyat al-arab fi funun al-adab*, vol. 28, ed. M.M. Amin and M.Ḥ. Muḥammad. Cairo, 1992.
- Orations of the Fatimid Caliphs: Festival Sermons of the Ismaili Imams*, ed. and tr. Paul E. Walker. London, 2009.
- al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad Abū Ḥanīfa. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, ed., Asaf A.A. Fyzee. Cairo, 1951–1960; tr. Asaf A.A. Fyzee and revised by Ismail K. Poonawala as *The Pillars of Islam*. Delhi, 2002–2004, 2 vols.
- ____ *Ifṭitāḥ al-da'wa wa ibtidā' al-dawla*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī. Beirut, 1970; ed. Farhat Dachraoui. Tunis, 1975; tr. Hamid Haji as *Founding the Fatimid State: The Rise of an Early Islamic Empire*. London, 2006.
- ____ *Kitāb ikhtilāf uṣūl al-madhāhib*, ed. S.T. Lokhandwalla. Simla, 1972.
- ____ *Kitāb al-iqtiṣār*, ed. Muḥammad Wahīd Mīrzā. Damascus, 1957; ed. 'Ārif Tāmir. Beirut, 1996.
- ____ *Kitāb al-majālis wa'l-musāyarāt*, ed. al-Ḥabīb al-Faqī, Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ and Muḥammad al-Ya'lawī. Tunis, 1978.
- al-Sakhāwī, Shams al-Dīn Abu'l-Khayr Muḥammad, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmī li'ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudṣī. Cairo, 1934–1935.
- al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarir. *Ta'riḥ al-Tabarī al-ma'rūf bi-ta'riḥ al-umam wa'l-mulūk*. Beirut, 1989.
- Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, Abū 'Alī. *Dīwān Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh al-Fāṭimī*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-A'zamī. Cairo, 1957; Beirut, 1970.

Secondary Sources

- Abun-Nasr, J.M. *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period*. Cambridge, 1987.
- van Arendonk, C. [W.A. Graham]. 'Sharīf', *EI2*.
- Barrucand, Marianne, ed. *L'Égypte Fatimide, son art et son histoire*. Paris, 1999.
- Barthold, W. and P.B. Golden, 'Khazar', *EI2*.
- Basset, René. 'Kutāma', *EI2*.
- Bauden, Frédéric. 'Maqriziana I. Discovery of an Autograph MS of al-Maqrizī: Towards a Better Understanding of his Working Method. Description: Section 1, *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/2 (2003), pp. 21–68.
- 'Maqriziana I: Section 2', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 10/2 (2006), pp. 81–139.
- 'Maqriziana II: Analysis', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 12/1 (2008), pp. 51–119.
- 'The Recovery of Mamluk Chancery Documents in an Unsuspected Place', in Michael Winter and Amelia Levanoni, ed., *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*. Leiden, 2004.
- Bausani, Alessandro. 'Religion under the Mongols', in J.A. Boyle, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran: Volume 5, The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*. Cambridge, 1968, pp. 538–549.
- Becker, Carl H. 'Miṣr', *EI2*.
- Bianquis, T. 'Shaybān', *EI2*.
- Bierman, Irene A. *Art and Politics: The Impact of Fatimid Uses of Tīrāz Fabrics*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1980.
- Blake, Hugh, A. Hutt and D. Whitehouse, 'Ajdābiyah and the Earliest Fātimid Architecture', *Libya Antiqua*, 8 (1971), pp. 105–120.
- de Blois, François. 'The Abu Sa'īdis or so-called Qarmatians of Bahrain', *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, 16 (1986), pp. 13–21.
- Brett, Michael. *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib*. Aldershot, 1999.
- *The Rise of the Fatimids: The World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Fourth Century of the Hijra, Tenth Century CE*. Leiden, 2001.
- Broadbridge, Anne F. 'Royal Authority, Justice, and Order in Society:

The Influence of Ibn Khaldūn on the Writings of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghribirdī', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/2 (2003), pp. 231–247.

Cahen, Claude. 'Ibn al-Ṭuwayr', *EI2*.

Canard, Marius. 'Une famille de partisans, puis d'adversaires, des Fatimides en Afrique du Nord', in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'occident Musulman: II, Hommage à Georges Marçais*. Algiers, 1957, pp. 33–49.

____ 'Ḥamdānids', *EI2*.

____ 'al-Ḥasan al-Aṣam', *EI2*.

Caskel, W. 'Ḍabba', *EI2*.

Christids, V. 'Miṣr', *EI2*.

Cobb, P. 'al-Maqrīzī, Ḥāshimism, and the Early Caliphates', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/2 (2003), pp. 69–81.

Cortese, Delia and Simonetta Calderini. *Women and the Fatimids in the World of Islam*. Edinburgh, 2006.

Dachraoui, Farhat. 'al-Ḳā'im', *EI2*.

____ 'al-Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh', *EI2*.

____ 'al-Manṣūr bi'llāh', *EI2*.

____ 'al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh', *EI2*.

Daftary, Farhad. 'A Major Schism in the Early Ismā'īlī Movement', *Studia Islamica*, 77 (1993), pp. 123–139.

____ ed. *Mediaeval Ismā'īlī History and Thought*. Cambridge, 1996.

____ *A Short History of the Ismailis: Traditions of a Muslim Community*. Edinburgh, 1998.

____ *The Ismā'īlis: Their History and Doctrines*. 2nd ed., Cambridge, 2007.

El-Ali, Saleh A. 'Ayn al-Tamr', *EI2*.

____ 'Ma'arrat Maṣrīn/Miṣrīn', *EI2*.

____ 'Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān', *EI2*.

The Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. H.A.R. Gibb et al. New ed., Leiden, 1960–2004.

Encyclopaedia Iranica, ed. E. Yarshater. London and New York, 1982–.

Esmail, Aziz and Azim Nanji, 'The Ismā'īlis in History', in S.H. Nasr, ed., *Ismā'īlī Contributions to Islamic Culture*. Tehran, 1977, pp. 225–265.

Gibb, Hamilton A.R. 'al-Mu'izz', *EI2*.

- ____ 'Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Sādj', *EI2*.
- Gilden, H.W. 'al-'Aqaba', *EI2*.
- Gleave, R. 'Khums', *EI2*.
- Goichon, A.M. 'Ḥadd', *EI2*.
- Goitein, Solomon D. *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*. Berkeley, 1967–1993.
- Haji, Amin. 'Institutions of Justice in Fatimid Egypt (358–567/969–1171)', in A. Al-Azmeh, ed., *Islamic Law: Social and Historical Contexts*. London, 1988, pp. 198–214.
- Halm, Heinz. *The Fatimids and their Traditions of Learning*. London, 1997.
- ____ *The Empire of the Mahdi: The Rise of the Fatimids*, tr. M. Bonner. Leiden, 1996.
- ____ 'Zakrawayh b. Mihrawayh', *EI2*.
- ____ 'Sitr', *EI2*.
- Hamdani, Sumaiya A. *Between Revolution and State: The Path to Fatimid Statehood, Qadi al-Nu'man and the Construction of Fatimid Legitimacy*. London, 2006.
- Ḥasan, Ali Ibrāhīm. *Tā'rikh Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī*. Cairo, 1933.
- Hodgson, Marshall G.S. *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. Chicago, 1974.
- ____ 'Baḳliyya', *EI2*.
- ____ 'Ḥudjdja', *EI2*.
- Holt, Peter M. 'Damietta', *EI2*.
- Honigmann, Ernst. 'al-Ḳulzum', *EI2*.
- Hunsberger, Alice C. *Nasir Khusraw, The Ruby of Badakhshan: A Portrait of the Persian Poet, Traveller and Philosopher*. London, 2000.
- Idris, Hady R. 'Hilāl', *EI2*.
- Irwin, Robert. 'Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/2 (2003), pp. 217–231.
- Jiwa, Shainool. 'The Genesis of Isma'ili Da'wa Activities in the Yemen', *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 15 (1988), pp. 50–63.
- ____ 'The Initial Destination of the Fatimid Caliphate: The Yemen or the Maghrib?', *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 13 (1986), pp. 15–26.

- ____ 'A Study of the Reign of the Fifth Fāṭimid Imām-Caliph al-ʿAzīz Bi'llāh'. Ph.D. thesis. University of Edinburgh, 1989.
- ____ 'Religious Pluralism in Egypt: The Ahl al-Kitāb in Early Fatimid Times', presented at the MESA Annual Conference. November, 2000. Accessible online at www.iis.ac.uk.
- ____ 'Inclusive Governance: A Fatimid Illustration', in Aryn B. Sajoo, ed., *A Companion to the Muslim World*. London, 2009.
- Juynboll, Th. W. 'Farā'id', *EI2*.
- Kazan, W. *The Coinage of Islam: Collection of William Kazan*. Beirut, 1983.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*. New York, 1986.
- Kohlberg, Etan. 'Waṣī', *EI2*.
- Lane, Edward W. *Arabic-English Lexicon*. Repr., Beirut, 1968.
- Le Tourneau, Roger. 'Bayt al-Māl', *EI2*.
- Lev, Yaacov. *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt*. Leiden, 1991.
- ____ 'Tinnīs: An Industrial Medieval Town', in M. Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide*, pp. 83–96.
- Levi Della Vida, G. 'Khāridjites', *EI2*.
- Levtzion, Nehemia. 'The Sahara and the Sudan from the Arab Conquest of the Maghrib to the Rise of the Almoravids', in J. D. Fage, ed., *Cambridge History of Africa*. Cambridge, 1978, vol. 2, pp. 637–685.
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Origins of Ismā'īlism: A Study of the Historical Background of the Fāṭimid Caliphate*. Cambridge, 1940.
- ____ *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*. New York, 1974.
- Madelung, Wilferd. 'The Minor Dynasties of Northern Iran', in R. N. Frye, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran: Volume 4, The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*. Cambridge, 1975, pp. 198–249.
- ____ 'The Fatimids and the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn', in F. Daftary, ed., *Mediaeval Isma'ili History and Thought*. Cambridge, 1996, pp. 21–73.
- ____ *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*. Cambridge, 1997.
- ____ 'Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ and the Dā'ī Abū 'Alī', in W. Madelung et al., ed., *Proceedings of the 17th Congress of the UEA*. St.

- Petersburg, 1997, pp. 115–124.
- ‘The Religious Policy of the Fatimids towards their Sunni Subjects in the Maghrib’, in M. Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide*, pp. 97–104.
- ‘A Treatise on the Imamate of the Fatimid Caliph al-Manṣūr Bi-Allāh’, in Chase F. Robinson, ed., *Texts, Documents and Artefacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D. S. Richards*. Leiden, 2003, pp. 69–77.
- ‘Abdān b. al-Rabīṭ’, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.
- ‘Ebn Ṣāhawayh’, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.
- ‘Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ’, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.
- ‘Imāmā’, *EI2*.
- ‘Ismā‘īliyya’, *EI2*.
- ‘al-Mahdī’, *EI2*.
- ‘Shī‘a’, *EI2*.
- Marçais, Georges. ‘Aghlabids’, *EI2*.
- Marçais, William. ‘Abū Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā Badr al-Dīn’, *EI2*.
- Meinecke, M. ‘al-Raḡḡa’, *EI2*.
- Monès, H. ‘Djawhar al-Ṣikillī’, *EI2*.
- Pedersen, J. ‘Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’, *EI2*.
- Perlman, M. ‘Ghiyār’, *EI2*.
- Petry, C.F. ‘al-Sakhāwī’, *EI2*.
- Poonawala, Ismail K. *Biobibliography of Ismā‘īlī Literature*. Malibu, CA, 1977.
- ‘Al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān and Isma‘īlī Jurisprudence’, in F. Daftary, ed., *Mediaeval Isma‘īlī History and Thought*, pp. 117–143.
- Popovic, A. *The Revolt of the African Slaves in Iraq in the 3rd/9th Century*, tr. L. King. Princeton, 1999.
- ‘al-Zandj’, *EI2*.
- Popper, W. ‘Abū’l-Maḥasin Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Taghrībīrdī’, *EI2*.
- Quatremère, Étienne M. ‘Vie du Khalife Fatimite Moezz-li-Din-Allah’ *Asiatic Journal*, NS, 24 (1837), pp. 79–85, 147–153, 217–224, 294–303.
- Rabbat, Nasser. ‘Who was al-Maqrīzī? A Biographical Sketch’, *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/2 (2003), pp. 1–19.
- Rekaya, M. ‘al-Ma‘mūn’, *EI2*.
- Rosenthal, Franz. ‘al-Maqrīzī’, *EI2*.

- Sanders, Paula. *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo*. Albany, NY, 1994.
- Sayyid, Ayman F. 'Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the *Kitāb al-khiṭaṭ*', in Y. Dutton, ed., *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts. Proceedings of the Second Conference of al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation 1993*. London, 1995, pp. 93–101.
- _____. *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya fī Miṣr: tafsīr jadīd*. 2nd ed., Cairo, 2000.
- Shahid, Irfan. 'Ṭayyī', *EI2*.
- Smoor, Pieter. 'Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz li Dīn Allāh', *EI2*.
- Sourdrel, Dominique. 'al-Barāmika', *EI2*.
- Stern, Samuel M. *Studies in Early Ismā'īlism*. Leiden and Jerusalem, 1983.
- _____. 'Abū Ya'qūb al-Sidjzī', *EI2*.
- _____. 'Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī', *EI2*.
- Stewart, Devin. 'Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Āmilī's Treatise for Sultan Suleiman and the Shī'ī Shāfi'ī Legal Tradition', *Islamic Law and Society*, 4 (1997) pp. 156–199.
- Talbi, Mohamed. 'Mahdiyya', *EI2*.
- _____. 'Ibn Khaldūn', *EI2*.
- Terrasse, M. 'Sidjilmāsa', *EI2*.
- Tibi, Amin. 'Zīrids', *EI2*.
- Tyan, Émile. *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*. Leiden, 1960.
- Udovitch, Abraham L. 'Fatimid Cairo: Crossroads of World Trade – from Spain to India', in M. Barrucand, ed., *L'Égypte Fatimide*, pp. 681–691.
- Walker, Paul E. *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī*. Cambridge, 1993.
- _____. *Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī: Intellectual Missionary*. London, 1996.
- _____. *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources*. London, 2002.
- _____. 'Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 7/2 (2003), pp. 83–97.
- Wensinck, A.J. 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ (al-Āṣī) al-Sahmī', *EI2*.

Index

- al-‘Abbās b. ‘Amr al-Ghanawī, 135, 136, 137
- Abbasids, 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 14, 16, 19, 23–25, 32–34, 40, 60, 69, 78, 98, 100, 110, 111, 124, 174
- ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Hayj, 102
- Abd al-‘Aziz b. Ibrāhīm al-Kilābī, 100
- ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī, 30, 31
- ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Thawbān, 108, 204
- ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far, 132, 143
- ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥusaynī, 101
- Abd Allāh b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, *see* Akhū Muslim
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, Umayyad caliph of Spain, 12, 54
- Abd al-Samī‘ b. ‘Umar al-‘Abbāsī, 81, 113, 195
- ‘Abdān, founding *dā‘ī* of the Qarāmiṭa, 122, 126–132, 133, 139, 141, 142, 150, 163
- Abraham, 159, 170
- Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Khādim, 163
- Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī‘ī, Ismaili *dā‘ī* in North Africa, 7, 53, 55
- Abū Aḥmad Ja‘far b. ‘Alī al-Amīr, 62
- Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nābulusī, 190
- Abū Ḥātim al-Ẓuṭṭī, 155
- Abū ‘Īsā al-Murshid, 83
- Abū Ismā‘īl al-Rassī, head of the *ashrāf* in Egypt, 67, 68, 72, 85, 103, 110, 189
- Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marwarrūdhi, Fatimid judge, 53
- Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Naṣr, Fatimid *dā‘ī*, 15, 68, 77, 110
- Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad, son of al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān, 205
- Abū Ja‘far al-Khurāsānī, 84
- Abū Ja‘far b. Ḥusayn b. Muhadhdhab, 59
- Abū Ja‘far Muslim al-Ḥusaynī, *see* al-Sharīf Muslim
- Abū Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm b. Ja‘far, Fatimid commander, 40, 166, 185, 187, 189–194, 199, 202, 203, 205
- Abū Miṣṣal, 85, 88
- Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ammār [al-Kalbi], 99, 115
- Abū Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī, *see* al-‘Aynī
- Abū Sa‘īd ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Thawbān, 108, 204
- Abū Sa‘īd al-Sha‘rānī, 163, 164
- Abū Sufyān, Ismaili *dā‘ī*, 7
- Abū Taghlib b. Ḥamdān, *amīr* of Mosul, 94, 175, 197
- Abū Ṭalīb al-Tanūkhī, Fatimid *dā‘ī*, 166
- Abū ‘Umar al-Kindī, 119

- Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī, Khārījī leader, 9, 10
- Abu'l-Agharr al-Sulamī, 145
- Abū'l-Faḍl Raydān, 29, 105
- Abu'l-Fawāris, 85, 127
- Abu'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf b. Zīrī b. Manād, *see* Yūsuf b. Zīrī
- Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umar al-'Addās, 117, 196
- Abū'l-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr, *see* Ibn al-Athīr
- Abu'l-Hayjā 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, Ḥamdānid commander, 156
- Abu'l-Hayjā' b. Munajjā, 166, 190, 196
- Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad, 140, 142, 147, 150
- Abu'l-Ma'ālī b. Ḥamdān, Ḥamdānid ruler of Aleppo, 199–201
- Abu'l-Qāsim Aḥmad *see* al-'Aqīqī al-'Alawī
- Abu'l-Qāsim b. Abī Ya'lā al-'Abbāsī, 92
- Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, Zaydī Imam known as al-Hādī, 140
- Abu'l-Ṭayyib al-Hāshimī, 68
- 'Ād, 179
- Adam, 23, 169
- Aden, 207
- adhān*, call to prayer, 8, 87
- Adhana, 188
- Adhri'āt, 150, 185, 190
- 'Aḍud al-Dawla b. Būya, Būyid *amīr*, 186
- Aflaḥ al-Nāshib, 196
- Aftakīn, 103, 198, 199–203
- Aghlabids, North African dynasty, 7
- Ahl al-Bayt, People of the House, 3, 20, 33–35, 38, 150, 208
- Ahl al-Kitāb, People of the Book, 18
- Aḥmad [b. Ja'far b. al-Faḍl b. al-Furāt], 77, 87
- Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Ikhshīd, 74
- Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh, 150
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, *see* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya
- Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, 114, 144
- al-Aḥsā', 94, 133–135, 138, 165, 167, 183, 185, 187, 203, 204
- Akhū Muḥsin, 122, 130, 168
- Akhū Muslim, brother of Abū Ja'far Muslim, Qarmaṭī leader, 67, 117, 121, 181–184, 197, 206
- Aleppo, 41, 62, 91, 95, 145, 146
- Alexandria, 11, 67, 68, 78, 88, 100, 102
- Algeria, 4, 7
- 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, first Shi'ī imam and fourth caliph, 3, 16, 29, 31, 35, 43, 83, 100, 101, 105, 108, 116, 118, 124
- 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, *qāḍī*, 188
- 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Zayn al-'Ābidīn, Shi'ī imam, 162
- Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Lu'lu', 76
- 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ṭabāṭabā, 113
- Alī b. al-Nu'mān, son of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, 204, 206, 208
- 'Alī b. Sanbar, 133
- 'Alī b. 'Umar al-'Addās, 117, 196
- 'Alī b. Walid al-Ishbīlī, Fatimid judge, 80, 83, 113
- 'Alids, descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 34, 35, 160
- Āl-Manad, 213
- Amān*, guarantee of safety, 17, 18, 39, 67, 68, 71–73
- Amīr al-mu'minīn*, *see* Commander of the Faithful
- 'Ammār b. Ja'far, 108
- 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, 19, 81, 118, 119, 207
- 'Anaza, 127

- al-Anbār, 158
 Andalusia, 8, 12, 26
 Antioch, 94, 95, 102, 195
 al-'Aqaba, 157
 'Aqabat Damr, 190, 200
 'Aqīl, son of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, 56
 al-'Aqīqī al-'Alawī, *sharīf* of Damascus, 93
 Arab/Arabs, 5, 9, 14, 30, 49, 62, 76, 82, 90, 133, 144, 173, 179
 Armenians, 14
 Arūba b. Ibrāhīm, 113
 al-Aṣḡam, *see* al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad
 al-Aṣfār, 186, 187
 al-Ashmūnayn, 117, 196
ashrāf/sharīf, descendants of the Prophet, 13, 17, 67, 77, 103, 105, 106, 117, 122, 127, 188, 189, 196
 'Āshūrā, Shi'i commemoration of the death of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, 115
 al-'Askar, 87
 Astrologers/astrology, 78, 79, 211, 215
 Asyūt, 121
 'Ātika, 92
 'Atīq Mosque, 81, 83, 88, 89, 97, 100, 112, 113, 203, 209
 Atlantic Ocean, 11, 12, 22, 28, 55, 56, 70
awliyā'/walī, friends of God, 9, 20, 21, 70, 106, 117, 125, 140, 149, 209
 Awrās, 11, 54
 'Ayn al-Tamr, 151, 152
 'Ayn Shams, 99, 115
 al-'Aynī, 40, 41
 'Aynūnā, 183
 al-Azhar, mosque-university in Cairo, 20, 21, 44, 79, 101
 al-'Azīz bi'llāh, fifth Fatimid imam-caliph, 31, 56, 201
 Ba'albakk/Baalbek, 145, 185, 198, 201
 Bāb al-Futūḥ, 21
 Bāb Zuwayla, 20, 21
 Badr al-Kabīr, 144
 Baghdad, 8, 14, 15, 35, 94, 136, 139, 146, 147, 151, 154, 155, 157, 158, 160, 163, 165, 166, 186, 197, 199, 200
 al-Bahnasā, 211
 Bahrain, 5, 6, 60, 90, 94, 132, 133, 135, 138, 156
 Bakhtiyār, 'Izz al-Dawla, Buyid amir, 60, 186, 197, 199
 Banū 'Abbās, *see* Abbasids
 Banū Ḍabba, 137
 Banū Ḥamdān, rulers of northern Iraq and Syria, 60, 62, 94, 95
 Banū Ḥasan, descendants of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 13, 66
 Banū Hāshim, clan of the Prophet, 13, 33, 34, 68, 83, 127, 146
 Banu Hawwāra, 11
 Banū Hilāl, 98
 Banū Hurāsh, 198
 Banū 'Ijl, 156
 Banū Ja'far, descendants of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, 13, 66
 Banū Jumaḥ, 206, 207
 Banū Kalb, rulers of Sicily, 65, 100, 127, 142, 151
 Banū Kamlān, 54
 Banū Kilāb, 92, 133, 142
 Banū Mihrawayh, 143
 Banū Muṭṭalib, 34
 Banū Sanbar, important Qarmaṭī clan, 133, 138, 162, 183
 Banū Shaybān, 127
 Banū Ṭayyi, 60, 99
 Banū 'Uqayl, 60, 90–92, 94, 99, 133
 Banu'l-Aḍbaṭ, 133
 Banu'l-Aṣfār, 176
 Banu'l-Muntafiq, 186, 187
 Banu'l-Qaṣṣār, 132

- Banu'l-'Ulays, 142, 150
barāṭīl, taxes levied on state officials, 84
 Bardas Phocas, Byzantine commander, 201
 Barqa, 22, 56, 60, 80, 102, 104, 196, 213
 Bashīr al-Ikhshīdī, 86, 88, 89
 Baṣra, 131, 135–137, 156, 183, 187, 197
 al-Bathaniyya, 91, 94
 Bātnūrā, 123
 Beirut, 197, 202
 Berber, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 54, 55, 65, 96, 198, 204
 Bilbays, 99, 121, 181
 al-Biqā', 201
 Birkat al-Ḥabash, 110
 Black Stone, 67, 133, 156, 159, 160, 162
 Buluggīn, *see* Yūsuf b. Zīrī
 al-Būrānī, Ismaili *dā'ī*, 127, 155, 163
 Būrāniyya, 127
 Buṣrā, 150
 Buyids, 2, 164, 185, 186, 197, 198
 Byzantines, 10, 12, 24, 40, 74, 118, 177, 190, 195, 198, 201–203
 Cairo, 1, 14, 20, 21, 24–25, 26, 39, 42, 60, 64, 66, 72, 77–80, 83, 96, 97, 99, 104, 107, 109, 115, 121, 187, 194, 199, 205, 208
 Christians, 14, 17, 18, 19, 99, 130, 194
 Commander of the Faithful, 2, 20, 21, 22, 27, 55, 60, 68–72, 76, 81, 82, 84, 93, 110, 113, 118, 120, 121, 144, 149, 168, 188, 195, 208, 209
 Constantinople, 207, 211
 Copts, 14, 195
 al-Dāliyya, 147
 Damascus, 60, 89–95, 102, 103, 144, 145, 150, 166, 167, 185, 189–191, 193, 194, 198–203
 Damietta, 75, 106, 117, 211
 Dār al-ḥarb, *see* Mint
 Dār al-Hijra, abode of emigration, 131, 163
da'wa/dā'ī, mission/missionary, 4–5, 7, 14–16, 26, 81, 120, 122–124, 127, 132–135, 139–142, 149, 153, 155, 163, 164, 166, 167, 175, 206, 210
dawr al-satr, period of concealment, 4, 5
 Daylamis, 164, 197, 199
 Dhā min Yaḥ al-Ḥusaynī, 189
dhimmī/dhimma, 56, 71, 206
 Dīnār, 22, 82, 85, 89, 116, 128, 161
diwān al-'aṭā', salary bureau, 8, 146
diwān al-kharāj, land tax bureau, 8
 Domestikos, *see* Bardas Phocas
 Droughts, 15
 al-Dūr, 123
 Earthquake, 102, 173
 Egypt, 1, 2, 10–12, 14–23, 25, 28, 31, 32–33, 35, 38, 39, 40, 45–46, 56, 58–62, 64, 75, 78, 80, 82, 84–86, 90, 97, 98, 100, 102, 104, 105, 108, 112, 114–116, 165, 167, 181, 182, 190, 203, 204, 210–213
 Euphrates, 127, 142, 143, 145, 147, 151, 158, 159, 186, 199
 Famines, 15, 70, 87, 109
 Faraḥ al-Bajkamī, 74, 85, 88
 al-Faraj b. 'Uthmān, 124
 al-Faramā, 85, 98
 Faṭīma, daughter of the Prophet, 3, 16, 31, 34, 58, 84, 211
 Fatimids, 1, 2–12, 14, 15–23, 24–28, 31–33, 36–40, 41, 43, 45, 46, 53–56, 60, 66, 67, 70, 72, 75, 76, 82, 84, 89, 96, 100, 105, 110, 114, 117, 120, 130, 165, 198
fatwās, formal legal opinions, 18, 71

- Fayd, 154
 Fazāra, 91
 Fez, 12, 55
 Fleet [naval], 10, 12, 100, 109, 112
 Friday prayers, 81, 86, 87, 92, 112, 195
 Fustāt, 15, 19, 68, 74, 75, 77, 79, 83, 85, 104, 108, 114, 121
- Gabriel, 73, 124
 Ghadīr Khumm, 112
 al-Ghiyār, 101
ghulām/ghilmān, military slaves, 84, 90, 94, 95, 136, 144, 145, 147, 159, 163, 164, 192, 197, 211
 al-Ghūṭa, 91, 94, 192, 193
 Giza, 19, 68, 75, 76, 77, 102, 103, 104, 196
 Gospel, 194
 Greek, 5, 65
- al-Habīr, 154
 Hajar, 133, 134, 135, 185
 al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh, sixth Fatimid imam-caliph, 43, 100
 Ḥamā, 4, 91, 145, 146
 Ḥamdān b. Sanbar, 133
 Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, founding *dāʿī* of Qarāmiṭa, 5, 6, 122, 123, 124, 132, 141
 Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, uncle of the Prophet, 118
 Hanafī, 33, 42, 124
 Ḥanbalī, 33, 42
hanīf, 38
 al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, 113, 187
 al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, leader of the Qarāmiṭa, 23, 60, 92, 94, 95, 99, 100, 118, 121, 160, 165–168, 173, 180–182, 184, 185, 187, 190
 Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥusayn [al-Kalbī], third Fatimid governor of Sicily, 65, 99
 al-Ḥasan b. Ayman, 127
- al-Ḥasan b. Faraj al-Ṣanādīqī, *see* Ibn Ḥawshab
 al-Ḥasan b. Ḥānī, 215
 Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar, leading *sharīf* in the Ḥijāz, 13, 21, 66
 al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī, 206
 al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Khayyāṭ, 113, 195
 al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṭughj, 85, 88, 89, 165
 al-Ḥasan b. Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, 145, 146
 al-Ḥasan, son of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, 29, 115
 Hāshimī/Hāshimid, *see* Banū Hāshim
 Ḥassān b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Ṭāʿī, 184, 198
 al-Ḥawf, 85, 100, 102, 121
 Ḥawrān, 91, 150
 Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad, 81
 Ḥijāz, 2, 13, 21, 66, 110, 183, 203, 207
 Ḥimṣ, 95, 144–146, 149, 199, 200, 201
 Hīt, 151, 159
hujja, proof, 81, 124, 130, 141, 143, 155
 al-Ḥulwānī, Ismaili *dāʿī*, 7
 al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī, Ismaili *dāʿī*, 122, 123–124, 125, 126
 al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Rūdhbārī, 113
 al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān, 150
 al-Ḥusayn b. Sanbar, 132, 133
 al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṭughj, 86
 al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, 132
 al-Ḥusayn, son of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, 20, 29, 84, 93, 162
- Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, 80
 Ibn Abī Ṭāyy, 47, 109

- Ibn Abi'l-Fawāris, 139
 Ibn Abi'l-Raddād, 86, 98, 205
 Ibn Abi'l-Sāj, Abbasid governor, 157, 158, 164
 Ibn al-Athīr, 30, 31, 45, 46, 53, 55, 160, 198, 207, 210–213
 Ibn al-Jāwzī, 46
 Ibn al-Khalij, 150
 Ibn al-Māward, 192, 194, 200, 202
 Ibn al-Mughniyya, 192
 Ibn al-Samīsaq, *see* John Tzimisces
 Ibn al-Sawādakī, 207, 208
 Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, 30, 36, 79, 118, 215
 Ibn Būshirāt, 192
 Ibn Falāḥ, *see* Ja'far b. Falāḥ
 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, 17, 41
 Ibn Hānī, Fatimid court poet, 16, 60
 Ibn Ḥawshab, Ismaili *dāʿī* in Yemen, 139–141
 Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī, 8
 Ibn Kathīr, 47
 Ibn Khaldūn, 38, 44, 45, 124
 Ibn Killis, *see* Yaʿqūb b. Killis
 Ibn Malih, 141
 Ibn Muyassar, 36, 64, 111
 Ibn Saʿīd, 207, 213, 214, 215
 Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, Andalusian historian, 30, 31
 Ibn Shaddād, 47
 Ibn Sharāra, 192, 194
 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, 30, 40
 Ibn Ṭūlūn, 80, 87, 114, 144
 Ibn Wāṣil al-Hamāwī, 47
 Ibn Zūlāq, Fatimid court historian, 15, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 45, 59, 66, 73, 80, 96, 105, 107, 114, 208, 210, 212
 Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Rassī al-Ḥasanī *see* Abū Ismāʿīl al-Rassī
 Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, founder of the Aghlabids, 7
 Ibrāhīm Mosque, 206, 211
 ʿĪd al-Fiṭr, the feast of breaking the fast, 79, 104, 107, 111, 189, 203
 ʿĪd al-Ghadīr, Shiʿi festival, 112
 ʿĪd al-Nahr, the feast of sacrifice, 111, 205, 212
 Idris ʿImād al-Dīn, 1, 17, 19, 29, 40, 54–56, 59, 65, 68, 76, 77, 80, 83, 85, 88, 89, 96, 99, 102, 103, 120
 Idrisids, 2
 Ifriqiya, 10, 65, 104, 207, 211, 215
 Ikḥmīm, 121, 182
 Ikḥshīdids/Ikḥshīdiyya, 14, 73–75, 82–86, 89, 95, 106, 165, 166, 182, 189, 191, 204
 ʿIkrima al-Bābili, 126
 al-ʿImād al-Isfahānī, 47
 Imam/Imāma/Imamate, 3, 4, 41, 124, 131, 132, 141, 181, 209
 India, 14, 25, 155
 Inheritance, 17, 18, 70, 114
 Iran/Iranian/Persian, 5, 155, 163
 Iraq, 2, 5, 6, 46, 90, 95, 111, 122, 131, 132, 142, 155, 161, 185, 186, 199, 211
 ʿĪsā b. Mahdī, *see* al-Mudaththir
 ʿĪsā, brother of Abu Ja'far Muslim, 103, 120
 Ishāq al-Sūrānī, 126
 Ishāq b. ʿAṣūdā, 92, 94
 Ishāq b. Mūsā, physician of al-Muʿizz, 116, 120
 al-Ishbili, *see* ʿAlī b. Walid al-Ishbili
 Iskenderūnah, Alexandretta, 94
 Ismāʿīl b. Asbāṭ, 213, 214
 Ismaili/Ismaʿilis, 4–5, 6, 7, 14, 19, 24, 26, 27, 38, 40, 49, 122, 139, 141, 164
 Ithnā ʿAsharīs, 4
 ʿIzz al-Mulk Muḥammad al-Musabbihī, 36
 Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Shiʿi imam, 4, 7, 8, 107, 115, 130, 143, 144
 Ja'far b. al-Furāt, Egyptian wazir, 67, 73, 85, 88, 100

- Ja'far b. Falāḥ, Fatimid commander, 22, 40, 60, 75, 84–86, 89, 90–92, 94, 95, 97, 165, 166, 176, 178, 185, 193
- Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī, eminent sharīf of the Ḥijāz, 206
- Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Mūsawī, 111
- Jaffa, 166, 167, 177
- Jalam b. Shaybān, Fatimid *dā'ī* in Sind, 1, 26
- Jamāl Yusūf b. Taghrī Birdī, *see* Ibn Taghrī Birdī
- Jannāba, 132
- al-Jannābī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, 138
- al-Jannābī, Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad, 138
- al-Jannābī, Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām, Qarmaṭī leader, 90, 94, 132, 137, 139, 156, 165, 174
- al-Jannābī, Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān, 138, 155, 156, 163
- al-Jannābī, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, 138, 185
- al-Jannābī, Abū'l-'Abbās Muḥammad, 138
- al-Jannābī, Abū'l-Qāsim Sa'īd, 138, 162
- al-Jannābī, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Abī Sa'īd, *see* al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad
- Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī, Fatimid general, 12, 21, 39
- Jawshīyya, 199
- Jaysh b. al-Ṣamṣāma, 193, 202
- al-Jazīra, 75, 104, 198
- Jerusalem, 90, 126, 188, 203
- Jesus, 124, 125, 170
- Jews, 14, 17, 18, 19, 101, 116, 194
- Jihād, 17, 69, 71, 74, 81, 82, 103, 189, 211
- jizya*, poll tax, 61
- John Tzimiskēs, Byzantine emperor, 188, 198, 211
- al-Jubb, 99, 182
- Jubb 'Umayra, 182
- Jurjān, 164
- Ka'ba, 82, 110, 111, 138, 156, 159, 162, 203, 211
- Kafr Ṭāb, 200
- Kāfur, 58, 59, 67, 73, 80, 85, 87, 90, 111, 114, 115, 117
- Kāfuriyya, 73, 74, 83, 84, 85, 86, 106, 189, 204
- Khafīf, 61
- Khalaf al-Ḥallāj, 164
- Khalaf b. Jabr, 198, 204
- al-Khalafīyya, 164
- Khalīj, Cairo Canal, 97, 109, 195
- kharāj*, land-tax, 8, 63, 83, 114, 187
- Khārijī, Khārijīte, 7, 9, 54, 113, 131
- Khayr b. al-Qāsim, 113, 117, 121
- Khazars, 176, 177
- Khurāsān, Khurāsānī, 5, 24, 31, 111, 142, 154, 161, 163, 164, 211, 215
- khuṭbas*, sermons, 19, 108
- Kilāb, *see* Banū Kilāb
- Kūfa, 94, 122, 124, 127, 131, 132, 142, 147, 150–157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 165, 185, 186
- Kulthūm bint Muḥammad, 115
- Kūrat Būṣayr, 196
- Kutama, 7, 9, 22, 29, 40, 57, 61, 64, 66, 117, 176, 198
- Lu'lu' al-Ṭawīl, 85, 88
- al-Ma'arra, 145
- madhhab*, legal school, 9, 18, 19, 27, 34, 35, 42, 71, 116, 155
- Maghrib, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 54, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 91, 92, 95, 96, 100, 112, 115, 121, 167, 198, 204, 213, 214
- al-Maḥalla, 121, 181
- Maḥallat Ḥafṣ, 103
- Mahatmābād, 131

- al-Mahdi bi'llāh, first Fatimid imam-caliph, 8, 9, 10–12, 15, 26, 29, 55, 96, 104, 105, 122, 127, 141, 160, 167, 210
- mahdī*, messianic figure in Islam, 6, 123, 124, 130, 141, 144
- al-Mahdiyya, first Fatimid capital, 9, 10, 20, 21, 28, 42, 53, 55, 207, 211
- al-Mahrajān, Persian celebration, 126
- Mahrūsā, 123
- majālis al-ḥikma*, sessions of wisdom, 26
- majlis al-maẓālīm*, redress of grievances, 83, 96
- Makrān, 24
- Māliki, 9, 68, 87
- Malila, 54
- Mamluk, 1, 32, 33, 34, 37, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 76, 78, 91
- al-Ma'mūn, Abbasid caliph, 111, 215
- Manšūr al-Yamān, *see* Ibn Ḥawshab
- al-Manšūr bi'llāh, third Fatimid imam-caliph, 10–12, 18, 29, 53, 57, 65, 70, 100, 103–105, 113, 119, 120, 167, 210
- al-Manšūriyya, Fatimid capital, 10, 20, 29, 57, 65, 78
- al-Manẓar, 96, 98, 191
- al-Maqābir, 119
- al-Maqrīzi, 1, 2, 13, 19, 21, 22, 28–46, 49, 55, 59, 60, 75, 78, 82, 83, 84, 89, 91, 95, 97, 98, 104, 109, 111, 112, 114, 122, 141, 154, 159, 163, 167, 181, 195, 212
- al-Maqs, 79, 109, 198
- al-Mardāwīj, 164
- mawlā*, client, 21, 70, 143, 144, 199
- Mecca, 13, 14, 17, 21, 28, 66, 69, 73, 133, 138, 156, 160, 162, 206, 208
- Medina, 4, 13, 14, 21, 28, 66, 89, 120, 183, 206, 211
- Mediterranean, 1, 10, 11, 25, 40
- Melkites, 14
- Mihrawayh, 131–132
- minbar*, pulpit, 21, 108
- Mint, 8, 16, 82, 196, 204
- Miṣr, 19, 68
- al-Mizza, 166
- Morocco, 1, 2, 5, 10, 54, 55
- Moses, 125, 152, 159, 170
- Mu'āwiya, first Umayyad caliph, 99, 100, 101, 115, 118, 119
- Mubashshir al-Ikhshidī, 75
- al-Mudaththir, 143, 147
- al-Mudhaykhira, 139
- Mufliḥ al-Wahbānī, 85, 88
- Muḥammad al-Bāqir, Shi'ī imam, 8
- Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd, 150
- Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Samī', 112
- Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr, 118
- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nakhshabī [al-Nasafī], Ismaili *dā'ī*, 164
- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Adra' al-Ḥusaynī, 103, 107
- Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 124, 125
- Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī'l-Ḥusayn, 120
- Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muhadhdhab, chief of the treasury, 105, 113, 195
- Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān, son of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, 197
- Muḥammad b. 'Aṣūdā, 91, 92, 94, 95, 165
- Muḥammad b. Iqrīṭish, 187
- Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Kundāj, 151, 153
- Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, Ismaili imam, 4, 5, 6, 126, 130, 132, 141, 142, 143, 144, 155
- Muḥammad b. Khazar, 96

- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b.
 ‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-
 Ḥusaynī, 196
- Muḥammad b. Qutba, 156
- Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, 146, 147,
 148
- Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī, 17,
 66
- Muḥtasib*, market supervisor, 84,
 87, 196
- Mu‘izz al-Dawla b. Buwayh, Buyid
amīr, 186, 199
- al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh, fourth
 Fatimid imam-caliph, 1, 11–13,
 21, 22, 25, 28, 29, 42, 43, 47, 53,
 56, 67, 68, 72, 76, 78, 81, 82,
 104–107, 113, 119, 167, 168, 185,
 187, 195, 209, 212
- al-Muktafi, Abbasid caliph, 107,
 143, 145–148, 150, 151, 153, 154,
 155, 156, 158
- Mulham, 90, 91
- Multān, 26
- Mu’nis, 158, 159
- Munyat Shalqān, 75
- al-Muqtadir, Abbasid caliph, 107,
 151, 158, 163
- Murra, Bedouin tribe, 91
- Mūsā b. al-‘Āzār, court physician,
 113, 195, 209
- muṣallā*, prayer ground, 79, 84, 92,
 107
- al-Mustakfi, Abbasid caliph, 107
- al-Mustanṣir bi’llāh, eighth
 Fatimid Imam-caliph, 43
- al-Mu’taḍid, Abbasid caliph, 107,
 132, 135–137, 143, 145, 154
- al-Muṭawwaq, 143, 145, 147
- al-Muṭi’, Abbasid caliph, 107, 166,
 176, 183, 196, 197, 203
- al-Muttaqī, Abbasid caliph, 107
- Muzaffar, 65, 151
- Muzāḥim b. Muḥammad b. Rā’iq,
 75, 82, 85
- Nafisa bint al-Ḥasan, 115
- Naḥrīr al-Arghulī, 75, 85
- al-Nars, 139
- Naṣīr al-Khādīm al-Ṣaqlabī, 197
- Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, Ismaili poet and
dā’ī, 26
- al-Naṣīriyya, 183
- Naṣr b. Aḥmad al-Sāmānī, 164
- naṣṣ*, designation for the Imamate,
 3, 4
- al-Nawrūz, Persian celebration, 126
- Nestorians, 14
- Nile, 1, 15, 17, 25, 75, 79, 86, 98,
 108–110, 113, 195, 198, 205
- Nishāpūr, 163
- Noah, 125, 170
- North Africa, 2, 6, 7, 9–12, 14, 18,
 20, 27, 38, 55, 56, 62, 63, 70, 114
- al-Nu’mān b. Aḥmad al-Aṣam, 182
- nuṭaqa’*, speaker prophets, 168, 170
- Oman, 135
- Persian Gulf, 25, 132
- Pilgrimage, pilgrim routes,
 pilgrims, 17, 21, 69, 70, 71, 73, 81,
 110, 111, 126, 153, 154, 156, 157,
 160, 161, 188, 189, 203, 206, 208,
 211
- Prince ‘Abd Allāh, son of al-Mu‘izz
 li-Dīn Allāh, 105, 181, 182, 183,
 187, 196
- Prophet Muḥammad, 3, 13, 21, 33,
 38, 73, 103, 127, 168
- Qābis, 102
- Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad b.
 ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Baṣrī, 212
- Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir, *qāḍī* of Egypt, 68,
 72, 74, 83, 87, 102, 107, 187, 198,
 205, 206, 209
- Qāḍī ‘Alī b. al-Walīd, *see* Alī b.
 Walīd al-Ishbīlī
- al-Qāḍī al-Nu’mān, eminent

- Fatimid jurist, 7, 12, 26, 27, 29,
 30, 40, 55, 56, 81, 83, 107, 109,
 114, 119, 120, 139, 204, 205
 Qāḍī Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb, 146
 al-Qādisiyya, 152, 153, 154, 186
 al-Qāhir, Abbasid caliph, 78, 107,
 160
 al-Qāhira al-Mu'izziyya, *see* Cairo
 al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh, second
 Fatimid imam-caliph, 10, 29,
 104, 105
 Qanak, 85
 al-Qarāfa, 109, 112, 114
 Qarāmiṭa/Qarmaṭī, 6, 22–24, 46,
 69, 70, 90, 94, 95, 97–100, 112,
 117, 121, 122, 124, 126, 127, 132,
 135, 136, 138, 141, 142, 144–148,
 151, 153–161, 163, 165–167, 181–
 188, 191, 198, 208, 210
 Qar'awayh, 95
 al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad, 140, 142, 147,
 150
 al-Qāsimiyyāt, 131
 Qaṣr al-Sham', 206
 Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra, 158
 Qass Bahrām, 123
 al-Qaṭif, 132, 139, 187
 Qaylagh al-Turkī, 88
 al-Qayrawān, 53, 88, 198, 214, 215
 Qayṣar, 65, 66
qibla, direction for prayer, 126
qubāb, ceremonial swords, 77
 al-Qulzum, 208
 Qulzum, 97, 98, 99
 Qur'an/Qur'anic, 31, 42, 49, 84, 86,
 119, 128, 170, 171, 194, 197, 215
 Quraysh, 34

 al-Rāḍī, Abbasid caliph, 89, 107,
 160, 162
 al-Raḥba, 95, 147, 151, 159, 165,
 166, 199
 Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawq, 151
 Rajā' b. Ṣulān, 86
 Ramla, 15, 60, 67, 84, 86, 89, 90,
 95–97, 100, 117, 165–167, 178,
 188, 190, 194, 198, 199, 203
 al-Raqqa, 144–147
 Raqqāda, 7, 80
 al-Raṣad, 79
 al-Rass, 140
 Rayy, 24, 30, 164
 Rayyān al-Khādim, 194, 200, 202
 Rayyān al-Ṣaqlabī, Fatimid
 governor, 181
 Red Sea, 11, 25, 97, 98
 al-Ruṣāfa, 143

 Sa'āda b. Ḥayyān, Fatimid
 commander, 95–97, 100, 101, 166,
 177, 178
 al-Ṣabāḥī, 90
 Ṣa'da, 140
ṣadaqa, alms, 61
 Ṣafiyya, wife of Akhū Muslim, 206
 Sahfana, 139
ṣāhib al-jamāl, master of a camel,
 143
ṣāhib al-nāqa, master of a she-
 camel, 143, 144
 Ṣahrajaṭ, 88
 al-Sakhāwī, 41
 Salamiyya, 4, 5, 91, 122, 141, 142,
 145, 146
 Ṣāliḥ b. al-Faḍl, 150
 al-Samāwa, 151
 Ṣamṣām al-Dawla b. 'Aḍud al-
 Dawla, Buyid *amir*, 186
 Ṣanhāja, 9, 55, 213
 Sardāniyya, 65
 Sawād, agricultural area around
 Kufa, 122, 123, 126, 127, 131, 132,
 142, 147, 150, 152, 153, 155, 156,
 158, 159, 163
 Sayf al-Dawla b. Ḥamdān, 95
 Shafi' al-Khādim al-Ṣaqlabī, 195
 Shafi' al-Lu'lu'i, 161
 Shafi' al-Ṣiqillī, 113

- al-Shākir li'llāh, 55
 al-Shammāsiyya, 92
shamsa, covering of the Ka'ba, 110, 111, 154, 195
 Shamūl, 90, 91, 92, 96
sharī'a, 71
 Sharif Abu'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. 'Alī, *see* Akhū Muḥsin
 al-Sharīf Muslim, senior *sharīf* of Egypt, 67, 68, 72–74, 76–77, 85, 96, 99, 101, 103, 106, 107, 117, 119, 121, 181, 182, 197, 199
 Shayniyya, 202
 Shī'a/Shī'i/Shī'ism, 3, 4, 6, 35, 100, 115, 197
 Shibl al-Daylamī, 143
 Shibl al-Ma'raḍī, 83, 113
 Shibl b. Ma'rūf al-'Uqaylī, 202, 203
 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Awḥadī, 41, 43
shuhūd, certified witnesses, 77
al-shurṭa al-suflā, lower police, 76, 83, 113, 195, 205
al-shurṭa al-'ulyā, higher police, 76, 113, 121, 195
 Shuwayzān, 74, 85, 88
 Sicily, 7, 11, 56, 57, 65, 100
 Sijilmāsa, 12, 55, 56
 Sijistān, 24
 al-Sijistānī, Abū Ya'qūb, Ismaili *dā'ī* and philosopher, 5, 24
 Sind, 1, 5, 26
 Spain, 8, 10, 14, 54, 55, 96
 speaker prophets, *see* *nuṭaqā'*
 Sūdān, Sudanese, 14, 82, 115
 Sulaymān b. 'Azza, 87, 89, 101
 Sunni, 1, 2, 9, 14, 18, 34, 35, 38, 41, 42, 44, 49, 128, 197
 Šūr (Tyre), 88
 Syria, 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 21, 22, 24, 46, 60, 75, 84–86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 103, 110, 111, 121, 127, 143, 144, 146, 150, 156, 163, 165, 166, 183, 184, 185, 188, 189, 190, 196, 198, 199, 201, 208, 212
 Tadmur, 94
 Tāhart, 12, 55
 al-Ṭā'ī, Abbasid caliph, 184, 196, 197, 200
 al-Ṭāliqān, 142
 Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, Fatimid prince and poet, 42, 43
 Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrizī, *see* al-Maqrizī
 Tarūja, 68
 Ṭassūj Tustar, 127
taylasān, type of clothing, 101
 Taym Allāh, 127
 Thamūd, 179
 Thaniyyat al-'Uqāb, 200
 Tiberias (Tabariyya), 84, 90, 91, 94, 166, 198, 202, 203, 205
 Tinnīs, 75, 86, 97, 98, 100, 106, 112, 117, 167, 211
ṭirāz, embroidered fabric, 16, 211
 Torah, 194
 Transoxania, 5
 Tripoli, 22, 65, 181, 194, 198, 200, 202, 211
 Tubba', 179
 Ṭughj b. Khuff, 143
 Ṭūlūnids, 14
 Tunisia, 4, 10, 102
 Turkish, Turks, 6, 14, 31, 73, 90, 177, 197, 198, 199, 202, 211
 Umayyads, 8, 10, 12, 40, 55, 96
 Umma, 3, 8, 14, 32, 33, 38
 Upper Egypt, 86, 98, 100, 121, 181, 182, 183, 187, 189, 194, 204
 'Uslūj b. al-Ḥasan, 114, 116, 204
 Uṭayf al-Nabīlī, 126
 al-Walid, 80, 87, 127
 Waṣīf, 136
 Wāsiṭ, 68, 156, 157, 163
 Wazir, 19, 54, 67, 73, 77, 83, 85, 86, 114, 147, 186

- Yahyā b. Khālīd b. Barmak, 119
 Yahyā b. Zakariyyā' (John the Baptist), 125
 Yahyā b. Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, 143
 Ya'qūb b. Killis, Fatimid wazir in Egypt, 114, 116, 195, 206, 210
 Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf b. Killis, *see* Ya'qūb b. Killis
 Yemen, 5, 7, 26, 31, 40, 139, 140, 211
 Yumna al-Ṭawīl, 75
 Yūsuf b. Ziri, Fatimid viceroy in North Africa, 63–65, 96, 198, 204, 213, 214
 Zālim al-ʿUqaylī, 166, 167
 Zālim b. Mawhūb, 91, 92, 94, 165, 185, 190, 191, 199, 201
 Zanāta, 9, 54, 55, 62, 64, 96
 Zanj, 131, 132
 Zayd b. Alī, descendent of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, 4, 115
 Zaydī, 2, 4, 140
 Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, 124, 127, 142, 143, 145, 146, 150, 153, 155
 Ziri b. Manād, 55, 63, 96
 Ziyādat Allāh b. al-Adīm, 214