

## THE CASE OF AUTHORSHIP OF THE FATIMID TREATISE: *AL-MAJALIS AL-MUSTANSIRIYYA*

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The Fatimid caliphate that lasted for over two centuries is considered to be a 'golden age' of Islamic history. The rule of the Fatimid Caliph-Imams left behind a rich architectural and cultural legacy. In addition, it was the period when Ismaili scholarship and literature attained their summit. The endeavors of the famous intellectuals of the Fatimid period who authored numerous texts dealing with a multitude of exoteric and esoteric subjects have attracted significant scholarly attention. The present study pertains to the authorship of one such work, *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyyah*, which is a collection of thirty-five discourses. The work belongs to a certain *Da'i* (missionary) in the reign of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir (427-487 AH/1035-1094 AD), whose identity is disputed. The Musta'li-Tayyebi tradition explicitly ascribes the work to the Fatimid vizier Amir al-Juyush: Badr al-Jamali, while various scholars believe otherwise. The most recent attempt to identify the author has been made by Samuel Stern who attributes the work to a certain *qadi* al-Maliji. Surprisingly, Stern's ambitious assertion has been endorsed by several scholars who have attributed the work to al-Maliji without investigation. This study proposes to (a) investigate and contest Stern's claim by offering an analysis of sources concerning the history of the period of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir, (b) critically analyze Ibn al-Hajar al-Asqalani's

*Raf al-Isr an Qudat Misr*, which is a biography of *qadis* (judges) of Cairo during Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir's reign and, in all probability, the main source of Stern's claim, and (c) set out a chronological review of Amir al-Juyush Badr al-Jamali's years of service (466-488 AH/1074-1095 AD) at Cairo, underscoring his role as *Da'i al-du'at* (Chief Missionary) and reconstructing a supposed time period of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya's* composition and deliverance. Overall, this study, first of its kind entirely committed to the issue of authorship of these *majalis*, attempts to reestablish the lacuna considered filled and present a terra firma for further researches surrounding the matter.

**Keywords:** *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyyah*, *Fatimids*, *Badr al-Jamali*, *al-Maliji*, *Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir*

## Introduction

*Majlis al-hikmat* (pl. *Majalis*, also known as the 'sessions of wisdom') was a practice amongst the Ismaili missionaries to pass on their knowledge and wisdom to their pupils. After the establishment of the Fatimid reign in North Africa and then in Cairo the 'sessions of wisdom' became institutionalized. The *majalis* were supposed to be delivered by the *Da'i al-du'at* (Chief Missionary) and considered to be his principal task in the Fatimid religious organization. Before the office of *Da'i al-du'at* became formalized in the late fourth century, the rank was often held by the *qadi al-qudat* (Chief Justice); the person in charge of dealing in 'external' affairs of the religious laws, in contrast to the *Da'i al-du'at* who was responsible for the 'internal' religious matters. The Chief *da'i* was appointed by the Caliph-Imam, mainly, on the basis of his mastery in the knowledge of both the *zahir* (exoteric) and the *batin* (esoteric). The exoteric knowledge concerns the wording of the Qur'an and the commandments and prohibitions of the religious laws while the esoteric is related to the inner meanings of the Qur'anic verses and religious practices.

The written version of these *majalis* constitutes a significant portion of the Fatimid esoteric literature. These sessions, in contrast to exoteric lessons, which were accessible to all, were open exclusively to initiates who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Caliph-Imam.<sup>1</sup> Taking into account the exclusive nature of these sessions, little is known about their internal operations. Al Musabbihi (d. 420 H), the famous Fatimid chronicler and a close ally of Caliph-Imam al-Hakim provides a short description about proceedings of these sessions. According to him, the Chief *da'i* would prepare the *majalis* at his place and submit them to the Caliph-

Imam who would approve and sometimes correct them.<sup>2</sup> The text confirms that *majalis al-hikmat* were authored by the Chief *da'i* and were, as a matter of principle, authorized and attributed to the Caliph-Imams; the fountainheads of all knowledge according to Fatimid belief.

Taking this into account, the *majalis*, in certain cases, do not explicitly reveal the exact identity of the Chief *da'i* who would have them written and delivered them. His practice to credit their authorship to the Caliph-Imam veiled the authorship of the *majalis* from becoming known. It is also noteworthy that the Chief *da'i* followed the *qadi al-qudat* (Chief Justice) in the hierarchy during times when the same person did not hold both ranks.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the rank of Chief *da'i* was a more recent inclusion in the organization<sup>4</sup> and more closely linked to religious activities contrary to that of Chief *qadi*, who had increased participation in political affairs. As a result, the identity of *da'i* is often favorably eclipsed by Chief *qadi* in the histories of that time. Owing to the custom of the *majalis*' attribution and their esoteric nature, it becomes difficult to discern the identity of the Chief *da'i* who wrote them and hence, the question of their authorship calls for scholarly inquiry.

Such is the case of *al-Majalis al-Mu'ayyadiyya* which is a collection of eight hundred *majalis* from the reign of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir (d. 487 AH/1094 AD) by his Chief *da'i* al-Mu'ayyad al-Shirazi (d. 470 AH/1078 AD). The author, throughout the *majalis*, does not make any mention of his name or identity. Whereas, a critical comparison of this collection of *majalis* in terms of style and language with other works of the author and supplementary historical evidences allow us to unquestionably ascribe them to *Da'i* al-Mu'ayyad al-Shirazi. However, the same could not be said about another collection of *majalis* appertaining to the same exact period; *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya*.<sup>5</sup>

### ***Al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya***

This work is a written collection of thirty-five discourses on Fatimid esoteric doctrine and jurisprudence delivered, as the name would suggest, during the reign and in the name of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir. The content implies that these *majalis* were not open to everyone and were delivered only to the initiates: both males and females. It can be noted in the thirteenth and twenty-fourth discourses author's address to the females.<sup>6</sup> The address to the females possesses nothing distinguishable from the usual address to the males and appears to be an attempt of the author to highlight the presence of females in the audiences. Each discourse

has a fixed pattern: namely, a stylized introduction, followed by counsel for *believers* of the Caliph-Imam and esoteric interpretations of Qur'anic verses. The *majlis* ends as it begins, with laudatory expressions praising Allah and extolling the Prophet (ﷺ) and his infallible progeny. Although the content of *majalis* suggests that they belong to the reign of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir, the exact date of their composition has not been established. In the third discourse, the author alludes to the Imam of the time as 'the nineteenth hereditary Imam in the succession of Imamate after the Prophet',<sup>7</sup> viz. the Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir.

Muhammad Kamil Husayn was a 20<sup>th</sup> century Egyptian scholar who edited and published several Fatimid texts in his *Silsilat al-Makhtutat al-Fatemiyyin* series in Cairo. The first text he published was the collection of these *majalis* in 1947. He has placed a rough date of composition of the *majalis* between the years 446 AH/1054 AD to 455 AH/1063 AD relying on information provided by the author in the thirtieth discourse.<sup>8</sup> The information concerns the subject of fasting and moon-sighting which, as the author states:

Had never been an issue of contention between Muslims during the course of over 150 years since Caliph-Imam al-Mahdi's (d. 322 AH/934 AD) establishment of the Fatimid caliphate in North Africa in 297 AH/910 AD until the present time (i.e. the author's time).<sup>9</sup>

The expression 'over 150 years'<sup>10</sup> starting from 297 AH/910 AD confirms the reign of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir as the period in which the author would have composed the *majalis*. Nonetheless, Husayn admits that while this information roughly confirms the period of the *majalis*' composition, his estimation of years rests on his personal view and cannot be deemed as accurate.

In addition to the foregoing, the *majalis* offer vital information in context of their authorship. The twenty-fifth discourse, as it indicates,<sup>11</sup> appears to have been delivered in the first week of the month of Rajab al-Asab; the twenty-ninth discourse in the first week of al-Shaban al-Karim<sup>12</sup>; and the thirty-third discourse in the first week of Ramadan.<sup>13</sup> It may be observed from the order that four *majalis* were being delivered each month; one every week. Wherefore, the deliverance of these *majalis* must have been initiated from the first week of al-Moharram al-Haram up to the third week of Ramadan, when the author, whose identity is currently under study, ceased the deliverance of *majalis* at the thirty-fifth discourse.

Apart from the fact that the *majalis* belong to a certain *da'i* bearing the title of *Thiqat al-Imam Alam al-Islam* (Confidante of the Imam,

banner of Islam) we have no further information on the identification of the author. Thus, attempts have been undertaken by scholars and historians to discern the author's identity.

### Literature Review

Traditions of Musta'ali-Tayyebi sect of the Ismai'lis explicitly ascribe these *majalis* to the Fatimid vizier Badr al-Jamali (d. 488 AH/1095 AD). However, no evidence can be found which directly implies that Badr al-Jamali bore the title of *Thiqat al-Imam 'Ālam al-Islam* (Confidante of the Imam, banner of Islam); hence, scholars continued to make investigative efforts in the present case.

Majdu, an eighteenth century cataloguer of Ismaili literature, ascribes these *majalis* to Dai al-Mu'ayyad while he fails to make any mention of the title which clearly puts his ascription into question.<sup>14</sup> Upholding both, the ascription of Musta'ali-Tayyebis and al-Majdu in confusion, W.Ivanow, a Russian orientalist and a leading pioneer in Ismaili studies, erroneously states that there are two works with the same title: one by Dai al-Mu'ayyad and the other by Badr al-Mustansiri Badri al-Jamali.<sup>15</sup> He tackles the issue of the title by suggesting that it may well be that Dai al-Mu'ayyad held this title as he could not be 'disqualified for such honorary "pen-name" by his admirers.' Nevertheless, there has been no evidence of two such works and Ivanow's claim appears to be only speculative.

Muhammad K. Husayn takes issue with Ivanow attributing them to a *da'i* apart from Dai al-Mu'ayyad and Badri al-Jamali. Basing his argument on internal information<sup>16</sup> and bridging the gap further, Husayn states that the *majalis* were composed between 446 AH/1054 AD and 450 AH/1058 AD and, according to his intuition, may belong to someone from the family of al-Qadi al-Nu'man, namely, Mohammad b. al-Qasim. However, he reiterates that his proposition is based on his own personal view and does not possess historical backing, especially with regard to the title.

In his argument against Ivanow, apart from the issue of title, Husayn highlights significant differences in style, content, and expressions between Dai al-Mu'ayyad's works and this collection of *majalis*. He offers a comprehensive commentary on the content of these *majalis* making use of Dai al-Mu'ayyad's *al-Majalis al-Mu'ayyidiyya* and al-Qadi al-Numan's *Kitab tawil al-da'aim* that demonstrates, clearly, numerous variations between Dai al-Mu'ayyad's *al-Majalis al-Mu'ayyidiyya* and *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* necessitating two different authors.<sup>17</sup>

Husayn's estimation of years for the *majalis*' composition may also be debated. In the twenty-first discourse of these *majalis*, the author quotes three verses that belong to *Da'i* al-Mu'ayyad's monologue poem most likely written around 453 AH/1061 AD.<sup>18</sup> Allusions to Dai al-Mu'ayyad's *al-Majalis al-Mu'ayyidiyya* are also identifiable in number of instances throughout the *majalis*.<sup>19</sup> *Da'i* al-Mu'ayyad was appointed chief *Da'i* in 450 AH/1058 AD<sup>20</sup> and held the rank until two months before his demise in 470 AH/1078 AD, with the exception of one year in 453 AH/1061 AD when he was not present in Cairo.<sup>21</sup> It was during the period between 450 AH and 470 AH that *al-Majalis al-Mu'ayyidiyya* were authored and delivered. In the light of the above considerations, it may safely be said, as Husayn argues, that Dai al-Mu'ayyad is not the author and since his works appear to be referred by the author of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya*, their composition should have happened at least after 455 AH/1063 AD<sup>22</sup> or perhaps after Dai al-Mu'ayyad's demise in 470 AH/1078 AD when the rank of Chief *da'i* was given to Badr al-Jamali by Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir.<sup>23</sup>

Husayn, with regard to Badr al-Jamali, merely states that Badr al-Jamali was rather a 'man of sword' than 'man of pen' and it would be farfetched to consider him the author. This, having been said, Husayn surrenders his inquiry to the key issue of concern that is the title of the author: *Thiqat al-Imam 'Ālam al-Islam*. He maintains that neither Dai al-Mu'ayyad, nor Badr al-Jamali, nor Muhammad b. al-Qasim held this title.

Samuel M. Stern, surprisingly, tried to address question of the *title* in his '*Cairo as the Centre of the Ismaili Movement*' by introducing a new participant in the case of these *majalis*' authorship: Abd al-Hakim b. Wahab al-Maliji. Stern, rejecting the opinion of all the aforementioned scholars, claims that 'biographies of Chief Qadi's of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir's reign' show that al-Maliji was the person to bear the *title* of *Thiqat al-Imam 'Ālam al-Islam* [(Confidante of the Imam, banner of Islam)] and hence, he is the 'real author' who was not hitherto discovered.<sup>24</sup> Stern's assertion was considered reliable and a much-anticipated solution to the question of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya*'s authorship. Scholars like Farhad Daftary, Delia Cortese and Ayman Fu'ad chose to endorse Stern's claim and publicized al-Maliji as the author of these *majalis* in their works.<sup>25</sup> As a consequence of Stern's claim and its endorsement by scholars, the question of authorship of these *majalis* is generally regarded as resolved and al-Maliji is believed to be the 'real author'. However, an in-depth inquiry into the matter

suggests otherwise.

The present study, first of its kind entirely committed to the issue of authorship of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya*, thus attempts to primarily highlight flaws in Stern's claim through analyzing annals and bibliographical dictionaries of the reign of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir. In addition, it will also furnish a brief review of a bibliography of *qadis* (judges) of Cairo: *Raf- 'al Isr- an Qudat Misr* by Ibn al-Hajar al-Asqalani. This bibliography was prepared in the mid-ninth century and appears to be the source from which Stern has misrepresented information regarding al-Maliji bearing the title of *Thiqat al-Imam 'Ālam al-Islam*; whereas in fact, the title mentioned by Ibn al-Hajar for al-Maliji is rather different. Despite Stern's erroneous ascription, the review shall argue over the reliability of this source in terms of collection of data from earlier primary sources, bringing its substance, especially with regard to al-Maliji, into question. After having the case reopened, the study in conclusion will contribute to the issue by reconstructing a new time period for the authorship of these *majalis* and by setting out arguments based on historical information that support the Musta'ali-Tayyebi tradition about Badr al-Jamali being the author of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya*.

#### **Abd al-Hakim b. Wahab al-Maliji and Stern's claim investigated**

Al-Maliji appears in historical records of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir's reign only after the year 450 AH/1058 AD. Nothing about his life prior to this year is found. After the death of vizier al-Yazuri<sup>26</sup> in 450 AH, who also held the positions of Chief *da'i* and Chief *qadi* at the same time, al-Maliji took up the role of Chief *qadi* while Dai al-Mu'ayyad was appointed Chief *da'i*.<sup>27</sup> Al-Maliji was dismissed from his rank in the year 452 AH for his foul reputation and ill manners.<sup>28</sup> His first term as Chief *qadi* lasted for about twenty months.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, the position of Chief *da'i* remained with Dai al-Mu'ayyad. In sixteen years that followed until the arrival of Badr al-Jamali, al-Maliji became Chief *qadi* twelve times;<sup>30</sup> being dismissed after brief stints on every occasion. In the year 460 AH/1068 AD, al-Maliji became vizier and was dismissed after just five days.<sup>31</sup> Notably, he was never appointed as Chief *da'i*. Samuel Stern claims that al-Maliji was entrusted with the task of delivering *majalis* in 451 AH/1059 AD during his time as Chief *qadi*; however, he is unable to supply any evidence to support the claim. Furthermore, a survey of all the annals of the period under discussion shows no mention of al-Maliji delivering *majalisal-hikmah* or any other discourses at any

point in his career in the administration. Taking into account the fact that Dai al-Mu'ayyad was the Chief *da'i* during this time and it was him who was assigned the task of delivering *majalis al-hikmah*, Stern's claim appears to be very fragile.

Stern's second claim concerns the problem of the title *Thiqat al-Imam 'Ālam al-Islam*; it obligates taking into account the historical background of the period in order to understand the significance of the discussion. After the death of vizier al-Yazuri in 450 AH, greed of the political elite for power severely bruised the administrative domain of the state. Increasing numbers of viziers and Chief *qadis* were repeatedly appointed and then sacked. Amidst the chaos, attaching long titles to names in order to gain status and recognition became a common practice in government circles. While the office of vizierate and Chief *qadi* fell prey to such disarray, the office of Chief *da'i* remained rather unaffected.<sup>32</sup> As a consequence of this, titles that in some instances would be vital to determine identities became root of the problem in cases such as the authorship of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya*. Nevertheless, given the significance of the title in this case, as being the only available information about the author, it should be cautiously handled. Stern, while citing no reference, declares that 'a search in the biographies of the Chief Qadis of [Caliph-Imam] al-Mustansir shows that the one to bear the title [*Thiqat al-Imam 'Ālam al-Islam*] was Abu'l Qasim Abd al-Hakim b. Wahb al-Rahman al-Maliji'.<sup>33</sup> A study of all the biographies, bibliographical dictionaries, and histories concerning the reign of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir refutes the claim of Stern.<sup>34</sup> No mention is made of the title *Thiqat al-Imam 'Ālam al-Islam* with reference to al-Maliji. Stern's expression: 'biographies'<sup>35</sup> in the plural is hard to understand and quite misleading. However, the erroneous assertion of Stern appears to be rising from a particular source: *Raf' al-Isr- an Qudat Misr*; a bibliographical dictionary of Chief *qadis* of Cairo by Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani. Considerable information on al-Maliji is present in this work; whilst all the other sources make only a brief mention of him. Ibn Hajar states:

Abd al-Hakim b. Wuhaib b. Abd al-Rahman al-Maliji al-Rab'i, from Cairo, Ismaili...Appointed by Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir as Chief *qadi* following the dismissal of Ahmad b. Abd al-Hakim al-Faraqi on seventh of *Zil al-Qa'da* in the year 450 AH... he bore the title of *Qadi al-Qudat* [(Chief Justice)], *thiqat al-Anam*, '*Ālam al-Islam* [(Confident of the people, banner of Islam)]...<sup>36</sup>

This piece of information is most likely the source of Stern's error. The title mentioned by Ibn Hajar; *Thiqat al-anam 'Ālam al-Islam*



(confidant of the people, banner of Islam) is incautiously misquoted by Stern as *Thiqat al-Imam 'Ālam al-Islam* (confidant of the Imam, banner of Islam), muddling the words *al-anam* and *al-Imam* and hence, drawing conclusion that al-Maliji is the author of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya*. The two titles at issue, although similar in structure, are altogether different and cannot be taken as same. As has been mentioned of the norm for viziers and *qadis* to attach honorific titles to their names, titles sharing close resemblance in phrase structure were not unusual. One of vizier al-Yazuri's many titles was *Sayyid al-vuzara* (Head of viziers); vizier al-Babeli bore a similar title of *jalal al-vuzara* (Glory of viziers); vizier Ibn al-Mudabbir was known as *sharaf al-vuzara* (Honor of viziers); and similarly, vizier Abd al-Karim had the title of *Fakhr al-vuzara* (Pride of viziers).<sup>37</sup> Therefore, slightest of shift in words could prove to be vital when it is a question of determining identities of the period under review by means of titles. The title of the author of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* in the present case has been subjected to similar misapprehension by Stern.

In summation, al-Maliji held the rank of Chief *qadi* at different times during the reign of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir. His final appointment was shortly before the arrival of Badr al-Jamali at Cairo in 466 AH/1074 AD. He never occupied the position of Chief *da'i* and hence, remained unrelated to the deliverance of *al-Majalis*. Accordingly, the title of the author of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya: Thiqat al-Imam 'Ālam al-Islam* (confidant of the Imam, banner of Islam) does not belong to al-Maliji despite the fact that he is supposed to bear a similar title (Confidante of the people, banner of Islam) in the account of Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani.

### **Examination of Ibn Hajar's *Raf' al-Isr- an Qudat Misr***

The reign of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir suffers from lack of historical information. Two decades of his reign have marginally received some historical aid through Nasir Khusraw's *Safar Nameh* and Dai al-Mu'ayyad's autobiography; on the other hand, however, the last three decades of his rule, to which the treatise *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* most likely belongs, bear hardly any record in historical sources. Even works of historians from the Ayyubid period who had somewhat direct connection with the Fatimids are either entirely lost or only partially found preserved in the later histories of the Mamluk period. These later historians wrote history of the Fatimid rule well over two centuries after its demise when direct contact with the Fatimids had long ceased. All they had at

their disposal to search in for information was older works which were then available. The Fatimid rule continued to attract attention even after a generation of the Mamluk period when authors like al-Maqrizi (d. 845 AH/1442 AD) and Abu al-Mahasin (d. 874 AH/1470 AD) produced considerable substance on the Fatimids preserving crucial older works in process which are now lost. One of them, though of less importance to Fatimid history than the aforementioned authors, is Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (d. 852 AH/1448 AD): famous for his copious authorship on hadith sciences. Although he is not celebrated as a typical historiographer and his interest concerning the Fatimids is quite minimal, his 'curious'<sup>38</sup> work on Judges of Egypt: *Raf' al-Isr an Qudat Misr* offers noteworthy insight on Chief *qadis* of the Fatimid period.

In the preface of *Raf' al-Isr*, Ibn Hajar points out number of works being parent material for his collection of information on *qadis* of Cairo. First of all, al-Kindi's (d. 350 AH/961 AD) *al-Wulaatwa al-Qudaat*<sup>39</sup> which contains biographies of *qadis* till the year 246 AH/860 AD followed by Ibn Zawlaq's (d. 387 AH/997 AD) supplementation to it with biographies of *qadis* until 386 AH/996 AD. Next, Ibn Hajar refers to two works of Ayyubid historian Ibn al-Muyassar (d. 677 AH/1279 AD); *Akhbar-i-Qudat* and *Akhbar-i-Misr*; of which, the former is completely lost, except for some rare allusions in *Raf' al-Isr* and latter existing only in a small part in the form of annals from 439 AH/1048 AD to 553 AH/1158 AD. He then names Qutbuddin al-Halabi's (d. 735/1335 AD) *Akhbar-i-Misr*. This work, which is also lost, contained biographies of prominent individuals of Cairo; however, the author was unable to complete it and Ibn Hajar notes that only biographies of figures named 'Mohammad' from al-Halabi's work were available for use to him.<sup>40</sup> He next mentions al-Maqrizi referring to him as his friend and calling his works the most important source of *Raf' al-Isr*. Lastly, he mentions Ibn Mulaqqin's (d. 804 AH/1402 AD) *Nuzhat al-Nazar fi Qudat al-Amsar*.<sup>41</sup> Chronological order of aforementioned authors enables us to identify works that qualify to be Ibn Hajar's source material with regard to the reign of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir in general, and al-Maliji in particular. Ibn al-Muyassar's *Akhbar-i-Qudat* and *Akhbar-i-Misr*, al-Maqrizi's works, and Ibn Mulaqqin's *Nuzhat al-Nazar fi Qudat al-Amsar* can be deemed as source material for Ibn Hajar with regard to information on *qadis* of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir's reign, which began in 427 AH/1035 AD. Qutbuddin al-Halabi's *Akhbar-i-Misr* has not been included in view of al-Maliji's name Abd al-Hakim which would not have been present in the limited version of the work at Ibn Hajar's disposal.

A review of al-Maliji's mention in the works above puts the reliability of *Raf' al-Isr*'s content concerning his biography in doubt. Ibn Hajar makes reference to Ibn al-Muyassar on more than forty instances throughout the work; however, not once in the biography of al-Maliji. Similarly, in his *Akhbar-il-Misr*, Ibn al-Muyassar mentions no titles of al-Maliji although he does not fail to register titles of *qadis* and viziers where required.<sup>42</sup> Among all works of al-Maqrizi, mention of al-Maliji is only found in his *Itte'az al-Hunafa*: a single, large work, devoted exclusively to the Fatimids.<sup>43</sup> Al-Maqrizi, too, brings up no titles of al-Maliji despite being a figure mentioned a number of times in his work.<sup>44</sup> The final source of *Raf' al-Isr* according to Ibn Hajar is his mentor; Ibn al-Mulaqqin's *Nuzhat al-Nazar fi Qudat al-Amsar*. In common with the aforementioned, Ibn Mulaqqin does not attach any titles to al-Maliji. In addition to the inquiry of sources, dates of al-Maliji's appointments to the post of Chief *qadi* in *Raf' al-Isr* do not correspond with records of Ibn al-Muyassar and al-Maqrizi.<sup>45</sup> Further, with regard to the question of title, al-Suyuti's (b. 849 AH/1445 AD) *Husn al-muhadarat fi tarikh Misr wa al-Qahira*: a comprehensive history of Egypt, must also be borne in mind. Belonging to the same period as Ibn Hajar (d. 852), al-Suyuti makes use of all the pioneering works on history of Egypt till his time including even works of Ibn al-Hajar.<sup>46</sup> In his *Husn al-muhadarat*, al-Suyuti presents a separate section on the Chief *qadis* of Cairo. However, he completely leaves out *Raf' al-Isr* and makes no mention of it in the prolonged list of sources placed in the introduction of the work. Given that al-Suyuti utilized two of Ibn al-Hajar's works, *Raf' al-Isr* should have been one of the most important source with regard to information on Chief *qadis* of Cairo; notwithstanding, it has been overlooked by him rather intentionally which speaks of its authenticity and reliability. Yet again, al-Suyuti records no titles for al-Maliji whilst he does so for number of other Chief *qadis*.<sup>47</sup> Despite the fact that the title mentioned by Ibn al-Hajar for al-Maliji is different from the title of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya*'s author, these inconsistencies cast major doubts on *Raf' al-Isr* further weakening Stern's claim.

### **Badr al-Jamali and reconstruction of a time period for *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya***

Badr al-Jamali is deemed as the author of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* by Musta'ali-Tayyebis. He remains the last figure to be considered in the case of *al-Majalis*' authorship. Distinction in style and

form is manifest in the works of Dai al-Mu'ayyad and *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya*. At the same time, allusions to Dai al-Mu'ayyad's works can be observed in *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya*. It can be inferred through these observations that Dai al-Mu'ayyad is not the author and that *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* were not composed at any period before 470 AH/1078 AD. Similarly, Stern's claim concerning al-Maliji as the author of these *majalis* has been thoroughly reviewed and its credibility analyzed. In this way, the belief with respect to Badri al-Jamali as the author remains the only view to be studied.

Badr al-Jamali was one of the most influential characters in the latter half of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir's rule. He was posted in Syria as the governor of Acre. Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir directed him to come to Cairo in an attempt to restore the deteriorating political and economic situation of the state. Badr al-Jamali entered Cairo in the year 466 AH/1074 AD and was immediately delegated complete authority over all the state institutions, namely; vizierate - Chief *qadi* and Chief *da'i* which meant that both political and religious administration were under his direct supervision.<sup>48</sup>

It is important to note that Badr al-Jamali immediately assumed his duties as the vizier and Chief *qadi* upon his arrival; however, Chief *da'i* at that time was Dai al-Mu'ayyad and the latter rank came under Badr al-Jamali's authority only in 470 AH/1078 AD; two months before the demise of Dai al-Mu'ayyad.<sup>49</sup> In 466 AH/1074 AD, Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir conferred vizierate on Badr al-Jamali and added the title *Kafil Qudat al-Muslimin* (Guardian of judges of followers of Islam) to his name alluding to his control over the judiciary. Four years later in 470 AH/1078 AD Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir granted him a new title *Hadidu'at al-Mumineen* (Guide of missionaries of people of faith) further entrusting the religious administration to him. According to historians such as Ibn al-Muyassar, al-Dawadari and al-Nuwairi the words *Kafil* and *Hadi* in Badr al-Jamali's titles underscore his supervisory role over *qadis* and *da'is* who would be appointed by him as substituents on his behalf and would report back to him. Sources furnish a list of *qadis* who worked under his guidance; however, no mention of such substituent *da'is* is to be found in any of the sources available.<sup>50</sup> Based on above discussion, one may conclude that duties of Chief *da'i*, which include composing and delivering of *majalis*, were personally carried out by Badr al-Jamali in contrast with that of Chief *qadis* who were appointed to work under his guidance and in his name.

Badr al-Jamali's role as Chief *da'i* has been entirely disregarded

owing mainly to his extensive military exercises from the outset of his role in the Fatimid administration till his demise in 488 AH/1095 AD. Events at Cairo from the year 466 AH/1074 AD onward until 472 AH/1079 AD clearly demonstrate Badr al-Jamali's direct involvement in military campaigns inside and outside Egypt.<sup>51</sup> History of four years from 473 AH/1080 AD to 476 AH/1083 AD can be found in neither al-Maqrizi nor Ibn al-Muyassar's works on the Fatimids. Ibn al-Athir's universal records of these four years and Ibn-Taghri Bardi's *Al-Nujum al-Zahira* hint at certain unrests in vicinity of Cairo mainly caused by the Seljuq emir Tutush. Badri al-Jamali had to unceasingly monitor Tutush's advance to the Egyptian frontier. In 473 AH, Ibn al-Ammar captured the fortress of Jabla near the coast of Syria. Badr al-Jamali had previously fought with him around the same region. Seljuq emir Tutush invaded Antartus in 474 AH. In 475 AH, Sharaf al-Dawlat at Aleppo plotted to lay siege to Damascus and requested Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir to send military reinforcements to Damascus. The Caliph-Imam consented to the request. In 476 AH, Ibn Saqil, who was appointed by Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir at the castle of Ba'labak, capitulated to the Seljuq emir Tutush.<sup>52</sup>

The next available date with regard to Badr al-Jamali in histories of Cairo is 477 AH/1084 AD in which he led a campaign against his son Awhad who revolted against Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir in Alexandria. After seizing the city, Badr al-Jamali consecrated a mosque there known as Jami al-Attarine which became operational in 479 AH/1086 AD following its completion.<sup>53</sup> In 478 AH/1085 AD, there was an unsuccessful assassination attempt on Badr al-Jamali.<sup>54</sup> In the same year in Rabi al-Awwal, Badr al-Jamali led an offensive against Damascus.<sup>55</sup> The next military activity by Badr al-Jamali was a year later in 480 AH/1087 AD around the coast of Damascus<sup>56</sup> and then in 482 AH/1089 AD, when Acre and neighbouring regions were retaken by the forces of Cairo.<sup>57</sup> In the forthcoming years from 483 AH/1090 AD up until Badr al-Jamali's demise in 488 AH/1095 AD signs of warfare with direct or indirect involvement of Cairo were observed every year; in 483 AH/1090 AD an ally of Fatimids, Ibn al-Mala'ib at the castle of Ba'labak was outdone by the brother of Seljuq Sultan Malik-Shah and was forced to pull back to Cairo.<sup>58</sup> In 484 AH/1091 AD the Franks invaded Sicily which was seen as a warning signal by the Fatimids in Cairo and the 'Abbasids in Baghdad; in 485 AH/1092 AD, Badr al-Jamali had a second wall built around Cairo and constructed a massive gate known as *Bab al-Zuwayla* in the southern side in an effort to scout for enemy troops in the surrounding countryside; probably a defensive reaction in view of the assault of Franks in North

African regions previously, ruled by the Fatimids;<sup>59</sup> and in 486 AH/1093 AD, he deployed troops to *Sur* to regain its control. Badr al-Jamali fell ill in 487 AH/1094 AD and his health deteriorated until he passed away in 488 AH/1095 AD at the age of eighty.<sup>60</sup> This chronological inquiry of Badr al-Jamali's time in Cairo shows that he was engaged in warfare in varying degrees in all the years apart from 479 AH/1086 AD and 481 AH/1088 AD in which no indication of any sort of military action with involvement of Cairo in neither available sources is found.

The year 479 AH/1086 AD was relatively calm for Cairo as the sources indicate. Through Badr al-Jamali's instrumentality, the Fatimid state had regained stability in the region. Maqrizi and Ibn-Muyassar record no signs of unrest in Cairo and allude to no military action. Only notable information available in their histories of Cairo for the year 479 AH is Hassan al-Sabbah's arrival at the court of Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir.<sup>61</sup> Ibn al-Athir reports Seljuq Sultan Malik Shah's seizure of Aleppo and surrounding Syrian territories which also incited rift between the Sultan and his brother Tutush.<sup>62</sup> Malik Shah's offensive in Syria diminished Abbasid control in the region; a situation well in favor of the Fatimids. Hence, no military intervention of Cairo in 479 AH would have been suited to the circumstances. On the basis of given considerations, we can argue that Badr al-Jamali should have been able to better minister to internal matters of the state in 479 AH.

The Musta'ali-Tayyebi *da'i* and historian, Dai Idris Imad al-Din provides crucial information in regard to the year under discussion. Dai Idris Imad al-Din reports:

'In the month of Moharram 479 AH, Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir deputized Amir al-Juyush, Guardian of the judges, Guide of the missionaries, Badr al-Jamali by his son al-Afdal Shahanshah...Politics of the state, supervision of armed forces and all other state affairs were diverted to al-Afdal by Caliph-Imam. His father, Badr al-Jamali, on the other hand, reverted to teaching and exploring knowledge and wisdom of the faith'...<sup>63</sup>

Similar to Dai al-Mu'ayyad, Badr al-Jamali 'arranged sessions of wisdom and was appointed as *bab'*.<sup>64</sup> *Uyun* points out to the month of Moharram in 479 AH/1086 AD and notes that it was then that Badr al-Jamali assumed the function of teaching knowledge and started arranging sessions of wisdom. A letter issued by Caliph-Imam on 7<sup>th</sup> Moharram al-Haram 479 AH to the authority in Yemen verifies *Uyun's* record of al-

Afdal's appointment as deputy to Badr al-Jamali.<sup>65</sup> It must be stressed here that these thirty-five *majalis* were composed from the month of Moharram al-Haram till Ramadan, one per week.

Since it appears that Dai al-Mu'ayyid did not author *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* and no one else could have done so during his time as he remained Chief *da'i* until his demise in 470 AH/1078 AD, Badr al-Jamali's period surfaces as most plausible for the authorship of these *majalis* when the rank of Chief *da'i* was directly held by him. Founded on Uyun's information for the year 479 AH backed by a chronological inquiry of Badr al-Jamali's time in Cairo, this study suggests that if *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* were composed and delivered after 470 AH, it must have been done by Badr al-Jamali in 479 AH/1086 AD starting from the month of Moharram al-Haram. However, the reason for interruption in the deliverance of the *majalis* at the thirty-fifth discourse cannot be re-constructed and the question of title yet remains undecided.

## Conclusion

*Al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* dates back to a period that is considered to be a wasteland of historical sources with regard to the Fatimids. Owing mainly to its historic significance, this collection of thirty-five discourses has attracted considerable scholarly attention, mainly with regard to its authorship which has not been yet determined. The only established information available about the author is his title *Thiqat al-Imam 'Ālam al-Islam* (confidante of the Imam, banner of Islam). Attributions were made by scholars; yet, the question of title remained elusive. Samuel M. Stern made an ambitious attempt to settle the case of authorship by tracking down the figure who bore such a title; unfortunately, he ended up adding confusion to an existing ambiguous case. Stern misquoted information with regard to the title from Ibn Hajar's *Raf' al-Isr an Qudat Misr* and presented a certain al-Maliji as the person who bore the title *Thiqat al-anam 'Ālam al-Islam* and as the real author of these *majalis*. Not merely did Stern fail to make a distinction between two different titles, but he also relied on a disputable source the data of which does not correspond with earlier works, that are its source material according to the author. It becomes apparent that Stern, and scholars who relied on his assertion, have clearly erred in attributing these *majalis* to al-Maliji. The Musta'ali-Tayyebi's, a branch of Ismaili's, reckon Badri al-Jamali as the real author; however, the belief has never received in-depth historical examination. A close analysis of history

surrounding Badri al-Jamali's presence in Cairo shows indications that support the Musta'ali-Tayyebi view. Badr al-Jamali was the vizier, Chief *qadi* and Chief *da'i* all at the same time. While he appointed *qadis* to run judiciary on his behalf, he personally oversaw duties of Chief *da'i*. Above all, information provided by Dai Idris Imad al-Din and a chronological survey of twenty-two years of Badr al-Jamali in Cairo suggest the year 479 AH for the composition and deliverance of these *majalis*. All in all, this study reestablishes the lacuna in the case of authorship of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* which was considered filled by recent scholars owing to Stern's erroneous claim. Hence, the question of title, mention of which is not found in any historical sources available, still remains unresolved.

### Notes and References

1. For more information on roles of the Chief Missionary see Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat al-muqlatain fi akhbar al-dawlatain*, ed. A F Sayyid, (Berlin: Shututgarat, 1992), p. 110, Abd al-Mun'im al-Majid, *Nazm al-Fatemiyyin wa rusumohum fi Misr*, (Cairo: Maktabat al Angelo al -Misriyya, 1985), pp. 181-185. See H Halm, "Ismaili Teaching and Learning: *zahir* and *batin*" in *The Fatimids and their Traditions of Learning*, (London: I B Tauris, 2001), pp. 41-55.
2. Al-Maqrizi, *Kitab al-mawaiz wal-i tebar bi zikr al-khitat wal-athar*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed., (Cairo: Maktabat al-Saqafat al-Diniyyah, 1987), p. 391.
3. Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat*, 110. Information regarding duties of the *da'i* is gleaned from al-Qalashandi's *Subh al-a'sha* where he quotes an anonymous degree of appointment of a *da'i* from the Caliph-Imam. For the degree's translation, see P.J Vatikotis, *The Fatimid Theory of State*, (Lahore: Maktabat al-Ilmiyyah, 1981), pp. 86-88.
4. First person to bear the title of Chief *Da'i* was Hussain bin Ali bin Nu'man in 393 AH who was also the Chief *Qadi* at that time.
5. Dai Thiqat al-Imam Alam al-Islam, *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya*, ed. Muhammad K. Hussain, (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 1947), Dai al-Ajal Badr al-Mustansiri Badr al-Jamali, *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya*, Aljameat-us-Saifiyah, (Mumbai: Maktabat al-Jam'ea, 2005). Both these editions will be referred to in the paper; Muhammad Kamil Hussain's edition as A and Aljamea's edition as B.
6. *Al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* (B), pp. 107 and 209.
7. *Ibid*, p. 19.
8. See Muhammad Kamil Husayn's preface in his edition of *al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* (A), pp. 9-10.
9. *Al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* (B), p. 257.
10. The author's expression in Arabic is: *Azyad min me'at wa khamsin sanat*.
11. *Al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* (B), p. 212
12. *Ibid*, p. 248.



13. *Ibid*, p. 275.
14. Al-Majdu, *Fahrasat al kutub wa al-rasa'il wa li-man hiya mina al-ulama wa al-hudud wa al-afadil*, popularly known as *Fihrist al-Majdu*, ed. Ali Naqi Munzawi, (Tehran: Danishgah Tehran, 1966), p. 136-7. It also includes a brief synopsis of the *majalis*.
15. Wladimir Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1963), p. 48.
16. See note 8.
17. See *Al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* (A), p. 147-229.
18. *Al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* (B), p. 180. Majority of Dai al-Mu'ayyad's monologue poems are believed to be composed by him during his one year exile between 453 AH and 454 AH. This six-verse poem is present in Dai al-Mu'ayyad al-Shirazi, *Diwan*, ed. Mohammad K. Husayn, (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub, 1949).
19. One such allusion can be seen in the third discourse *Al-Majalis al-Mustansiriyya* (B), p. 23.
20. Ibn al-Muyassar, *al-Muntaqa min Akhbar Misr*, ed. A. F. Sayyid, (Cairo: l'Institut francais d'Archeologie, 1981), p. 18; Al-Maqrizi, *Itte'az al-hunafa bi-akhbar al-a'imma al-Fatimiyyin al-khulafa*, Vol. 2, ed. Jamal al-din Shayyal, (Cairo: al-Majlis al-A'ala, 1996), p. 251.
21. He is believed to have been exiled for a year by vizier Ibn al-Mudabbir. Ibn al-Sayrafi, *al-ishara ila man nal al-wazara*, ed. Abd Allah al-Mukhlis, (Cairo: Ma'ahad al-Ilmi al-Faransi, 1923), p. 48.
22. See note 18.
23. In 470 H, the same year when Dai al-Mu'ayyad passed away, Badr al-Jamali was accorded the title of *Hadi Du'at al-Mumineen* ostensibly equivalent to the rank of Chief *da'i*. Ibn al-Muyassar, *Akhbar Misr*, p. 45. Al-Maqrizi, *Itte'az*, p. 319.
24. Samuel M. Stern, "Cairo as The Centre of Ismaili Movement", *Colloque International sur l'Histoire du Caire*, (1972): pp. 439-440.
25. See Farhad Daftary, *The Ismailis: Their history and doctrines*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 207; Delia Cortese, *Ismaili and other Arabic Manuscripts: A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies*, (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000), p. 44; Ayman F. Sayyid, *al-Dawlat al-Fatimiyya fi Misr*, (Cairo: Dar al-Misr al-Lebnaniya, 1992), p. 581.
26. Al-Maqrizi, *al-Muqaffa al-Kabir*, Vol. 3, ed. Muhammad Ya'alawi, (Beirut: Dar al-Garb al-Islami, 1991), pp. 366-407.
27. Ibn al-Muyassar, *Akhbar Misr*, p. 18.
28. Ibn al-Hajar al-Asqalani, *Raf al Isran Qudat Misr*, ed. Ali Muhammad Umr, (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanji, 1988) p. 209.
29. *Ibid*, p. 22.
30. Abd al-Mun'im al-Majid, *Al-Imam al-Mustansir Bi-Allah al-Fatimi*, (Cairo: Maktabat al-Angelo, 1961), p. 36.
31. *Ibid*, p. 33.
32. Dai al-Mu'ayyad held the post of Chief *da'i* from 450 AH until his demise in 470 AH with an exception of a short period from 453-454 H when he was exiled from Cairo by vizier Ibn al-Mudabbir. However, two viziers bore the title of

- Chief *da'i* even after the return of Dai al-Mu'ayyad. It should also be noted that those two viziers previously held the rank of Chief *qadi* but were never appointed as Chief *da'i*; hence, the title merely appears to be a pseudonym. See Ibn al-Sayrafi, *al-Ishara*, pp. 48-51.
33. Stern, "Cairo as the Centre of Ismaili Movement", pp. 439-40.
  34. For an annotated list of sources on Fatimid history, see Paul E. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002).
  35. Stern, "Cairo as the Centre of Ismaili Movement", p. 439.
  36. Ibn al-Hajar al-Asqalani, *Raf al Isr*, p. 209.
  37. Ibn al-Sayrafi, *al-Ishara*, pp. 40-48.
  38. Paul E. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire*, p. 163.
  39. Muhammad al-Kindi, *Kitab al-Wulat wa Kitab al-Qudat*, ed. Refen Gust, (Beirut: al-aba al-basu'iyyin, 1908)
  40. Ibn al-Hajar al-Asqalani, *Raf al Isr*, p. 3.
  41. Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Nuzhat al-nazzar fi qudat al-amsar*, ed. Madiha Muhammad al-Sharqawi, (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqafat al-Diniyya, 1996)
  42. Ibn al-Muyassar mentions the title *amid al-mulk* of Abu al-Hassan b. Abd al-Karim and *jalal al-Mulk* of Ahmad b. Abd al-Karim. See Ibn al-Muyassar, *Akhbar Misr*, pp. 23 and 27.
  43. Al-Maqrizi, *Itte'az al-Hunafa bi-Akhabr al-Aimmat al-Fatimiyyin al-Khulafa*, ed. Jamal al-din al-Shayyal, (Cairo: Shu'un al-Islamiyyah, 1996)
  44. *Ibid*, p. 251.
  45. Ibn Hajar records al-Maliji's third appointment in the month of Moharram of the year 455 AH whereas Ibn al-Muyassar and al-Maqrizi record his third appointment in Safar al-Muzaffar of 454 AH. Similarly, Ibn Hajar notes that in 455 AH al-Maliji was dismissed on 16<sup>th</sup> of Moharram though Ibn al-Muyassar and al-Maqrizi give the date of his dismissal in 455 AH as 13<sup>th</sup> of Moharram. Much same irregularities are to be found in dates of al-Maliji's further appointments and dismissals.
  46. Al-Suyuti names two works of Ibn al-Hajar; *al-Isabat fi Ma'rifat al-Sahabat* and *Inba al-gamr bi anba al-umr* among number of works he utilized as source material. See al-Suyuti, *Husn al-Muhadarat fi tarikh Misr wa al-Qahira*, vol. 1, ed. Muhammad Abu al-Fadl Ibrahim, (Cairo: Dar al-Ahya al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1967), p. 5.
  47. *Ibid*, vol. II, p. 148.
  48. Farhad Daftary, *The Ismailis*, pp. 194-195.
  49. Ibn al-Muyassar, *Akhbar Misr*, p. 45; Shihab al-Din al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-'Arab fi funun al-adab*, Vol. XXVIII, eds. Najeeb Mustafa, *Hikmat Kashai*, (Lebanon: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya), p. 152.
  50. A list of *qadis* who were appointed by Badr al-Jamali is provided by al-Dawadari, *Kanz al-duru wa Jami al-Gurar*, Vol. 6, ed. Berand Ratke et al., (Cairo: Isa al-Babeli al-Halabi, 1982), p. 400 and Ibn al-Zafir, *Akhbar al-duwal al-munqate'a*, ed. Andria Ferriya, (Cairo: Ma'ahad al-Ilmi al-Fransi, 1972), p. 81. Reference to appointment of *qadis* by Badr al-Jamali is also found in al-Maqrizi, *Itte'az*, Vol. II, p. 313 and in Ibn al-Muyassar's, *Akhbar Misr*, p. 40.
  51. al-Maqrizi, *Itte'az*, Vol. II, p. 311-320; Ibn al-Muyassar, *Akhbar Misr*, pp. 39-

- 45.
52. See Ibn Tagri al-Bardi, *Al-Nujum al-Zahera fi Muluk Misr wa al-Qahira*, Vol. 5, (Cairo: Wazarat al-thaqafat, 1963), pp. 111-116; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil fi Tarikh*, Vol. 8, ed. Muhammad Yusuf, (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1987), pp. 423-432.
53. Dai Idris Imad al-din, *The Fatimids and their Successors in Yaman; Uyun al-Akhbar*, Vol. 7, ed. Ayman Fu'ad Sayyid, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), p. 183; Ibn al-Muyassar, *Akhbar Misr*, p. 46; Ibn al-Zafir, *Akhbar al-duwal*, p. 77.
54. Ibn Tagri al-Bardi, *Al-Nujum*, Vol. V, p. 120.
55. Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil fi Tarikh*, Vol. VIII, p. 440.
56. Ibn Tagri al-Bardi, *Al-Nujum*, Vol. V, p. 125.
57. Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil fi Tarikh*, Vol. VIII, p. 460; Ibn al-Muyassar, *Akhbar Misr*, p. 50.
58. Ibn Tagri al-Bardi, *Al-Nujum*, Vol. V, p. 483.
59. al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-arab*, Vol. 28, p. 153.
60. There is a debate with regard to Badr al-Jamali's date of demise. It is widely believed that he passed away in 477 H few months before Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir's demise in the same year. *Uyun*, however, reports that he passed away in 488 H at the outset of Caliph-Imam al-Musta'ali's reign. The same is recorded by Ibn al-Ammad, *Shazarat al-Zahab fi Akhbar man Zahab*, Vol. 6, ed. Abd al-Qadir, (Beirut: Dar Ibn al-Kathir, 1989), p. 379.
61. al-Maqrizi, *Itte'az*, Vol. 2, p. 323; Ibn al-Muyassar, *Akhbar Misr*, p. 47.
62. Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil fi Tarikh*, Vol. VIII, p. 444.
63. Dai Idris Imad al-din, *Uyun al-Akhbar*, Vol. VII, p. 185.
64. Abdul Mun'im al-Majid, *Zuhur al-Khilafat al-Fatemiyya wa Suqutoha fi Misr*, (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 1994), p. 332; Ayman F. Sayyid, *al-Dawlat*, p. 218.
65. Imam al-Mustansir, *al-Sijillat al-Mustansiriyya*, ed. A. Majid, (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-Misri, 1954), p. 63.

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