

## 'Leading from the Middle': Qāḍī al-Nu'mān on Female Prayer

Leadership

Nu'man b. Muhammad  
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Several past and recent studies on the Fatimid era have dealt with institutions, figures and roles at the centre of Fatimid religious life such as the *dā'ī*, the *qāḍī*, the Imam-caliph, but almost nothing is known about the roles played by the prayer leader or imam.\* Historical references to imams of mosques during the Fatimid period, for example in Egypt, only seem to occur in relation to Sunni mosques and a broader Sunni environment.<sup>1</sup> As for the role of women in ritual prayer, little is known about female participation in public prayer and even less about female leadership of prayers; no references thus far have emerged in historical sources of any woman having led prayers during the Fatimid era.

The Ismaili jurist Qāḍī al-Nu'mān (d. 363/974) deals in several of his works with the role of imam as prayer leader from various, mainly theoretical, perspectives. In the passages on prayer leadership, he also discusses the criteria and contexts that make it permissible for a woman to lead a congregation in prayer. This chapter focuses on these references to female ritual leadership as presented and variously interpreted by Qāḍī al-Nu'mān in three of his works, in which he states that a woman should not lead men in prayer but could lead women, provided she does not stand in front of them but in the middle of them.

It is argued here that at least three levels of interpretation (ritual, legal and esoteric) can be identified on the basis of the relevant passages. After an overview of attitudes to female prayer leadership in pre-modern Shi'i jurisprudence, this chapter will conclude by showing Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's dependence on, but also departure from, typically agreed interpretations adhered to by non-Ismaili Shi'i groups.

### The Role of Prayer Leader According to Qāḍī al-Nu'mān

Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, as the founder of Ismaili jurisprudence and long-standing judge 'in residence' of the Fatimid dynasty, witnessed and contributed first hand to the changes of emphasis and attitudes of the first four Imam-caliphs with regard to aspects of Islamic ritual and legal theories and practices. As a whole, his great works are the expression of the North African phase of the Fatimid dynasty and the more accomplished of them represent the vision and policies of the fourth Imam-caliph, al-Mu'izz (r. 341-365/953-975). Scholarly arguments vary regarding the origins of the Ismaili legal system that Qāḍī al-Nu'mān formulated, when compared to Sunni and other schools of Shi'i jurisprudence. While, for instance, some scholars argue that Ismaili law owes a great debt to Mālikī law,<sup>2</sup> and that Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, or his father, was originally a Mālikī, it is commonly recognised that Ismaili law constitutes a synthesis, even a form of 'reconciliation' between different legal systems, notably between Imāmī and Zaydī Shi'i, or Shi'i and Mālikī jurisprudence.<sup>3</sup> This does not detract from the recognition that Ismaili law, in its distinctiveness and status, is one of the main Shi'i *madhhabs*, alongside the Imāmī and Zaydī schools.<sup>4</sup>

Qāḍī al-Nu'mān refers to ritual prayer and its leadership mainly in three of his works. Chronologically these are the *Kitāb al-īdāh*, the *Da'ā'im al-Islām* and the *Ta'wil al-da'ā'im*.

The *Kitāb al-īdāh* is a compilation of legal *ḥadīths* organised by topic, of which only the section on prayer is extant.<sup>5</sup> It can be defined as a *ḥadīth*-based work of *fiqh* which, given the variety of its sources, records several instances of *ikhtilāf*, or differences of

# 13 The Iranian *Da'is* and Fatimid Egypt

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The Ismailis separated from the other Shi'i Muslims on the death of Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq in 148/765. They now traced their imamate to the progeny of al-Sadiq's son, Isma'il, the eponym of the Isma'iliyya. By the middle of the 3rd/9th century, the Ismailis had organized a dynamic revolutionary movement called *al-da'wa al-hadiya*, or "the rightly guiding mission." The religious and political message of the Ismaili *da'wa*, which focused on uprooting the Abbasids and installing the Ismaili imam to a new Shi'i caliphate, was conveyed in many regions by a network of *da'is*, or "missionaries." From early on, the Ismaili *da'is* were also active in the Iranian lands, in various parts of Iran, notably the Jibal and Khorasan, and in Central Asia.

As the Ismaili *da'wa* spread in numerous regions of the Muslim world, the Ismailis witnessed their first major schism in 286/899 over the question of the imamate.<sup>1</sup> The bulk of the Ismailis of the Iranian lands continued to retain their earlier belief and acknowledged Muhammad b. Isma'il b. Ja'far al-Sadiq as their seventh and last imam, whose return as the Mahdi was eagerly anticipated. These Ismailis were now more specifically designated as the Qarmatis, named after their first *da'i* in Iraq, Hamdan Qarmat. On the other hand, the

Ismailis of Yemen, Egypt, and North Africa maintained continuity in the imamate. They recognized 'Abdallah al-Mahdi, the contemporary central leader of the *da'wa* and the future founder of the Fatimid caliphate, as their imam. Believing in continuity in the Ismaili imamate, they also recognized 'Abdallah al-Mahdi's predecessors in the progeny of Muhammad b. Isma'il as their imams. Subsequently, they acknowledged the successors of 'Abdallah in the Fatimid dynasty as imams.

The success of the early Ismaili *da'wa* led to the establishment of the Fatimid *dawla*, or "state," in 297/909 in North Africa. This resulted mainly from the activities of the *da'i* Abu 'Abdallah al-Shi'i, who had been active among the Kutama Berbers of the Maghrib from 280/893. At any rate, the Ismaili imam had now begun to rule as the Fatimid caliph over an expanding empire. The *da'wa-dawla* relationship continued to shape much of the subsequent religious history of the Fatimids and served as a paradigm for the *da'is* of the Iranian lands.

The Fatimids aspired to extending their hegemony over the entire Muslim community. As a result, they did not abandon their *da'wa* activities after assuming power. However, the early Fatimids could not devote

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## SPEAKING FOR ISLAM

*Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies*

EDITED BY

GUDRUN KRÄMER AND SABINE SCHMIDTKE

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHIEF *QĀDĪ* AND  
CHIEF *DĀ'Ī* UNDER THE FATIMIDS

Paul E. Walker

In his various descriptions of the ranks in Fatimid administration, the Mamluk-era historian al-Maqrīzī noted the special importance of two in particular, the offices respectively of chief *qāḍī* and of chief *dā'ī*.<sup>1</sup> Under this dynasty these were two of the highest positions: the chief justice, termed the judge of judges (*qāḍī al-quḍā'*), was outranked only by the imam and the *wazīr*. The head *dā'ī*, the *dā'ī al-du'āt*, followed immediately below. Al-Maqrīzī, who is often our best source for information about the Fatimids, also observed that he knew of no other Islamic government for which the *da'wa* continued after the founding of the state. Thus, in contrast to the judiciary, it and the office of its chief administrator formed an institution unique to their rule. Al-Maqrīzī gave it special attention accordingly; it was for him a *khūṭa* (an office or institution of government)<sup>2</sup> and deserved a chapter in his famous topography of Egypt the *Khūṭat*.<sup>3</sup> Although the judiciary and the *da'wa* were both responsible for aspects of religious policy and its implementation, the purpose of the latter was always apparently separate and distinct. The *da'wa* served primarily as both a proselytizing mission seeking converts to the Ismaili cause and as a tool of instruction for those who were already adherents of it. In this capacity it was in place and active until the close of the dynasty. Therefore the head of the *da'wa* remained a major office, continuing to the end only slightly less in rank than that of the chief *qāḍī*.

The holders of these ranks dressed alike in their official attire and in many respects had similar prerogatives. One difference was that,

<sup>1</sup> See, among others, his comments near the end of his history of the Fatimids, the *Iti'āz al-hunafā' bi-akhbār al-ʿimma al-Fāṭimīyyīn al-khulafā'*, vol. 1 ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl and vols. 2-3 ed. Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad, Cairo 1967-73, vol. 3, pp. 336-37.

<sup>2</sup> Also vocalized *khūṭa*. Its more common meaning is 'district' or 'piece of real estate'.

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Khūṭat* (= *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿtibār fī dhikr al-khūṭat wa-l-āthār*), ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, London 2002-04, vol. 2, pp. 308-20.

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## صاحب الدار

وهو من ألقاب الإمام الثاني عشر، الحجّة المنتظر عجل الله تعالى فرجه الشريف.

## داعي

### لغة:

اسم فاعل من دعى يدعو، ومنه قوله تعالى: ﴿أَجِيبُوا دَاعِيَ اللَّهِ﴾<sup>(١)</sup>. ومنه قولهم: ما الذي دعاك إلى كذا؟ أي ما الذي جرّك إليه واضطرك؟<sup>(٢)</sup> ويطلق الداعي على السبب؛ استعارة من «داعي اللبن»<sup>(٣)</sup> أي اللبن الذي يترك في الضرع بعد الحلب؛ ليدعو ما بعده من اللبن، ولو حُلب كلّه تأخّر درّ اللبن فيه<sup>(٤)</sup>.

### اصطلاحاً:

يأتي باسم فاعل في الدعاء كما سيأتي، ويأتي بمعنى السبب أيضاً في بحث «النّيّة» حيث يبحثون عن أنّها هي الداعي، أو غيره؟ وسوف يأتي الكلام عنه في عنوان «نّيّة».

(١) الأحقاف: ٣١.

(٢) أنظر لسان العرب: «دعا».

(٣) أنظر محيط المحيط: «دعا».

(٤) أنظر المصدرين المتقدمين، وغيرهما: «دعا».

## دار الصلح

وهي الأرض التي صلح أهلها عليها على أن تكون لهم وأنهم يُقرّون على دينهم، وتسمّى: أرض الذمّة، وأرض الجزية أيضاً. راجع العنوانين: أرض، وأهل الذمّة.

## دار العهد

وهي أرض الكفّار الذين بينهم وبين المسلمين معاهدة عدم التعرّض والاعتداء. وحكم هذه الدار تتبع شروط المعاهدة وبنودها.

## دار الكفر

وهي البلاد التي يقطنها ويسكنها الكفّار بأقسامهم، سواء كانوا أهل ذمّة، أو أهل حرب، أهل كتاب أو مشركين أو ملحدين. ولدار الكفر أحكام مشتركة من حيث الاستيطان، وأحكام خاصّة مثل أحكام أهل الذمّة الخاصّة بهم، وكذا أهل الحرب، والمعاهدين.

أمّا حكم الاستيطان، فقد تقدّم في «دار الشرك».

وأما سائر الأحكام الخاصّة فتراجع لكلّ من الأقسام مورده الخاص به.

1420 WALKER, Paul E. The Ismaili da'wa in the reign of the Fatimid caliph Al-Hākīm. *The Caliphate and Islamic statehood formation, fragmentation and modern interpretation*. Ed. Carool Kersten. Berlin: Gerlach, 2015, pp. 113-141 (II). Originally published in *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 30 (1993), 161-182. *Hakim-Bienallah*  
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'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-WALĪD, *dā'ir muṭlaq*.  
*Avicenna's allegory on the soul: an Ismaili  
interpretation. An Arabic edition and English  
translation of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd's  
al-Risāla al-muṣfida*. Arabic ed. by Wilferd Madelung;  
transl. and introd. by Toby Mayer. London: Tauris,  
2016 (Ismaili Texts and Translations Series, 22).  
168 pp. Published in association with The Institute  
of Ismaili Studies.

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- 1417 PREGILL, Michael E. Measure for measure:  
prophetic history, Qur'anic exegesis, and anti-Sunnī  
polemic in a Fātimid propaganda work (BL Or. *Doct*  
8419). *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 16 i (2014) 040035  
pp. 20-57.

040035 Dai  
QUTBUDDIN, Saifiyah. History of the Da'udi Bohra  
Tayyibis in modern times: the *da'is*, the *da'wat* and  
the community. *A modern history of the Ismailis:  
continuity and change in a Muslim community*. Ed.  
Farhad Daftary. London: Tauris, in association with  
Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2011, (Ismaili Heritage  
Series, 13), pp.297-330.



- Res'îlâ'ül-dîn Fazlullâh Hameedî'nî
- Câmî'ültevârih
- İsmâ'îliyye (Klm)
- Fâtîmîler
- DÂİ

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299. RAŞİD al-DİN FAZLOLLAH HAMADÂNİ. *Jâme' al-tavârix. Qesmat-e Esmâ'iliyyân va Fâtemiyyân va Nezâriyyân va Dâ'iyân va Rafiqân*, M.T. Dâneş-Pažuh et M. Modarresi-e Zanjâni, éd. et comment. Téhéran, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, 1356, xvi-241 p. Entesârât-e B.T.N.K., 99, Majmu'e-ye motun-e fârsi, 3.

L'une des meilleures parties de l'ouvrage historique de Raşid al-din, l'un des meilleurs écrits sur l'ismaélisme à cause de ses sources, rédigé en 710/1310 (voir à la p. 88, ligne 7), cette histoire sur l'origine de l'ismaélisme et sur ses deux grandes branches, fatimide et nizarite (d'où les deux divisions du livre), fait partie du tome 2, chapitre 2, 2<sup>e</sup> section de l'ouvrage. La première division de cette histoire de l'ismaélisme a été éditée et traduite par R. Levy en 1930 (*J.R.A.S.*, pp. 509-536), la deuxième division a été éditée par M. Dabir-Siyâqi en 1958 (Téhéran, Tahouri, Z.F.I. n° 22, xii-161 p.). L'édition de l'ensemble est reprise ici sur la base de trois bons manuscrits, dont l'un est de 714/1314, et en recourant aux sources certaines et probables de l'ouvrage, dont le *Majma' al-tavârix* de Hâfez-e Abrou. Notes et index achèvent de faire du présent livre l'une des parties bien éditées du *Jâme' al-tavârix*.  
C. F.

327 CALDERINI, Simonetta. The portrayal of the Isma'ili dā'ī and of his roles according to some Isma'ili and early Fatimid authors: *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras, V: proceedings of the 11th, 12th and 13th International Colloquium ... Leuven ... 2002, 2003 and 2004*. U.Vermeulen and K.D'Hulster (eds.). Leuven, Paris & Dudley: Peeters, 2007, (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 169), pp.37-62. [10th-11th centuries.]

21 NISAN 2013

1621 DAFTARY, Farhad. *Ismaili da'wa under the Fatimids. Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras, V: proceedings of the 11th, 12th and 13th International Colloquium ... Leuven ... 2002, 2003 and 2004*. U. Vermeulen and K.D'Hulster (eds.). Leuven, Paris & Dudley: Peeters, 2007, (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 169), pp.73-89.

İsmâ'îliyye  
Dâi  
Mamluklar

302 MADELUNG, Wilferd. *Kawn al-'alam: the cosmogony of the Ismā'ili dā'ī - Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafi. Ismaili and Fatimid studies in honor of Paul E. Walker*. Ed. Bruce D. Craig. Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2010, pp.23-31. [Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafi or al-Nakshabāī, d.943.]

İsmâ'îliyye  
Dâi  
Mamluklar

21 NISAN 2013

21 NISAN 2013

İlim dalı : Klm

madde : Dâi

31 EKİM 1991

A. Br. : c. VI , s. 554

B. L. : c. V , s. 2833

F. A. : c. I , s. 268 (Kuvâimlar bsl)

M. L. : c. IV , s. 843

T. A. : c. , s.

TENKİT AÇISINDAN BAKILACAK

Minchev Van", in *ibid*, 1990a; idem, *H.H. Dashnaksootian Badmootiun* (in Armenian), Tehran 1981; idem, "Mednolorte Hay Heghapokhakannerei Dashnaksootian Heimnoomei Bahoon", in *Badmagerootiun Hay heghapokhakan Dashnaksootian*, *ibid*, 1990b; S. Vratsian, "Christapor Mikaelian, Simon Zavarian, Stepan Zorian", in *ibid*, 1990a; idem, "Deroshakei Arachein hamarnere", in *ibid*, 1990b; idem, "H.H. D. rayonakan Endhanoor Joghove", in *ibid*, 1990c; idem, *Hayasdanei hanrabedootiun* (in Armenian), Tehran 1982.

### ۱/ آری مانوکیان /

**داعی**، اصطلاحی در کلام اسماعیلی. داعی در لغت به معنای فراخواننده به دین، مذهب یا طریقه‌ای است (ابن منظور، ذیل «دعا»؛ دهخدا، ذیل واژه). این اصطلاح را گروه‌های مختلف مسلمان به مبلغان دینی - سیاسی خود اطلاق کرده‌اند. از قدیم‌ترین کاربردهای این واژه نزد معتزلیان اولیه و عباسیان بوده است که مبلغان خود را در خراسان داعی می‌نامیدند و سپس، گروه‌های شیعی مانند زیدیه و بعضی از غلات، به خصوص خطابیّه\* (ب- دفتری، ص ۲۳۰). البته وسیع‌ترین کاربرد آن در میان شیعیان اسماعیلی بوده است، هرچند نخستین اسماعیلیان و به خصوص قریظیان گاهی اصطلاحات دیگری مانند جناح و جمع آن آجینه را به جای داعی به کار برده‌اند (مثلاً ب- ابوحاتم رازی، ص ۷، ۱۲-۱۴، ۱۲۳، ۱۴۳، ۱۴۳، ۱۹۰، ۳۰۰؛ ابویعقوب سجستانی، ص ۹۱، ۱۰۰، ۱۲۸؛ جعفرین منصور الیمین، ص ۱۵۹-۱۶۰).

بدرغم تفاوت در نام‌گذاری و وجود چندین طبقه از داعیان در زمانها و مناطق مختلف، از قدیم اصطلاح داعی و جمع آن دعا، نزد اسماعیلیه\* به معنای نماینده مجاز و دارای اذن دعوت بود؛ یعنی، مبلغی که وظیفه‌اش اشاعه مذهب اسماعیلی از راه جلب گروندگان مطلوب یا متابعان برای امام اسماعیلیه یا قائم منتظر آنها بود. او همچنین، در مقام معلم، مسئولیت تعلیم اصول عقاید اسلامی را به نوگرویدگان به عهده داشت. علاوه بر آن، در دوره فاطمیان (حک: ۲۹۷-۵۶۷)، داعی کارگزار و مأمور غیررسمی حکومت فاطمی به شمار می‌رفت و وظیفه‌اش آن بود که دعوت اسماعیلی را مخفیانه در خارج از قلمرو فاطمی تبلیغ و ترویج کند؛ یعنی، مناطقی که دعوت اسماعیلی قصد داشت حکومت خلیفه فاطمی را مستقر سازد (دفتری، همانجا؛ نیز - ادامه مقاله).

سوسیالیستی و قیام‌های بلشویکی بر ضد دانشناکسوتیون و استقرار حکومت سوسیالیستی در ارمنستان، حزب دانشناکسوتیون - که به رغم تلاش‌هایش در بازپس‌گیری ارمنستان غربی و ایجاد وحدت میان ارمنستان شرقی و غربی ناکام مانده بود - قدرت خود را در ارمنستان از دست داد (ب- هوانسیان، ص ۶۲-۱۲۳). فعالیت حزب در دوره ارمنستان سوسیالیستی متوقف شد اما در لبنان، فرانسه، یونان و ایران به صورت محدود ادامه یافت (گتورگیان، ۱۹۹۵، ص ۳۰۶، ۳۱۲، ۳۱۵).

منابع: آندره آموریان، حماسه بیرم، بزبان هوسپ موسیان، ترجمه هرابر خلاتیان، تهران ۱۳۵۴ ش؛ آرتم اوهانجیان، شواهد و مدارک انکارناپذیر: اسناد اطریشی پیرامون قتل عام ارمنیان در سال ۱۹۱۵، ترجمه ادیک باغداساریان (ا. گرمانیک)، تهران ۱۳۷۸ ش؛ هراند پاسدرماجیان، تاریخ ارمنستان، ترجمه محمد قاضی، تهران ۱۳۶۶ ش؛ تاریخ ارمنستان، [تألیف] گ.خ. سازگیان و دیگران، ترجمه ا. گرمانیک، تهران ۱۳۶۰ ش؛ آنهید ترمیناسیان، «انقلاب ۱۹۰۵ در قفقاز»، در قفقاز در تاریخ معاصر، [کتاب ۱]، ترجمه کاوه بیات و بهنام جعفری، تهران: انتشارات پرین، ۱۳۷۱ ش؛ ریچارد هوانسیان، «نقش حزب دانشناکسوتیون در جمهوری ارمنستان»، در قفقاز در تاریخ معاصر، [کتاب ۲]، به کوشش کاوه بیات، تهران: شیرازه، ۱۳۷۷ ش؛

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G. LAFUENTE

## D6. DAHRA

Mot arabe signifiant « dos » et servant en toponymie à désigner un plateau étendu et de faible relief. Le nom s'applique en particulier à deux vastes régions de l'Afrique du Nord, l'une en Algérie occidentale, l'autre au Maroc oriental. Elles sont l'une et l'autre partiellement berbérophones.

Le *Dahra algérien* est un vaste plateau calcaire faisant partie de l'Atlas tellien occidental qui borde, au Nord, la longue dépression occupée par la vallée du Chélif. La partie occidentale de ce plateau a conservé certains boisements de thuya (*Callitris articulata*), lointains souvenir de la couverture forestière exploitée dès les débuts de l'occupation romaine (voir « Ancorarius mons », A 214 et « Citrus », C 76). Cette région occidentale est arabisée, sur le littoral : Ténès et, en dehors de la région, Mostaganem ont conservé des parlers arabes sédentaires, antérieurs à l'expansion de l'arabe bédouin consécutive à la migration hilalienne du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le Dahra oriental, en revanche, constitue un des nombreux îlots berbérophone. Il est, en étendue, la troisième région d'Algérie, après l'Aurès et la Kabylie. La puissante tribu des Beni Menacer occupe le pays au-dessus de Cherchel\*.

Le dahra algérien est faiblement urbanisé, en dehors des villes littorales (Cherchel, Ténès) et des villages de colonisation plus nombreux à l'ouest de la route Ténès-Chlef (ex Orléansville) qu'à l'est, seule l'agglomération de Mazouza fait figure de ville traditionnelle. Elle eut le redoutable honneur de servir de chef-lieu du beylik d'Occident jusqu'en 1701, époque où le siège du bey fut transporté à Mascara, pour passer ensuite à Oran (1791). C'est à Mazouza que fut fondée, par le cheikh Mohammed ben Ali, la confrérie Senoussiya\* dont la zaouïa se dresse sur une hauteur voisine.

La *Dahra marocaine* (L'expression est féminine alors que le Dahra algérien est résolument au masculin) est une vaste région qui prolonge, au Maroc, les Hautes plaines d'Oranie et de l'Algérois. C'est même au Maroc que ces plaines, d'une monotonie désespérante, ont leur plus grande largeur : 200 km du nord au sud, et leur plus forte altitude puisqu'elles s'élèvent à 1 200 et 1 300 m. Les Hautes plaines s'abaissent et se rétrécissent régulièrement vers l'est et n'ont plus, sur le méridien d'Alger, qu'une largeur de 100 km et une altitude comprise entre 650 et 800 m. C'est dans la Dahra marocaine entre l'Oued Za (ou el Hai) et la Moulouya, que ces étendues prennent vraiment l'aspect d'un plateau dont les couches jurassiques et crétacées sont à peu près horizontales ou, au sud, légèrement bombées (Massif de Tendirra). Les rares agglomérations et ksours sont berbérophones ; la zone sud de la Dahra se rattache sans solution de continuité aux groupes linguistiques brabers du Moyen et du Haut Atlas. Le plat pays, couvert d'alfa et d'armoïse, est le terrain de parcours des Beni Guil, ensemble de tribus aux origines sahariennes diverses et arabisées depuis longtemps. Les Beni Guil vivent essentiellement de l'élevage des ovins et commencent à se sédentariser. Ils ont pour

centre commercial Berguent dont J. Despois disait, en 1950, qu'il était le plus grand marché de moutons de l'Afrique du Nord.

E. B.

## D7. DA'I (Daï)

Titre que portaient les missionnaires chiïtes, ismailiens, karmates et druzes. Suivant les sectes « celui qui appelle », le da'i, peut franchir plusieurs degrés avant le rang suprême. Habiles prêcheurs et polémistes, ces missionnaires recevaient une formation dans laquelle la psychologie et la rhétorique entraient pour une bonne part. Ces prédicateurs ne dédaignaient pas le pouvoir temporel ; plusieurs exercèrent la fonction de grand vizir, d'autres furent de grands chefs de guerre.

En pays berbère, le plus important des da'i fut Abū 'Abd-Allah, le missionnaire qui créa l'empire fatimide.

L'histoire commence à La Mecque, pendant le mois du pèlerinage, en 893 ou 894. Quelques notables de la puissante tribu des Ketama, qui occupait la Kabylie orientale, entrent un jour en conversation avec un arabe yéménite qui se fait appeler Abū 'Abd-Allah. Cet homme disert, humain, instruit s'enquiert des conditions de vie des Ketama, de leur pays, de leur nombre. Ceux-ci sont conquis autant par son affabilité que par son érudition. Bientôt la conversation dévie vers les questions théologiques et Abū 'Abd-Allah fait connaître sa véritable nature. Il est un da'i, de rang peu élevé mais suffisamment formé à la dialectique chiïte pour convertir sans trop de difficulté les notables Kétama à la doctrine de l'Imam caché. Dans leur enthousiasme de néophytes, ceux-ci supplient Abū 'Abd-Allah de les accompagner dans leur voyage de retour, d'abord en Egypte où le da'i prétend devoir se rendre puis dans leur pays montagneux. Il est probable que la rencontre du da'i et des Ketama ne fut pas fortuite et qu'Abū 'Abd-Allah, qui semblait avoir déjà quelques informations sur la situation du Maghreb et le l'Ifriqiya, avait reçu l'ordre de ses maîtres de tenter d'implanter la doctrine dans ce lointain Occident.

Fin psychologue, le Yéménite sut fort bien se faire adopter par les rudes montagnards ; en quelques mois il fait du village d'Ikjan, dans les Babors, une forteresse inexpugnable d'où rayonne sur le pays la foi chiïte et la vénération du Mahdi. Faisant preuve d'un rare esprit d'organisation, il groupe les convertis en une armée fanatisée, dévouée encore plus à sa personne qu'à la cause ? En quelques années le Da'i s'empare de Mila, de Sétif, de Constantine et finalement de Kairouan en mars 909, devenant ainsi le maître du Maghreb central et de l'Ifriqiya. Il s'agit maintenant d'asseoir sur le trône le Mahdi Obeid Allah, mais celui-ci, qui était parti vers le Maghreb en apprenant les premiers succès de son da'i, avait échappé de justesse aux sbires des Aghlabites et s'était réfugié dans la lointaine Sigilmassa où il était retenu prisonnier. Une expédition ketama, toujours sous la direction du Da'i, emporta comme des fétus de paille les différentes principautés kharédjites et revient triomphante, avec Obeid Allah à sa tête, vers Kairouan et Reqqada où il se proclama Mahdi (décembre 909 - janvier 910).

Abū 'Abd-Allah aurait pu considérer sa mission comme achevée, mais sa forte personnalité ne pouvait se contenter de cette prise de pouvoir par l'imam fatimide. Il espérait jouer le rôle de conseiller écouté mais il fut rapidement déçu, Obeid Allah entendait gouverner à sa guise et le tint ostensiblement à l'écart des décisions. Abū 'Abd-Allah, mal conseillé par son frère, l'ambitieux Abū-I 'Abbas, se tourna vers ses Ketama ; leur fidélité à sa personne était telle qu'ils fomentèrent un complot pour destituer Obeid Allah et le remplacer par un faux Mahdi. Obeid Allah, informé de ses intrigues, ne réagit pas immédiatement, sans doute par un reste de reconnaissance pour celui qui lui avait donné le pouvoir, mais la raison d'État l'emporta et il fit exécuter les deux frères (juillet 911). Les Ketama entrèrent

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PATRICIA CRONE

## Dā'ī (in Ismā'īlī Islam)

*Dā'ī*(s), in Ismā'īlī Islam, were the agents of the *da'wa* (the mission appealing for adherence and support), the earliest records of which date from about 261/875, in Iraq, concerning the activities of the Qarāmiṭa, led by Ḥamdān Qarmat (d. 321/933) and his brother-in-law 'Abdān (d. 286/899). It is likely, however, that the movement had already been in existence for some time. Somewhat later, we begin to find names of *dā'īs*, many of whom were converted by a certain al-Ḥusayn

al-Ahwāzī, who was apparently acting on instructions from a central headquarters in Salamiyya, in northern Syria. They were being dispatched to various regions of the Islamic world from Mesopotamia. One of these new recruits, Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī, opened a mission in Fars and then one in al-Baḥrayn. 'Alī b. al-Faḍl, a Yemeni native, and Abū l-Qāsim b. Ḥawshab were sent to Yemen, where they initiated the *da'wa* in 268/881–2, with great eventual success. Ibn Ḥawshab, in turn, ordered his nephew al-Haytham from Yemen to Sind. The famous Abū 'Abdallāh al-Shī'ī (d. 298/911), along with his brother Abū l-'Abbās Muḥammad (d. 298/911), began his career as a *dā'ī* in a similar fashion. From Iraq the two moved to Egypt and from there Abū 'Abdallāh went to Yemen, from which he returned a year later, to accompany a party of Kutāma Berbers back to their homeland, in eastern Algeria. After patiently tending to a growing flock of adherents and organising them into an army, he eventually overthrew the Aghlabid governorate and replaced it with the Fātimid caliphate, beginning in 297/909–10.

Modern scholarship has recovered a significant body of information about the period just outlined, including much more detail about individual *dā'īs* and their respective missions, where they appeared, what cause they advocated, and how they organised. The appeal of this early *da'wa* may have varied according to circumstances, although its agents seem mainly to have promoted a doctrine of loyalty to the imāmate-messiahship of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far al-Šādiq. In 286/899, the new head of the movement—the future al-Mahdī—announced from Salamiyya that he would henceforth openly claim the imāmate, thereby supplanting the former doctrine with one making him a continu-

*Masār*, 371). The prayer for the day of the spreading of the earth clearly indicates the connection between the symbolic meaning of the day and the Shi'i teachings about the exact circumstances of the expected appearance of the Hidden Imam (al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāh*, 669–670). In this way, the day of the spreading of the earth, along with the three other aforementioned days, is considered a turning point in the sacred history of mankind, as it is envisaged by Shi'i Muslims; and it is viewed as a link between the divine establishment of life on earth, on the one hand, and, on the other, the divine guidance perpetually available to human beings, from generation to generation, during their life on earth.

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FARHANG MEHRVASH  
TR. JANIS ESOTS

*Dā'ī* (pl., *du'āt*, literally meaning 'summoner'), an Arabic noun used by several Muslim groups, especially the Ismailis, to designate their propagandists or missionaries. It was adopted by the 'Abbāsīd *da'wa* (mission) in Khūrāsān (q.v. 'Abbāsids) and by the early Mu'tazilīs, but it soon became particularly identified with certain Shi'i groups, for example, the Zaydīs and some Shi'i extremists (*ghulāt*), notably the Khaṭṭābiyya (Daftary, 219). The term acquired its widest application in connection with the Ismailis, though early Ismaili authors in Persia sometimes substituted other designations, like *janāh* (plural, *ajniha*; see the excerpt from Abū Hātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-iṣlāh* in Hamdani, p. 109; al-Sijistānī, pp. 91, 100, 128).

The term *dā'ī* came to be applied to any authorised representatives of the Ismaili *al-da'wa al-hādiya* (rightly guiding mission), who were religio-political propagandists responsible for spreading the Ismaili doctrine and winning followers for the Ismaili imam. Different ranks of *dā'īs* emerged during the history of the Ismailis and among different branches.

١ - ٣٥ - ٣٥

- EĞİTİM ve ÖĞRETİM  
- DÂİ

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وفي الخاتمة لخص الباحث نتائج بحثه ونذكر منها:

- ١ - ضرورة إعداد الدعاة لإخراج أمتنا مما تعانيه من ويلات.
- ٢ - يؤمن الباحث بأن علاج أمتنا الوحيد هو التمسك بكتاب الله تعالى.
- ٣ - ينبغي للداعية أن يواكب الأحداث ليستعرض الأمراض ويقدم العلاج.
- ٤ - ضرورة عدم يأس الداعية إذا لم يستجب لدعوته إلا قليل، ففي القليل خير كثير.

ORIENTALISM: EARLY SOURCES

*Edited by Bryan S. Turner*

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Volume I

Readings in Orientalism

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BERNARD LEWIS

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54 On the building trades in general see *Ma'ālim*, pp. 234 ff.

55 Among the Sunni polemicists both Ghazālī (*Streitschrift gegen die Batinijjasekte*, ed. Goldziher, Leyden, 1916, Extracts 2, 14, 15, 16) and ibn al-Jauzi (*Talbis Iblīs*, Cairo, 1926, pp. 111, 113, 116) mentions the special concern of the Ismā'īlīs for the 'awāmm, the common people, and are quite frank in considering it a social as much as a theological danger to the established order. On this subject, and on the alleged communism of the Ismā'īlīs see further Lewis, *The Origin of Ismā'īlism*, Cambridge, 1940, p. 90 ff.

56 The founder of the dynasty, in the 3rd century AD

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THE ORGANIZATION  
OF THE FATIMID  
PROPAGANDA

V. Ivanov

1 THE DĀ'Ī AND THE CAUSES OF  
HIS SUCCESSES

The Bāṭinī (i.e. Ismaili) *dā'ī* already at an early date becomes a prominent figure in the annals of Islam.<sup>1</sup> As elusive and omnipresent as the 'Scarlet Pimpernel', as malicious, ruthlessly cruel, and unscrupulous in farfetched diabolical schemes as the leader of a criminal gang in any detective best seller, as superhumanly clever, brave, persevering, and daring as any detective hero of the best American cinema film, the *dā'ī* appears as the chief 'villain of the plot', responsible for many failures and defeats which the corrupt and incapable Abbasid administration had to suffer. He was at the bottom of every political murder, of every uprising, every manifestation of popular discontent, as seen through official eyes, discussed in bazar rumours, and recorded by the authors of many historical works, who surrounded him with a halo of mystery, romance, and, above all, of the fame of extraordinary organizing talent. And such is the power of 'wide publicity', of advertisement, that by the mere fact of the continuous repetition this obviously exaggerated and mythical figure has for ever acquired historic reality, completely obscuring the real Ismaili propagandist and teacher. Even now, with more developed sense of proportion and critical methods of research, this fictitious figure is often taken as true and real. Such eminent Orientalists as the late Prof. de Geoeje and E.G. Browne may serve as good

Source: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay Branch)*, 1939, vol. 15, pp. 1-35.

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MADDE YAYINLANDIRILAN  
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ABŪ SALAMA ḤAFṢ B. SOLAYMĀN KALLĀL  
HĀMDĀNĪ, head of the Hashimite propaganda organiza-  
tion (*da'wa*) that sparked the 'Abbasid revolution  
and first vizier of the new dynasty. Abū Salama was a  
Kufan *mawlā* of an Arab tribe variously reported to  
have been al-Sabī' or al-Ḥāreṭ b. Ka'b. His *nesba*  
Kallāl is variously explained as derived from manu-  
facturing, or associating with makers of, vinegar (or  
else of sword scabbards). In any case he was a wealthy  
man and used his wealth to finance the Hashimite  
movement. His association with the Hāšemīya came  
about through his brother-in-law Bokayr b. Māhān,  
his predecessor as director of the *da'wa*. Before his  
death in 127/744-45, Bokayr recommended Abū  
Salama to Imam Ebrāhīm b. Moḥammad 'Abbāsī.  
From that time until the triumph of the 'Abbasid  
revolution, Abū Salama conducted an active and  
effective movement, even traveling to Khorasan, where  
the revolt ultimately broke out, to meet with and be  
accepted by the local Hashimite leaders.

When Kūfa was liberated from Omayyad control in  
132/749, Abū Salama was recognized as vizier of the  
as yet unnamed imam; and he was saluted by this title  
by the Hashimite military commanders when they  
entered the city. At this point it was still not generally  
known that the imam of the Hāšemīya was of the  
'Abbasid family, and it is reported that Abū Salama  
suppressed any announcement of this fact while he  
conducted a private correspondence with three pro-  
minent members of the 'Alid family, including Ja'far  
al-Ṣādeq, in which he offered them the office of caliph.  
The three turned down his offer, and his motivation

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(Readings in Orientalism), London 2000, pp. 531-542.

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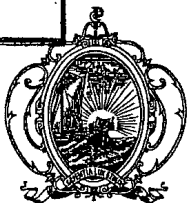
EGYPT AND SYRIA  
IN THE FATIMID, AYYUBID  
AND MAMLUK ERAS

V

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U. VERMEULEN  
and  
K. D'HULSTER  
(eds.)

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THE PORTRAYAL OF THE ISMA'ILI DĀ'Ī  
AND OF HIS ROLES ACCORDING TO SOME ISMA'ILI  
AND EARLY FATIMID AUTHORS\*

The aim of this paper is to present and contextualize four Isma'ili works which touch upon the way the Isma'ili *da'wa* (lit. call, propaganda, mission) was to be carried out and, more specifically, upon the characteristics of the ideal *dā'ī* (missionary). These works, spanning over a period of almost two centuries (10-11<sup>th</sup> c.) have been selected because they are indicative of historical and doctrinal developments within Isma'ilism starting from the formative pre-Fatimid years, through to a more mature period of definition of self-identity, and culminating in the fuller doctrinal and legal elaboration of the early Fatimid era. At the same time this paper will raise the issue of the extent to which the functions and roles of the *dā'ī* as described in theory were translated in practice.

Within the framework of speculations on the functions of the *dā'ī* as missionary and the *da'wa* as "institution", it will be argued that the literary treatment of the characteristics and roles of the ideal *dā'ī* remains constant, almost as a literary *topos*. The ideological, geographical and historical contexts of the sources, however, will help to identify shifts in emphasis on different aspects of what it meant to be an Isma'ili *dā'ī*.

The *da'wa* and the roles of the *dā'ī*: some clarifications and definitions

When dealing with the roles of the Isma'ili *dā'īs*, an immediate issue arises on the use and understanding of terminology. The Arabic term *dā'ī*, used by "medieval" Isma'ili and non-Isma'ili writers, is polyvalent and includes several roles, such as teacher, missionary and, specifically in the Fatimid context, a hierarchical rank or political and spiritual agent of the state. On the other hand, modern English *seems* to make clear distinctions between teacher, missionary, preacher and agent of the state.

\* I am very grateful for written and oral comments received from Prof. M. Brett, SOAS, University of London, Mr Hamid Haji, the Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, and Dr. Delia Cortese, Middlesex University.

- 1311 NĪSĀBŪRĪ, Aḥmad b.Ibrāhīm al-, *Isma'ili Dā'ī*. A code of conduct: a treatise on the etiquette of the Fatimid Ismaili mission. A critical edition of the Arabic text and English translation of Aḥmad b.Ibrāhīm al-Naysābūrī's *al-Risāla al-mūjaza al-kāfiya fī ādāb al-du'āt* by Verena Klemm and Paul E. Walker with Susanne Karam. London & New York: Tauris, 2011 (Ismaili texts and translations series, 15). 84+74pp. [An example of Adab and 'mirrors for princes' literature dating from the 11th century, although addressed specifically to the corps of Dais.]

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