



پروفیسر شہناز گاہ علوم انسانی و مطالعات فرہنگی  
پرتال جامع علوم انسانی

had to conform with the official line of the Ismaili doctrines, and Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, who at the time was a respected elder and a good friend of Ṭūsī, helped Ṭūsī in this respect. In a way, Ṭūsī's word at the colophon would seem to confirm this latter assumption.

The mention of the twenty-eight Deliberation in 'A' and 'B', the absence of these subheadings in other two manuscripts, and the scattered materials in 'M' which closely resemble what might have been the text of the twenty-eight Deliberation, gives a picture of the process of the preparation of the autograph copy. Apparently Ṭūsī or Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, meant to include a number of questions, which either themselves or someone else had asked the imam personally, to the body of the text and probably from among a bulk of such a literature only a few were selected and added to the text without any consideration of their relevance to the content the *Rawḍ-yi tashīm*. They were not, however, included at the time of revision of the text, because the colophon appears at the end of the twenty-seventh 'Deliberation' whereas the table of contents includes a mention of them.




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books, the 'book of *da'wat*' relies heavily on the Imam's interpretation (*ta'wil*), and the intelligent findings of the *du'āt*, who were often men of great learning and wisdom.

## AUTHORSHIP

The informative colophon of manuscript 'M', clearly indicates Ṭūsī's crucial role in the compilation of the *Rawḍa-yi taslīm*. Muḥammad-i Ṭūsī (not to be confused with Naṣīr al-Dīn whose name was also Muḥammad) quotes Ṭūsī's remark that the king of the *dā'īs* Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥasan was the compiler (*jāmi'*) of the book. This is of special significance because although Ṭūsī does not attribute the authorship to himself, neither does he attribute it entirely to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥasan (also known as Ḥasan-i Ṣalāḥ Munshī or simply Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd-i Kātib) when he records his own name.

In the Islamic tradition of authorship, the word *jāmi'* denotes someone who records, compiles and edits the work of someone else. This usually happens during the period of apprenticeship, a condition in which Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd could not be said to have found himself.

Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, a talented poet was the author of the *Haft bāb Bābā Sayyidnā*,<sup>33</sup> wrongly attributed to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ because of the resemblance of their forenames. A comparison between the style of his prose in the *Haft bāb*, which he compiled in 602/1205 and the introduction to the *Diwān Qā'imīyyāt* written in 631/1233, shows no significant improvement in his style. In the *Haft bāb* he states that he is not a good prose stylist and has no care for the niceties of literary form, which makes the probability of his being the author of *Rawḍa*, a precise, well-written and elaborate philosophical text,<sup>34</sup> highly improbable.

A fair assumption that could do justice to both Ṭūsī and Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd would be to accept the *Rawḍa* as the outcome of a collaboration, and to accept (a) that the *Rawḍa* is a compilation of Ṭūsī's lectures by Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, or (b) that, since *Rawḍa* is a book of *da'wat*,<sup>35</sup> it

33. *Haft bāb Bābā Sayyidnā*, in *Two Early Ismaili Treatises* edited by W. Ivanov (Bombay, 1933), pp. 4042. In a newly found manuscript of the text, author speaks of himself as the author of *Diwān-i Qā'imīyyāt*. His full name thus would be Ḥasan-i Ṣalāḥ-i Munshī, also known as Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd-i Kātib. For details, see Badakhchani, *Paradise*, p. 58n28.

34. For a number of implicit features proving Ṭūsī's authorship of the text see Herman Landolt, 'Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn in *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī Philosophe et Savant*, pp. 13-30.

35. Within the Ismaili circles such works are known as '*kitāb-i da'wat*'. By the '*book of da'wat*' is meant here those short texts and books which were specially prepared to present and defend Ismaili tenets. Such texts, in addition to their being a tool for transmitting knowledge, are explicitly aimed at giving satisfactory answers to the most diverse and complex theological and philosophical questions often raised by the faithful in their religious quest. In its reading of the Qur'an and other revealed

foolscap paper, 32.5 by 20 cm., text: 22.5 by 12 cm., 14 lines to a page, in clumsy Badakhshānī handwriting, not very dissimilar in type to that of the first copy. Transcribed in 1342/1924, by Sayyed Munīr Muḥammad Qāsim Badakhshānī.”<sup>31</sup> Photocopies of the manuscripts ‘M’ are presently housed at the Library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London.

A particular orthographical feature of the *Rawḍa*, which has been preserved in various degrees by the scribes, is the conjunction and verbal prefix *hā*. Ivanow suggests that *hā* might be (1) an abbreviated form of the Kurdish modal particle *hāl*, or, (2) a dialect in Ṭūsī’s speech that copyists preserved out of extreme respect for him.<sup>32</sup> Since this verbal prefix also appears in the Persian translation of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *al-Nihāya* (Tehran, 1343s/1964), vol. 1, pp. 38, 42 etc., ‘Abd al-Jalīl Qazwīnī Rāzī’s *al-Naqḍ* (Tehran 1358s/1979), vol. 3, pp. 116, 302, 547 etc. and the *Haft bāb* of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd (Mss. IIS Library London), it would be safe to suggest that at that time *hā* must have been a cant or an expletive in the dialect of the people of Qazwīn and north-western Iran (including Kurdistan) and it was the compiler of the autographed copy, Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, who added this verbal prefix to the text.

## MANUSCRIPT AFFILIATION

Manuscript ‘A’ in the handwriting of Ṣafiyullāh Beg, and ‘B’ in the handwriting of Sayyed Munīr, have probably the same origin because it is only these two manuscripts that the twenty-eight Deliberation is mentioned. There are however, a few additional sentences in ‘B’ which are not found in other manuscripts and it is unlikely that Sayyed Munīr might have added them to the text. Transcription dates of ‘A’ and ‘Q’ are very close: 1177/1764 and 1175/1762, but apparently they were copied from two different manuscripts of which only one contained mention of the twenty-eight Deliberation. Additional evidence supporting this conclusion lies in the existence of a number of sentences ‘A’ which are missing in ‘Q’ and ‘M’. Manuscript ‘Q’ shows more affinity with ‘M’ both in correctness and precision, but it does not include any of the additional fragments which ‘M’ contains.

31. *Rawḍa*, ed. W. Ivanow (Leiden, 1950), p. xix.

32. *Rawḍa*, ed. W. Ivanow, p. xxxv

of Ismaili doctrines during the Alamūt period, as well as a number of direct references to the teachings of Imam Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām and the preaching of the Qiyāmat. The *Rawḍa-yi taslīm* also contains Ṭūsī’s articulation of a distinctively Ismaili system of ethics centred around the recognition of and submission to the Imam.

## MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscript ‘M’ was copied, from the autograph copy in the year 968/1560 by Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī. It is the most carefully copied manuscript of the *Rawḍa*. It has been corrected during the copying process. Its headings are, in so far as I can judge from the photo-copy at my disposal, in a different colour than the text. It comprises 127 folios (254 pages). The first few pages are lost, but it contains, in addition to the *Rawḍa*, twenty short fragments and treatises.<sup>30</sup> Each page contains 18 lines of 8 centimetres length. It is written in good legible Nasta‘līq script. Arabic quotations are vocalised. Among its orthographical particularities is the preservation of the Persian letters (*che* and *pe*), which are written with one dot only and the addition of the word *istifhām* (question) at the end of some interrogative sentences.

Manuscript ‘Q’ was copied in the year 1175/1761 by Qādī Muḥammad Parwāzī. It comprises of 131 folios (263 pages). Page 43 is blank. There are eleven to fourteen lines to a page of 10-12 centimetre long. It is written in a very ugly Nasta‘līq script but legible and comparatively correct. It has been corrected and mistakes are shown between the lines or in the margin. Some words and phrases are underlined. Arabic quotations are arbitrarily vocalised.

Manuscripts ‘A & B’ were available to W. Ivanow and he describes them as follows: ‘A’ “It is a volume of 129 pages, of mostly 21-22 lines to a page, 10 cm. long, closely written in that modern Badakhshānī handwriting which, though based on Central-Asian models, shows much of Indian influence. Outside measurements are 32 by 15.5 cm., the text 17.5 by 10 cm. Transcribed in Baltī by Ḥawlīdār Ṣafīyy’l-lāh Beg in 1353/1935 from an older copy dated 1177/1746, on Indian handmade paper, probably manufactured in Ahmadabad. The other copy, ‘B’ is a volume of 239 pages (there are errors in pagination), on cheap English

30. For a list of additional fragments see S. J. Badakhchani, *The Paradise of Submission: A Critical Edition and Study of Rawḍa-yi taslīm*. Unpublished D. Phil Thesis, Oxford University, 1989. pp. 144-46.

*Guftār* and other works of Ṭūsī particularly *The Rawḍa-yi taslām*, *Āghāz wa anjām*, *Tawallā wa tabarrā* and *Maṭlāb al-mu'minīn*.

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- Aminrazawi, Mehdi. *Journal of Islamic Studies*. Oxford University Press, vol. 11, November-May 2000, pp. 260-62.
- Amoretti, Biancamaria Scarcia. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 72 (1998), pp. 328-329.
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- Pourjavady, Nasrollah. *Nashr-e Dānesh*. Iran University Press, vol. 16, no. 3. Autumn, 1999, p. 74.
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*Rawḍa-yi taslām*

The new edition of the *Rawḍa-yi taslām* (The Paradise of Submission), forthcoming in I. B. Tauris in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies publications, is the result of a comparison of four manuscripts and the version of the text edited by W. Ivanow which was published in 1950 by E. J. Brill for the Ismaili Society of Bombay.

*Rawḍa-yi taslām* is Ṭūsī's most important and extensive Ismaili work, consisting of 28 "representations" or chapters (*taṣawwūrāt*) on a wide array of themes such as the Creator and the cosmos, the nature of human existence, ethics and human relations, religion, eschatology, Prophet-hood and Imamate. The arrangement of materials are such that there is a progressive development from understanding the physical world leading to the spiritual. The 27<sup>th</sup> representation deals with non-Semitic religions such as Sabianism and idol-worshippers in the Indian subcontinent. The final *taṣawwūr* stands out on its own as it contains responses, some of them recorded only partially, of Imam 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad to the questions put to him by Ṭūsī or others. The significance of this work arises from its comprehensive and almost encyclopaedic treatment

tude). For the man of certitude, says Ṭūsī, hatred is submerged into love, primordial past into subsequent future, and religious law into the resurrection.

### *Maṭlūb al-mu'minīn*

*Maṭlūb al-mu'minīn*, ed. W. Ivanow, Bombay, 1933. (Provisions for Faithful) was written in Alamūt or Maymūn Dizh in response to the request of the "august presence" (*ḥaḍrat-i 'ulyā*) of a noble lady from the house of Imam 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad who wanted Ṭūsī to compile what he has read from the *Fuṣūl* of Imam 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām and other *da'wat* literature. The book has four chapters dealing with eschatology, the characteristics of an Ismaili (recognition of the Imam, etc), the doctrine of solidarity and dissociation, and the esoteric exegesis of religious law. In connection with the *sharī'at*, Ṭūsī insists that *mard-i ḥaqīqat* (the man of truth) is one who fulfils the requirements of both the *z'āhir* and the *bāṭin* of religious law.

### *Sayr wa sulūk*

*Sayr wa sulūk* (ed., and Eng. tr. by S. J. Badakhchani, London, 1998), was first published under this title by an anonymous editor, then published as 'A Treatise Attributed to Ṭūsī' in *Majmū'a-yi rasā'il*, ed. Treatise Raḍawī (Tehran, 1335/1956), pp. 36-55. A shorter version of the same treatise was published with an introduction by Muḥammad Taqī Danishpazhūh under the title *Guftāri az Khwāja-yi Ṭūsī bi-rawish-i Bāṭiniyān*, in *Majalla-yi Dāniskada-yi Adabiyāt* III, 4 (1335/1956), pp. 82-88.

Known manuscript of the *Sayr wa sulūk* are the following: (1) Majlis Library, no. 5138/61, dated 1024-1057 and no. 5063/2, dated 1328, prepared for Naṣrullāh Taqawī, this manuscript is collated with other manuscripts; (2) Dānishgāh Tehran no. 1079/5, dated 1047; (3) Ḥuqūq Library, text of the *Guftāri az Khwāja*, no. 62/19, no date; (4) Asghar-i Mahdawī, no. 364/37, dated 1240/1824; (5) Malik Library, no. 6193/8, dated 1279/1862; (4) Mashhad, Āstān Quds, Ms no. 12243/10, scribe Asadullāh Munajjim Dudānga Hizār Jarībī, dated 1306/1888.

The new edition of the *Sayr wa sulūk*, published by I. B. Tauris in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, is based on Mudarris Raḍawī's edition which has been further corrected and collated with the

*Āghāz wa anjām*

*Āghāz wa anjām* (ed. Īraj Afshār Tehran, 335s/1956), or *Tadhkira* (Admonitions) as Ṭūsī calls it, is his most important work on eschatology. Composed in Quhistān, the work is divided into 20 chapters dealing with life in the physical and the spiritual worlds, the origin and return of the human soul, the phenomenon of death, the nature of the Hereafter, the condition of different classes of people there, the resurrection and the judgement, reward and punishment, heaven and hell, and a number of other Qur'anic concepts about the afterlife. Ṭūsī's main concern is to elucidate the esoteric meaning and ethical underpinnings of Qur'anic eschatology from a typically Ismaili point of view. Based on what Ṭūsī writes in *Rawḍa-yi taslīm* and *Āghāz wa anjām* a comprehensive picture of Ismaili eschatology can be drawn. Among the Twelver Shi'ite scholars, *Aghāz wa anjām* received special treatment by Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, known as Mullā Ṣadrā, who famous commentary to the Qur'an, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*,<sup>27</sup> without acknowledging his source. In the same style, it is also quoted frequently by Nasafī, 'Abd al-Azīz b. Muḥammad in his *Kashf al-ḥaqā'iq*.<sup>28</sup>

*Tawallā wa tabarrā*

The Qur'anic concept of *Tawallā wa tabarrā* (Solidarity and Dissociation) occupied an important position within the theological framework of Ismaili thought in the Alamūt period. Ṭūsī refers to it in several of his works and composed this treatise to elaborate the doctrine in some detail.<sup>29</sup> Composed around 633/1253 and dedicated to Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥtashim, it describes how one may arrive at spiritual perfection through "solidarity" with 'Ali and the Imams, and "dissociation" from one's base instincts such as lust, anger and hatred. Through *tawallā* and *tabarrā*, one can transmute these passions into yearning, love and *ma'rifat* (gnosis). Ṭūsī stresses the importance of the rational soul and the intellect in bringing about this transformation, the ultimate goals of which are *riḍā* (contentment), *taslīm* (submission) and *iqān* (certi-

10-11, has listed fourteen titles.

27. Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, lithograph ed. (Tehran, 1391/1971), pp. 649-63; Persian trans: Muḥammad Kwājawī (Tehran, 1363s/1984), pp. 992-1067.

28. *Kashf al-ḥaqā'iq*. Ed. Mahdawī Dāmaghānī (Tehran, 1344s/1975), pp. 175-184.

29. *Tawallā wa tabarrā* was published together with *Akhlāq-i Muḥtashimī* by M. T. Dānishpazūh, Tehran, 1339s/1960.



ity are well prepared scholarly works on astronomy,<sup>16</sup> ethics,<sup>17</sup> history,<sup>18</sup> jurisprudence,<sup>19</sup> logic,<sup>20</sup> mathematics,<sup>21</sup> medicine<sup>22</sup> philosophy,<sup>23</sup> Theology.

The adverse effect of his fame is also the attribution of a number of works which neither match his style nor have the quality of his writings.<sup>24</sup>

In the Mongol court, Ṭūsī witnessed the fall of Abasid caliphate and after securing the trust of Hulegu, the Mongol chief, he was given the full authority of administering the finance of religious foundations (*awqāf*). The main concern of Ṭūsī in this period of his life was combating Mongol savagery, saving the life of innocent scholars and the establishment of probably the most important centres of learning of his time in Marāgha<sup>25</sup>, in the northwest of Iran. The compilation of *Muṣāri'at al-muṣāri'*, the *Awṣāf al-ashrāf* and *Talkīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal* are the scholarly writings of Ṭūsī in the final years of his life.

The corpus of his Ismaili writings which has survived to our times includes ten titles,<sup>26</sup> out of which the followings are the most important:

16. A detailed survey of Ṭūsī's astronomical works appears in Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's Memoir* (New York, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 20-70.

17. On ethics Ṭūsī composed the *Gushāyish-nama*, *Akhlāq-i Muḥtashimi* and *Akhlāq-i Naṣīri*. Chapter 22 of the *Rawḍa-yi taslim* is Ṭūsī's final attempt on ethical writing.

18. *Fath-i Baghadād* which appears as an appendix to *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushāy* of Juwaynī (London, 1912-27), vol., 3, pp. 280-292.

19. For example *Jawāhir al-farāid*. See also M. Zanjānī, *Sargudhasht*, pp. 140-141.

20. As indicated by M. Raḍawī, *Aḥwāl*, pp. 420-21, Ṭūsī's *Asās al-iqtabās*, in Persian language, ed. M. Mudarris Raḍawī (Tehran, 1326/1947), after Ibn Sīnā's section on logic in *al-Shifa'*, is the most important book compiled by a Muslim scholar in the subject.

21. See Dhobih Allāh Ṣafā Tahrīrāt-i Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī ' in *Yād-nāma-yi Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī* (Tehran, 1336s/1957), pp. 153-165 and M. Raḍawī, *Aḥwāl*, pp. 383-4 and M. Zanjānī, *Sargudhasht*, pp. 160-161.

22. See *Ta'liqū bar qānūn-i Ibn Sīnā* and his correspondences with Qutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and Kātibān Qazwīnī. See also M. Zanjānī, *Sargudhasht*, pp. 144-46.

23. Apart from his defence of Ibn Sīnā against the critics of al-Shahrastānī in *Muṣāra'at al-musdri*, Ṭūsī's most important philosophical text is his commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārāt wa al-tanbihāt* which took him almost twenty years to complete. It is dedicated to Muḥtashim Shībāb al-Dīn who was the governor of Qūhīstān before Ṭūsī's patron Naṣīr al-Dīn

24. A thorough examination of all works attributed to Ṭūsī's is still outstanding. For M. Raḍawī's appraisal see *Aḥwāl*, pp. 565-97.

25. On Marāgha observatory and its influence on modern Astronomy see H. Ma'šūmī-Hamadānī, 'Ustād-i bashar' in *Ṭūsī Philosophe et savant du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Persian section, pp. 33-38.

26. Muḥammad Taqī Dānīsh-pazhūh in his introduction to *Akhlāq-i Muḥtashimī*, pp.

Through constant visits with scholars and tireless correspondences,<sup>12</sup> a habit which he developed from a very young age, Ṭūsī kept his contact with the academic world outside the Ismaili circles and surprising enough, he was addressed as 'the scholar (*al-muḥaqqiq*)'<sup>13</sup> from a very early time in his life.

The Mongol invasion and the turmoil they caused in the eastern Islamic territories hardly left the life of any of its citizens untouched. The collapse of Ismaili political power and the massacre of Ismaili population, who were a serious threat to the Mongols, left no choice for Ṭūsī except the exhibition of some sort of affiliation to Twelver Shi'ism and denouncing his Ismaili allegiances.

Although under the turmoil of Mongol invasion and their socio-political and religious preferences Ṭūsī's allegiance to any particular religious community or persuasion could have not been of any particular importance, but nevertheless, the conditions that encircled his life enabled him to write on various aspect of Shi'ism, both from an Ismaili and Twelver Shi'i view Points, with scholarly vigour and enthusiasm.<sup>14</sup>

The ensemble of Ṭūsī's writings is comprised of approximately 165 titles<sup>15</sup> on a wide variety of subjects.

Some of them are simply a page or even half a page, but the major-

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12. Approximately fifteen letters addressed to his contemporary scholars have survived to our time. In *Contemplation*, p. 31, Ṭūsī speaks of his letter to Muḥtashim Shihāb al-Din which is lost. For details see M. Zanjānī, *Sargudhasht*, pp. 198-221.

13. M. Zanjānī, *Sargudhasht*, pp. 164-5.

14. The allegation, based on the closing remarks at the end of *Sharḥ-i ishārāt*, that "while with Ismailis Ṭūsī was under duress" is also unfounded because in the earlier manuscripts of the text, such remarks do not exist.

15. For a tentative chronological list of Ṭūsī's works see Badakhchani, *Paradise of Submission*, unpublished thesis, Oxford University, 1989, pp. 243-53 and M. Zanjānī, *Sargudhasht*, pp. 331-628. For a comprehensive list, including works published and various editions of each work refer to the text, such remarks are non-existence.

For a tentative chronological list of Ṭūsī's works see Badakhchani, *Paradise of Submission*, unpublished thesis, Oxford University, 1989, pp. 243-53 and M. Zanjānī, *Sargudhasht*, pp. 331-628. For a comprehensive list, including works published and various editions of each work refer (1) Sayyid Ibrāhīm Ashk-i Shīrīn and H. Rahmānī 'kitāb shināsī-yi Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī' (2) Elizabeth Alexandrin 'Elements de Bibliographie sur Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī' and (3) Segei Tourkin 'Bibliography on al-Ṭūsī (works in Russian)' in *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī Philosophe et savant du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Persian section, pp. 71-118 and 207-218.

court of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥtashim, the Ismaili governor of Quhistān, in Northeast Iran, where he was accepted into the Ismaili community as a novice.<sup>2</sup> A sign of his close personal relationship with the Muḥtashim is to be seen in the dedication of a number of his scholarly works to either Nāṣir al-Dīn himself<sup>3</sup> or his son Mu‘īn al-Dīn.<sup>4</sup> Among other factors, perhaps the scholarly achievements of Ṭūsī in the compilation of the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* in 633/1235, seems to have paved the way for his move to Alamūt, the centre of Nizārī Ismaili *da‘wat*.<sup>5</sup>

In Alamūt,<sup>6</sup> apart from teaching,<sup>7</sup> editing,<sup>8</sup> dictating<sup>9</sup> and compiling<sup>10</sup> scholarly works, Ṭūsī seems to have climbed the ranks of the Ismaili *da‘wat* ascending to the position of chief missionary (*dā‘ī al-du‘at*).<sup>11</sup>

2. Ṭūsī, *Contemplation*, p. 32§16.

3. Persian translation of Ibn Muqaffa‘’s *al-Adab al-waḥīz* on ethics; ‘Ayn al-Qudāt Hamadānī’s *Zubdat al-ḥaqāyiq* on divine name and attributes, Arabic text (Tehran, 1341s/1963); the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, *Akhlāq-i Muḥtashimī*, and *Tawallā wa tabarrā* are dedicated to Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥtashim.

4. *Risāla-yi Mu‘iniyya* and its commentary are dedicated to Nāṣir al-Dīn’s son Mu‘īn al-Dīn. The *Mu‘iniyya* was edited by Muḥammad Taqī Dānish-pazhūh (Tehran, 1335s/1956).

5. For a number of spurious stories in connection with Ṭūsī’s move to Alamūt see M. Raḍawī, *Aḥwāl*, pp. 10-11; Mudarrisī Zanjānī, *Sargudhasht wa ‘aqāyid-i falsafī-yi Khwāja Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī* (Tehran, 1363s/1984), pp. 46-8, and *Contemplation*, p. 16.

6. For the nature of Ṭūsī’s relationship with Ismailis see F. Daftary ‘Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Isma‘ilis of the Alamūt Period’ in *Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī Philosophe et savant du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Tehran, 2000), pp. 59-67 and Hamid Dabashi ‘The Philosopher/vizier: Khwāja Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī and the Isma‘ilis’ in *Mediaeval Isma‘ili History and Thought* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 231-245.

7. There are evidences that in Alamūt Ṭūsī taught various *dā‘īs* who travelled there for this reason. See al-Ṭayyibī Aḥmad b. Ya‘qūb, *al-Dustūr wa da‘wat al-mu‘minīn lil ḥuzūr*, ed ‘Arif Tāmīr (Salamiya, 1952), p. 101.

8. There are approximately 27 epistles on popular sciences which Ṭūsī has edited and corrected their contents. Such works are usually known as recensions (*taḥārīr* or *taḥrīrāt*). See M. Raḍawī, *Aḥwāl*, pp. 339-72.

9. In Ṭūsī’s time dictating was a popular trend in authorship. Books produced in this manner are usually named *amālī*, that is, “*al-masmu‘a min imlā’ al-shaykh ‘an zahr qalbihi wa ‘an kitābihi...* heard from the speech of the teacher dictating from memory or quoting his own books.” See Āghā Bnzurgh Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī‘a ilā al-taṣānīf al-Shī‘a*, 3rd ed. (Tehran, 1972-), pp. 306-19. The best example of this genre, among Ṭūsī’s works, is *Rawḍa-yi taslīm*. At the opening of the book we read: “of the words (*min kalām-i*) of Muḥaqqiq-i Ṭūsī” and the scribe, or to be more exact, the compiler (*jāmi‘*), as mentioned in the colophon, is Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd-i kātib.

10. For example his works on ethics, especially the *Akhlāq-i Muḥtashimī*.

11. In the colophon of manuscript “M” Ṭūsī is addressed as *Sultān al-du‘āt*.

# Nasir al-Din Tusi

## and his ismaili writings

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Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, by far the most celebrated scholar of the 7<sup>th</sup>/the 13<sup>th</sup> century eastern Islamic lands was born in Ṭūs, on Saturday 11 Jumādā I 597/17 February 1201 and died in Baghdad on 18 Dhu'l-Ḥijja 672/25 June, 1274. Very little is known about his childhood and early education, apart from what he writes in his autobiography, the *Sayr wa sulūk*.<sup>1</sup>

Apparently, he was born into a Twelver Shi'i family and lost his father at a young age. Fulfilling the wish of his father, the young Muḥammad took learning and scholarship very seriously and travelled far and wide to attend the lectures of the renowned scholars of the time. In Nishapur, he met Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, the Sufi master who was later killed at the hand of Mongol invaders.

His ability and talent in learning enabled Ṭūsī to master a number of disciplines in a relatively short period. At the time when educational priority was religious sciences, specially in his own family who were associated with Twelver Shi'i clergy, Ṭūsī seems to have shown, from the very beginning, great interest for mathematics, astronomy and intellectual sciences. At the age of twenty-two, or a while later, Ṭūsī joined the

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1. For Ṭūsī's detailed biography see H. Daiber 'Al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn' in the New ed. of *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; Mudarris Raḍawī, *Aḥwāl wa āthār-i Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī* (Tehran, 1354s/1975), pp. 1-330 and my brief introduction to *Sayr wa Sulūk* in *Contemplation and Action* (London, 1998), pp. 1-20. The *Sayr wa sulūk* is Ṭūsī's own account of his early life and education.