

The Hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān

by

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Abstract

This dissertation examines Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiographical texts written between approximately the late 16th and the late 20th centuries in their socio-political context. It analyzes the narratives by drawing attention to how their authors expressed ideals, values, beliefs, practices, and concerns through the medium of hagiography. Unlike much previous scholarly work on the Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition, which dismisses this substantial body of valuable material as entirely “fictional,” and, therefore, useless as a source of “historical” information, the present study approaches the data in a novel manner, and analyzes it for clues about the ideological, polemical, apologetic, pedagogic, moral, and didactic concerns of Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs. This dissertation focuses on the hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. after 462/1070), the celebrated Persian Ismā‘īlī thinker, poet and missionary.

Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs, a minority Central Asian Muslim community concentrated primarily in the Afghan Badakhshān Province and Tajik Gorno-Badakhshān Autonomous Oblast, revere Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the founder of the Ismā‘īlī Shī‘ī tradition, calling their religious tradition the *da‘vat-i Shāh Nāṣir*, or “Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s summoning.” Upon analyzing the persistent and transient elements of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s portrayals in Badakhshānī hagiographies of the said period, this dissertation concludes that, although Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s sanctity takes an “idealized” form in the hagiographies, it was never fully solidified or standardized, but was constantly negotiated between the hagiographers and the narratives about him. What the sources say about Nāṣir-i Khusraw changes throughout the

period under study. Hagiographies of the Soviet period differ from those written by the pre-Soviet Ismā‘īlīs in motives and agendas, in their selection of the material, and in their views on sanctity. In the earliest sources, produced in the 16th century, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is represented as a Muslim wrongly accused of unbelief and as a person with ambiguous sectarian affiliations. In the hagiographical works created in the early 18th century, he emerges as a great Shī‘ī saint on par with the last Twelver Shī‘ī Imām. In middle hagiographical works composed between the late 18th and early 20th centuries, he is presented as a foundational figure and a great saint in the service of the Ismā‘īlī Imām, whom he followed. The late sources, written in the Soviet period, present him as a saint championing the rights of ordinary people and an opponent of oppressors. I argue that this difference in the representation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the hagiographical sources is related to the dictates of the changing historical environments to which the writers responded.

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Abbreviations

BM	British Museum
EI2	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition</i> , ed. P. Bearman, TH. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs (Leiden: Brill, 1960-2004)
EIr	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i> , ed. Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1982-present)
IIS	The Institute of Ismaili Studies
ILLR	The Institute of Languages and Literature named after Abuabdułloh Rudakī
IOMRAS	Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
KhRU-IIS	Khorog Research Unit of the Institute of Ismaili Studies
KIH	Khorog Institute for Humanities
OITAS	Oriental Institute of the Tajik Academy of Sciences

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Preface

Note on Transliteration and Conventions

In the transliteration of Persian words, I have followed the system of the American Language Association – Library of Congress (ALA-LC) (fig. 1). Since most of the sources are in Persian, I have transliterated the Arabic words and phrases that appear in the Persian texts according to the Persian system by representing the Arabic letters *th*, *dh*, *z*, *d* and *w* as *s*, *z*, *z*, *z* and *v* respectively. Titles of Arabic works, Arabic titles of Persian works (e.g. *Tadhkirat al-shu‘arā*) and terms that do not appear in the Persian texts, however, are transliterated according to the Arabic system. As the primary alphabet for Tajik is Cyrillic, the transliteration of Tajik words in secondary sources follows the ALA-LC system for Cyrillic Tajik, which is based on Tajik pronunciation (fig. 2).¹ Titles of Tajik works are also transliterated according to this system. Readers will notice that unlike the Persian system, which includes three distinct symbols (س, ص, ث) representing the letters ص, س, ث, all of which are pronounced as “s” in Tajik and Persian, the Cyrillic Tajik system simply uses “s” for all the letters. Similarly, unlike the Persian system, which, due to the original orthography of the borrowed Arabic words, has four characters (ز, ز, ز, ز) corresponding to the letters ز, ذ, ظ, ض, two characters (*t*, *t*) for the letters ط, ت, and two characters (*h*, *h*) for the letters ه, ح, the Cyrillic Tajik system simply uses *z*, *t* and *h*. Also, the letter ‘ayn, usually rendered as ‘, when transliterating from Persian is represented by means of “”, and the long vowels *ī* (e.g. *mī‘kunad*) and *ā* (e.g. *kharāb*) by means of *e* (e.g. *mekunad*) and *o* (e.g. *kharob*) in the Tajik system. The Tajik system is also used for the transliteration of words in the Pāmīrī languages such as Shughnānī (also known as Shughnī) and Rūshānī. The vowel *ə* (close-mid central rounded vowel, as in ‘bird’) and the consonants *ð* (which represents a voiced dental plosive, as in ‘then’), *θ* (which is a voiceless dental non-sibilant fricative, as in ‘thin’), *x* (which is a voiceless velar fricative, with no equivalent in English), *ɣ* (a voiced velar fricative, with no equivalent in English), *ʃ* (which is a voiceless alveolar sibilant affricate, with no equivalent in English) and *ʒ* (a voiced alveolar sibilant affricate, with no equivalent in English), which do not exist in the Tajik language are transliterated according to the International Phonetic Alphabet system, which is followed in Tupchī Bakhtibekov’s *Grammatikai zaboni shughnonī*.² In the transliteration of Russian words, I have adopted the ALA-LC system (fig. 3).³

All foreign words, with the exception of terms that have entered English (e.g. dervish, sayyid, etc.), have been transliterated and italicized. Commonly accepted versions of geographic names in English are used instead of their transliterations of their original forms. In this regard, I adopt the conventional English spellings of geographic names according to the US National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA) throughout and avoid using their variants, unless they appear in quotations.⁴ Thus, I use Tajikistan (instead of Tadjikistan, Tadhkistan or Tojikiston), Afghanistan (instead of Afghanestan or Afghoniston), Khorog (instead of Khorugh) and Pamir (instead of Pomir). Unless they appear in quotations and are provided exactly as they appear in the original, less well-known toponyms (e.g. Shughnān, Vakhān, Rūshān, etc.), ethnic designations (e.g. Pāmīrī, Badakhshānī, Shughnānī, etc.) and names of languages (e.g. Rūshānī, Vakhānī (also, Vakhī), etc.) are transliterated according to the Persian system. Personal names written in the Persian script are spelled according to the Persian system (e.g. Muḥammad Shīr-zād Shāh, etc.), but those written in Cyrillic

¹ Randal K. Berry, *ALA-LC Romanization Tables: Transliteration Schemes for Non-Roman Scripts* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1997).

² Tupchī Bakhtibekov, *Grammatikai zaboni shughnonī* (Dushanbe: Donish, 1979), 6-7. The official International Phonetic Alphabet, and its organization in a chart can be viewed on <https://www.internationalphoneticassociation.org/content/full-ipa-chart>. Accessed July 2, 2015.

For an excellent Flash animation of the sounds, see <http://www.yorku.ca/earmstro/ipa/index.html>.

³ For the instructions and the table of transliteration of Persian, Arabic and Russian languages provided by the Library of Congress, see ALA-LC Romanization Tables, accessed July 2, 2015, “ALA-LC Romanization Tables,” <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsd/roman.html>.

⁴ <https://geonames.usgs.gov/foreign/index.html>, accessed July 2, 2015.

Tajik are spelled according to their proper pronunciation using the ALA-LC system (e.g. Muhammadsherozodsho). For the sake of consistency and simplicity, all the Persian-Tajik words in other cases are spelled according to the Persian system (e.g. Shāh instead of Shoḥ (Tajik) or Sho (Shughnānī-Rūshānī), *da 'vat-i Shāh Nāṣir* instead of *da"vati Shoḥ Nosir* (Tajik) or *da"vati Sho Nosir* (Shughnānī-Rūshānī), *da 'vah* instead of *da 'wa(h)* or *da"vat*, *hujjat* instead of *hujja(h)* or *hujjat*, etc.). As the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān highly revere Nāṣir-i Khusraw, they rarely say or write his first or his last name in isolation. Shāh, Pīr, Hujjat or similar words of respect always precede his first name (e.g. Shāh Nāṣir, Pīr Nāṣir). Considering that, the name of Nāṣir-i Khusraw appears in its complete form throughout the dissertation.

I have used both the Islamic lunar calendar (AH) and its corresponding date in the Gregorian calendar (CE) (e.g. 462/1070). Centuries when used as adjectives are written as numerals and are not spelled out (e.g. the 5th/11th century). Sometimes in the footnotes and bibliographical entries, the readers will encounter the abbreviation HSh before dates in the Islamic calendar. This represents the Islamic solar calendar commonly used in Iran. Unless otherwise specified, all quotes from speakers are transcriptions from English or my own translations from the speaker's native tongue (mainly Tajik, Rūshānī and Shughnānī). I have followed the 16th edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* in the footnotes and bibliography.

Persian	ALA-LC	Persian	ALA-LC	Persian	ALA-LC	Persian	ALA-LC	Persian	ALA-LC
ا	a	خ	kh	ص	ṣ	ک	k	ی	y
ب	b	د	d	ض	ẓ	گ	g	ء	'
پ	p	ذ	ẓ	ط	ṭ	ل	l	آ	ā
ت	t	ر	r	ظ	ẓ	م	m	اُو	ū
ث	ṯ	ز	z	ع	'	ن	n	یِ	ī
ج	j	ژ	zh	غ	gh	و	v	اَو	aw
چ	ch	س	s	ف	f	ه	h	یِ	ay
ح	ḥ	ش	sh	ق	q	ة	-	یِ	á

Fig. 1.1: Persian Transliteration System

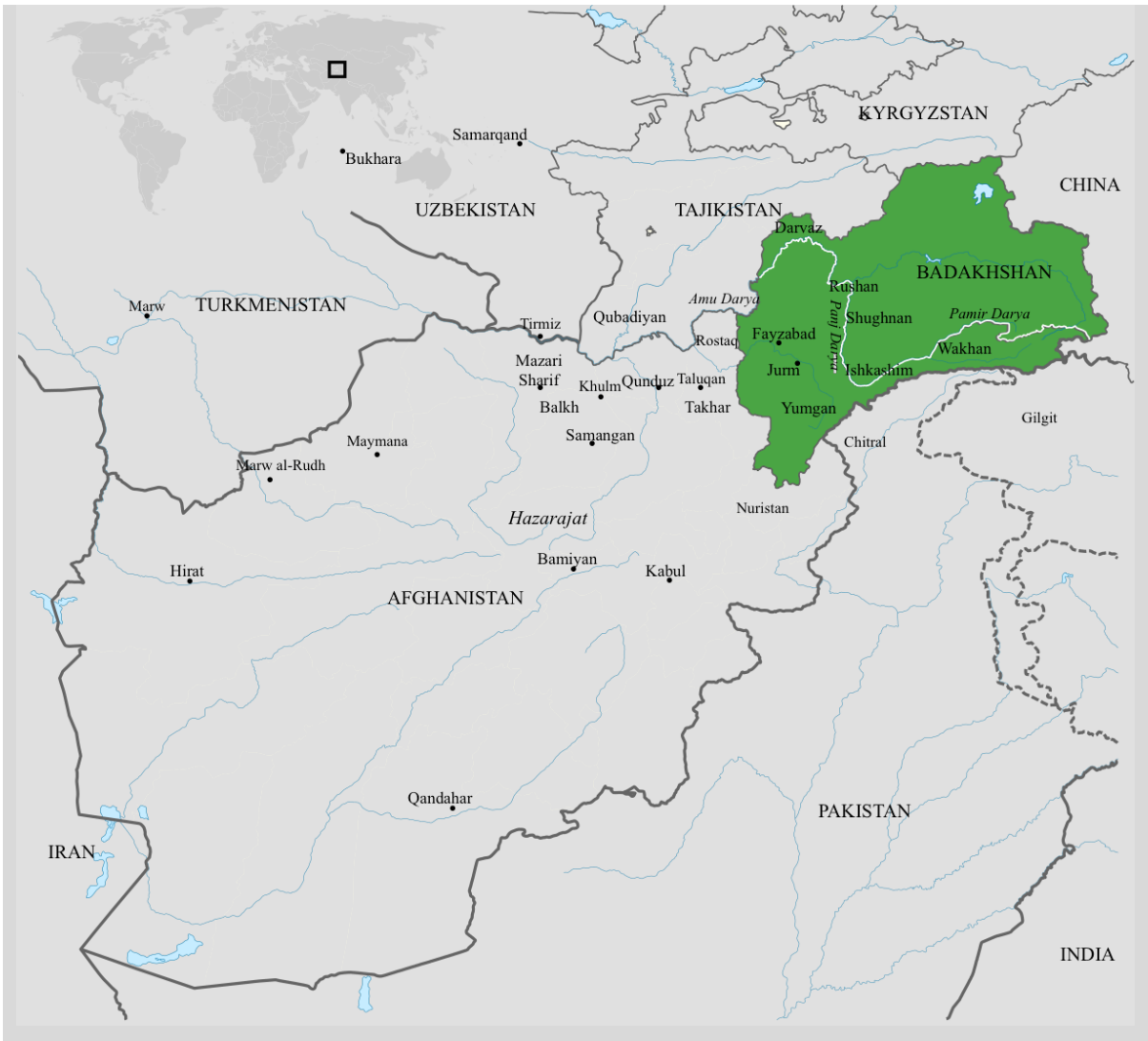
Tajik	ALA-LC	Tajik	ALA-LC	Tajik	ALA-LC	Tajik	ALA-LC	Tajik	ALA-LC
а	a	ё	ë	қ	q	с	s	ч	ch
б	b	ж	zh	л	l	т	t	ҷ	j
в	v	з	z	м	m	у	u	ш	sh
г	g	и	i	н	n	ӯ	ū	ъ	"
ғ	gh	ӣ	ī	о	o	ф	f	э	è
д	d	й	ĩ	п	p	х	kh	ю	ĩu
е	e	к	k	р	r	ҳ	ḥ	я	ĩa

Fig. 1.2: Tajik Transliteration System

Russian	ALA-LC	Russian	ALA-LC	Russian	ALA-LC	Russian	ALA-LC	Russian	ALA-LC
а	a	ж	zh	н	n	ф	f	ь	'
б	b	з	z	о	o	х	kh	э	è
в	v	и	i	п	p	ц	ts	ю	ĩu
г	g	й	ĩ	р	r	ч	ch	я	ĩa
д	d	к	k	с	s	ш	sh		
е	e	л	l	т	t	ъ	"		
ё	ë	м	m	у	u	ы	y		

Fig. 1.3: Russian Transliteration System

Central Asia and Badakhshān



© creative commons Map 1.1.

Badakhshān



© creative commons Map 1.2.

Introduction

*Shoh Nosiri Khusrav ki guli bekhori ast
Az nasli rasulu haidari karrori ast
Dar sinai har ki mehri Nosir sabt ast
Jon dar tani u chu la"l dar kuh'sori ast¹*

Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw who is a thornless rose
Is from the progeny of the Messenger and the Lion of repeated attack²
He whose heart is filled with love for Nāṣir
The soul in his body is like ruby in the mountain

The above is one of many verses that the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān passionately recite about Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. after 462/1070), the celebrated Persian Ismā'īlī thinker, poet and missionary. This Central Asian Shī'ī community regards Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the founder of its religious tradition, which is known as the *da'vat-i Nāṣir* or *da'vat-i Shāh Nāṣir* (literally, Nāṣir's summoning). The community reveres Nāṣir-i Khusraw's teachings and regards his writings as both authoritative and sacred, particularly his *Vajh-i Dīn* (*The Face of Religion*), which is looked upon as the "foundation of religion" (*pāyah-i dīn*), the "kernel of the Qur'ān" (*maghz-i qur'ān*) and the "meaning of the Qur'ān" (*ma'nā-yi qur'ān*).³ Not only Nāṣir-i Khusraw's writings and teachings, but his person itself is considered holy (*quddūs*, *pīr-i quddūs*, *valī*) in the region.⁴ For the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān, Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw or Pīr Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as he is locally known, is a saint. He is held in high esteem as a descendant (*sayyid*) of the Prophet Muḥammad through his daughter Fāṭimah (d. 11/632) and son-in-law 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661). As a revered *buzurgvār* or 'great one,' Nāṣir-i Khusraw plays a pivotal role in the collective memory of the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs.

The followers of the *da'vat-i Shāh Nāṣir* reside in the western Pamir in Badakhshān, which is presently divided between Tajikistan and Afghanistan by the Panj River. They are primarily

¹ The verse was recited to me by the late descendant of one of the famous families of religious leaders (*pīrs*) in Badakhshān Shohī Kalon Shohzodamuhammadov (d. 2015) in Pārshinīv, Shughnān in the summer of 2010. I also heard it from other respondents in Shughnān on many occasions.

² This refers to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet and the first Imām of the Shī'īs. As a warrior, 'Alī was sometimes called *Ḥaydar al-karrār* or the "Charging Lion." Francis Joseph Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary: Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to Be Met with in Persian Literature* (London: Routledge, 1892), 435, 1019.

³ The following verses of a Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī poet named Shāh Sulaymān (20th century) capture this well:

*Vajh-i dīn ast ma'nā-yi Qur'ān
Khushkalām-ū laṭīf-i Shāh Nāṣir*

*Vajh-i dīn is the inner meaning of the Qur'ān
Eloquent and subtle is the speech of Shāh Nāṣir*

See also Otambek Mastibekov, "The Leadership and Authority of Ismailis: A Case Study of the Badakhshani Ismaili Community in Tajikistan" (PhD Diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, 2009), 20.

⁴ Very few people, especially those who are familiar with the written hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, use the term *quddūs*. *Quddūs* means 'holy' and is used in the Qur'ān in reference to God (e.g. Qur'ān 59:23). Arabic Christians use the term *qiddīs* for saint, but the Christian saint is a man consecrated and set apart as a priest, or canonized and seen as a *sanctus*, a saint. The Muslim saint is neither a priest nor a canonized person. The formula *quddisa sirru-hu* (which means 'May his secrets be sanctified') or *qaddasa Allāh rūhahu* (meaning 'May God sanctify his spirit') is often used after Nāṣir-i Khusraw's name in the hagiography. It is possibly because of the use of this formula after Nāṣir-i Khusraw's name that he is referred to as *quddūs*. The other words are used in the hagiographical sources examined in this study.

concentrated in the Shughnān, Ishkāshim and Vakhān districts of the Afghān Badakhshān Province and the Shughnān, Rūshān, Ishkāshim and Shākh'darah districts of the Tajik Gorno-Badakhshān Autonomous Oblast. In addition to Afghanistan and Tajikistan, Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs are present in the northern areas of Pakistan and the Tashkurghan district in China. These people are also known as Pāmīrīs, after the Pamir Mountains that they inhabit.⁵ Pamir, which had a geographically strategic importance for the colonial British and Russian superpowers in the 19th century, was divided into their spheres of influence in 1895.⁶ The delimitation of Pamir and the subsequent closing of the Soviet-Afghan border in the 1920s sealed off the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs on both sides of the Panj River from one another. Since then, the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs of Afghanistan and Tajikistan (as well as the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs of the northern areas of Pakistan and the Tashkurghan district in China) have become isolated from one another and the history of their faith has become intertwined with the histories of the states in which they live.

Although the Ismā'īlīs of this tetra-national region, which is sometimes called the “greater Badakhshān”, comprise the majority of the Ismā'īlīs of Central Asia, very little attention has been paid to their religious history in scholarship.⁷ One of the main reasons for that, in addition to the remoteness of the region, has been the paucity of “traditional” written sources.⁸ Scholars have tended to focus on the standard literary and historical texts at the expense of oral and written hagiographical traditions.⁹ Until comparatively recently, scholars in Ismā'īlī studies, especially in the post-Soviet Tajikistan, neglected hagiography, considering it as a sort of superficial form of popular literature, filled with fanciful tales unworthy of scholarly attention. In contrast to the scarcity of “traditional” sources concerning the religious history and thought of the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān, especially those written from a local perspective, there is a vast body of hagiographical accounts about saints or holy figures in Badakhshān. The tapestry of the religious tradition of the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs is inextricably interwoven with the accounts about “the great ones” and, among them, Nāṣir-i Khusraw holds a unique place.

The development of the Ismā'īlī tradition in Badakhshān is a distinct and important part of the history of Ismā'īlism. The Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān have been particularly attached to Nāṣir-i Khusraw

⁵ These people were named “mountain Tajiks” or “Pamir Tajik” to distinguish them from the Tajik of the plains. Hermann Kreutzmann, “Pamir or Pamirs: Perceptions and Interpretations,” in *Mapping Transition in the Pamirs: Changing Human-Environmental Landscapes*, ed. Hermann Kreutzmann and Teiji Watanabe (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2016), 25.

⁶ On the significance of the region for the British and Russian empires in the context of the Great Game, see Leonid N. Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo v Tsentral'noi Azii i Ismailizm* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1995). See also Abusaid Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie Badakhshana i Sud'by Ismailizma* (Moscow and Dushanbe: Institut Vostokovedeniia, Rossiiskaia Akademiia Nauk and Akademiia Nauk Respubliki Tadzhikistan, 2008).

⁷ “Greater Badakhshan often implies the vast area where the Pamir and Hindukush mountains face each other ... This includes Tajik and Afghan Badakhshan as well as Chitral, Northern Pakistan, and the westernmost regions of Chinese Xingjian.” Sarfaroz Niyozov, “Nasir Khusraw: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow. An Introduction,” in *Nasir Khusraw: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, ed. Sarfaroz Niyozov and Ramazon Nazariyev (Khujand: Noshir, 2005), 24.

⁸ Jo-Ann Gross, “The Pamir: Shrine Traditions, Human Ecology and Identity,” *Journal of Persianate Studies* 4 (2011): 110.

⁹ “The Motif of the Cave and the Funerary Narratives of Nāṣir-i Khusraw,” in *Orality and Textuality in the Iranian World*, ed. Julia Rubanovich and Shaul Shaked (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 134.

and his works and developed a distinctive Ismā'īlī tradition around them.¹⁰ What is the nature of this religious tradition and how do we go about studying its historically and geographically conditioned characteristics? As the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān have been attached to the figure and works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, one way to approach the tradition is through the genuine writings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw that have been identified by scholars.¹¹ Indeed, since, as mentioned, the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān consider the writings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw among the most sacred works belonging to their religious literature, a study of these works would certainly provide a window into their religious tradition. However, this approach would only leave us with incomplete knowledge. The fact that certain religious ideas and practices of the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān do not always conform to the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw has been noted.¹² Scholars studying aspects of Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī tradition have acknowledged the multi-dimensionality and complexity of Badakhshānī Ismā'īlism. As we will see below, many have opined that Badakhshānī Ismā'īlism contains “other religious”¹³ or “non-Ismā'īlī” ideas¹⁴ and described the religious beliefs of Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs, among other things, as “complicated”¹⁵ and “syncretistic,”¹⁶ precisely because these ideas do not conform to the so-called “orthodox”¹⁷ teachings of someone like Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It is for this very reason that Iloliev distinguishes the tradition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*da'vat-i Nāṣir*) from the *panj'tanī* tradition, which includes views and practices that do not belong to or agree with the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹⁸ The word *panj'tanī*, which means “the adherents of the [holy] five,” is a local designation for the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī tradition. Unlike

¹⁰ Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 2 ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 407. Khayrkhwāh Harāfī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*, ed. Wladimir Ivanow, trans. Wladimir Ivanow (Mumbai: A.A.A. Fyzee, 1935), xv.

¹¹ Farhad Daftary, *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliography of Sources and Studies* (London: I.B. Tauris in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2004), 134-40.

¹² Aleksandr Semēnov, "Protivorechiā vo vzglādash na pereselenie dush u Pamirskikh Ismailitov i u Nosyr-i Khosrova," *Būlleten' Sredneaziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* 9 (1925): 103-17.

¹³ Gabrielle van den Berg, "The Classical Persian Ghazal and Rumi in the Oral Poetry of the Ismailis of Tajik Badakhshan," in *Mais Comment Peut-on Être Persan? Éléments Iraniens En Orient & Occident*, ed. G. van Ruymbeke and C. van Ruymbeke (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2003), 113.

¹⁴ Because of these so-called “non-Ismā'īlī” elements, Badakhshānī Ismā'īlism has been described as a “heretical” sect, which “recognizing the Koran, gives it the kind of interpretation that strips Islam of its purity.” Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 91, 97. This echoes the words of A.A. Cherkasov expressed over eighty years ago. According to Cherkasov, Badakhshānī Ismā'īlism is “a distinct religion” (*osobaia religiā*), which has “almost nothing in common with Islam.” A.A. Cherkasov, "Iz otchēta sekretaria rossiiskogo politicheskogo agentstva v Bukhare A.A. Cherkasova o poezdke v pripamirskie bestva (12 Fevralia 1905 g.)," in *Ismailizm na Pamire (1902-1931 gg.)*, ed. A.V. Stanishevskii (Moscow: 1933), 127.

¹⁵ Berg, "The Classical Persian Ghazal," 13-15.

¹⁶ Tohir Qalandarov, "Religioznaia situatsiia na Pamire (k probleme religioznogo sinkretizma)," *Vostok*, no. 6 (2000): 37-38. Speaking against the old orientalists, Wladimir Ivanow argues that Ismā'īlism is not a syncretistic religion, but a monotheistic tradition, which is based on the Qur'ān and ancient philosophy; it was “pure Islam.” On this see Andrei Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoi Literatury, 1959), 56-58. Bertel's rightly objects to the “pure Islam” idea, because a distinction between “pure Islam” and “impure Islam” is entirely subjective. Also, a “syncretistic religion” can certainly be monotheistic.

¹⁷ Wladimir Ivanow, "Ummu-l-Kitāb," *Der Islam* 23 (1936): 5. Henry Corbin, perhaps following Ivanow, refers to the “orthodox” disciples of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs of the Alamūt reform, but he places the term in quotation marks. Henry Corbin, "Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Iranian Ismā'īlism," in *The Cambridge History of Iran: Volume 4, The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, ed. Richard N. Frye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 526.

¹⁸ As Iloliev writes, “the *Panj-Tanī* faith is understood as a combination of certain elements of the pre-Islamic rituals, imbued with Islamic meanings, the Fāṭimid *da'wa* (Nāṣir-i Khusraw's teachings) and post-Alamut *taqīyya* ideas.” Abdolmamad Iloliev, *The Ismā'īlī-Sufī Sage of Pamir: Mubārak-i Wakhāni and the Esoteric Tradition of the Pamiri Muslims* (Amherst, N.Y.: Cambria Press, 2008), 6-8.

scholars, the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs use the term *panjʿtanī* interchangeably with the term *daʿvat-i Nāṣir*.¹⁹ These issues notwithstanding, some scholars have approached aspects of the religious tradition of the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs through Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s works that have been preserved in Badakhshān.²⁰

The other way of approaching the tradition would be through the spurious works attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Many of these formulate ideas differently than those which scholars have considered to be among Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s genuine oeuvre.²¹ The numerous spurious works attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw can also reflect the religious views of the Ismāʿīlīs, especially when studied in combination with other works in their particular geographical and historical contexts. Some of these works, particularly those that deal with a very common subject of macrocosm and microcosm (*āfāq va anfus*, literally, horizons and souls), have been edited and published in the original Persian.²²

A third way of approaching the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlī tradition related to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which has generally been neglected in scholarship, is through hagiography.²³ The ways in which the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs have remembered and imagined Nāṣir-i Khusraw remain largely unexplored, particularly when it comes to hagiographical stories.²⁴ These accounts and stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the saint, describe how he converted the local people to Ismāʿīlism, established a religious tradition (*daʿvat-i Nāṣir*), taught faith and morality, resisted injustice, gave names to places and performed wondrous deeds (*karāmāt*) in various localities across the region. They appear in several Badakhshānī texts composed or copied between the late 10th/16th and early 14th/20th centuries and then in some adapted and novel forms in texts produced in the second half of the 14th/20th century. The stories in these texts serve many purposes that range from exalting the saint to edifying the faithful and

¹⁹ See also Baron Cherkasov’s views on the *panjʿtanī* tradition. A.V. Stanishevskii, *Ismailizm na Pamire (1902-1933 gg.)*, *Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow: 1933), 126-27.

²⁰ As far as we know, not all the works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw have been preserved in Badakhshān. Aleksandr Semënov, *K dogmatike Pamirskogo Ismailizma: 11-ia glava “Litsa Very” Nasir-i Khosrova* (Tashkent: n.p., 1926), xiv-52. “Vzglyad na Koran v Vostochnom Ismailizme,” *Izvestiia RAN* 1 (1926): 52-79. “Shugnansko-Ismailitskaia Redaktsiia ‘Knigi Sveta’ (Roushanéinama) Nasir-i Khosrova,” *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov pri Aziatskom muzee AN SSSR* 5 (1930): 589-610. Malise Ruthven, “Nasir-i Khusraw and the Ismaʿīlis of Gorno-Badakhshan,” *University Lectures in Islamic Studies* 2 (1998): 151-66. See also Sarfarozi Niyozov and Ramazon Nazariyev, ed. *Nasir Khusraw: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (Khujand: Noshir, 2005). Although all the articles included in the book are related to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s religious and philosophical views, some of them deal with Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the context of Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlism.

²¹ For instance, the *Kalām-i Pīr*, attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, is a treatise on Ismāʿīlī doctrines that prevailed after Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Harāṭī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*. Wladimir Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliographical Survey* (Tehran: Ismaili Society, 1963), 142-43.

²² See for instance the *Āfāq-nāmah*, the *Umm al-Khiṭāb* and the *Uṣūl-i ādāb* in Andrei Bertel’s, ed. *Panj risālah dar bayān-i āfāq va anfus* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), 1-24, 209-300, 01-81. See also Andrei Bertel’s and Mamadvafo Baqoev, *Alfavimiy Katalog Rukopisei, Obnaruzhennykh v Gorno-Badakhshanskoĭ Avtonomnoĭ Oblasti* (Moscow: Nauka, 1967), 20, 21, 25-28, 30, 40, 45.

²³ In addition to the genuine, falsely attributed and hagiographical works, rituals and religious practices (such as the *Charāghʿrawshan*, a lamp-lighting ritual that is believed to have been instituted by Nāṣir-i Khusraw) would demonstrate the significance that Nāṣir-i Khusraw holds in Badakhshān.

²⁴ As Daniel Beben, who examines the evolution of the legendary biographical traditions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, mentions, “the study of the legendary and hagiographical traditions connected with Nāṣir-i Khusraw remains largely untouched.” Daniel Beben, “The Legendary Biographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw: Memory and Textualization in Early Modern Persian Ismāʿīlism” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2015), 38.

increasing their devotion to the Ismāʿīlī Imām and ultimately God through the example of the idealized figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. These stories portray Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an inimitable saint and a teacher and as a spiritual model whose path is the path of salvation. Since socio-ethical and spiritual values lie at the heart of these stories, in addition to providing information about the evolution of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's sanctity in Badakhshān, they offer a fascinating window into the value system, ethos, and aspirations of the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs. As Chapter One demonstrates, hagiographical stories are “mirrors” that reflect ideals, values, beliefs, practices, and concerns of those who write and disseminate them. Various ideological, polemical, apologetic, pedagogic, moral and didactic concerns, among others, are at the heart of the enterprise of composing hagiographies. When it comes to the study of the religious history of Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs, focusing on hagiography offers a valuable supplement to investigations that are based more strictly on theological, philosophical and historiographical writings, which have tended to be the focus of scholarly interest.

This dissertation focuses on the written Badakhshānī hagiographical narratives about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. While hagiographical traditions about Nāṣir-i Khusraw produced by the Ismāʿīlīs of Greater Badakhshān have much in common, this study focuses on Tajik Badakhshān, a region from which the hagiographical sources come. The textual narratives, including poems, particularly those composed before the closing of the border between Tajik Badakhshān and Afghan Badakhshān in 1920s, belong to the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān in general. The textual narratives, which were written after 1925, when Soviet power was established in Badakhshān, now called the Autonomous Region of Gorno-Badakhshān (of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Tajikistan and, then, from 1929 to 1990, the Soviet Socialist Republic of Tajikistan), reflect the hagiographical tradition specific to the Tajik Ismāʿīlīs.

The purpose of the dissertation is twofold: First, it examines the evolution of the perceived sanctity of Nāṣir-i Khusraw by exploring his images in Badakhshānī hagiographies during the period of more than four centuries (from the late 10th/16th century to the eve of the fall of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s). It examines the ways in which the sacred life or sanctity of Nāṣir-i Khusraw has been imagined, remembered, and negotiated through hagiography in Badakhshān. It is the history of how Nāṣir-i Khusraw's followers have chosen to remember him and shaped his hagiographical persona. The second purpose of the dissertation is analytical. It explores the common meaning and significance that these narratives hold for the devotional world of the followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This study examines the meaning of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's sacred life and sanctity to the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs and describes the common conviction about his sainthood in the region. Whereas the first focuses on the saintly images of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the second focuses on the saint's community. The presentations of and responses to his stories reflect the concerns of differing intentions and historical contexts. Nāṣir-i Khusraw's sanctity existed in the fluid world of discourse and his representations in the hagiographies

should therefore be considered a discursive practice. Representations of his holy life emerged from and changed the older ones. His sanctity is discursive in that, as a consequence of portrayals that emerge from particular perspectives, it is connected to local and individual concerns and changes through social practices accordingly. By examining the presentation of “ideals” as exemplified by the depicted saintly figure, it is possible to get a clear impression of the kinds of behaviour and teachings that were deemed worthy of admiration and imitation by the hagiographers and by the community. In this way, this case study contributes to an understanding of the art of hagiography and hagiographic process in a Muslim community of Central Asia.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the Saint of Badakhshān

This study sees the hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw as valuable, because he is considered to be an eminent religious authority and a saint in Badakhshān and plays a pivotal role in the collective memory of the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. Although there are other saints in Badakhshān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s towering regional significance overshadows theirs.²⁵ The Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs regard Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the founding father of their religious tradition, the *da‘vat-i (Shāh) Nāṣir*.²⁶ Pīr or Shāh Sayyid Nāṣir, as he is known in Badakhshān, is described and highly revered as a holy man (*quddūs* or *pīr-i quddūs, valī*), proof of saints (*burhān al-awliyā’*), great one (*buzurgvār*), great king (*shāh-i buzurgvār*), and a sage (*ḥakīm*) in the region. The hagiographical stories locate spiritual guidance, wisdom, insight, authority, genius, a paradigm of perfect commitment to faith and the Ismā‘īlī Imām, spiritual charisma, and intercession with God in his figure.

As the most important saint, Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s multivalent holy persona has played a major role in defining the hopes, desires, practices, values, and ideals of Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs for centuries. He has been revered and honored and his figure has been surrounded by stories in Badakhshān. In his poetry, he himself acknowledges the great honor he received from the people in Yumgān.²⁷ Some four hundred years later, in his *Tadhkirat al-shu‘arā (Memoirs of the Poets)*, produced in 893/1487,²⁸ Amīr

²⁵ As Qudratbek Ēl’chibekov states, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is considered “the main saint” (*glavnyĭ sviatōi*) in Badakhshān. Qudratbek Ēl’chibekov, “Obshchie religiozno-filosofskie i fol’klorno-mifologicheskie obosnovaniia ierarkhii dukhovenstva v sufizme i ismailizme,” in *Religiia i obshchestvennaia mysl’ stran Vostoka*, ed. Bobojon Ghafurov (Moscow: 1974), 307. Nāṣir-i Khusraw has long become the “Ka‘bah of wishes and hopes” (*ka‘bah-i murād*) since ages ago in Badakhshān and the people resort to his shrine for protection, seek safety/salvation and success from him. Shāh ‘Abd Allāh Badakhshī, *Armughān-i Badakhshān*, ed. Farīd Bīzhān (Kabul: Intishārāt-i kamīnah-i davlatī-i ṭab’ va nashr, 1367/1987), 12. Shāh ‘Abd Allāh Badakhshī (1291-1327HSh/1912-1948) was a native of Jurm, Badakhshān.

²⁶ The term *da‘vat-i (Shāh) Nāṣir* particularly refers to one of the Ismā‘īlī traditions known as *Charāgh’rawshan* (literally, “lamp-lighting”). On this ritual, see Umedi Shohzodamhammad, “Sunnati ‘Charoghrahshankunī’- oini islomii ismoiliēni Osiēi Markazī,” in *Nasir Khusraw: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, ed. Sarfaroz Niyozov and Ramazon Nazariyev (Khujiand: Noshir, 2005), 585-91.

²⁷ “Even though Yumgān itself is lowly and worthless, Here I am greatly valued and honoured” (*agar chih khvār ast-u bī-miqdār Yumgān, ma-rā īn jā basī ‘izz ast-u miqdār*), Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Dīvān-i ash‘ār-i Ḥakīm Abū Mu īn Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāṣir-i Khusraw Qubādiyānī*, ed. Ḥājī Sayyid Naṣr Allāh Taqavī (Tehran: Kitābkānah-i Tīhrān, 1305/1926), 144. Alice C. Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan: A Portrait of the Persian Poet, Traveller and Philosopher* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 245.

²⁸ Andrei Bertel’s mentions 1497. Bertel’s, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 157.

Dawlatshāh remarked that the people of Badakhshān had an intense faith in Nāṣir-i Khusraw and “called him *sulṭān* and *shāh*, others a prince, and others say he was a *sayyid*, and others that he spent time atop a mountain subsisting on the fragrance of food.”²⁹ Four centuries later, towards the end of the 19th century, Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat (d. 1288/1871) in his *Rawzat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī* (*The Nasirean Garden of Purity*) stated that the Ismā‘īlī Shī‘īs of Badakhshān (as well as Hazāra[jāt] and Bāmiyān) followed the teachings of their *dā‘īs*, especially the doctrines of one called Shāh Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw ‘Alavī.³⁰ Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s younger contemporary, Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh Abū al-Ma‘ālī in his *Bayān al-adyān* (composed in 485/1092) wrote that Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s “*ṭarīqat*”, the Nāṣiriyyah, arose in Yumgān.³¹ Although the term Nāṣiriyyah is currently not known to be a self-designation for the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs,³² the identification by Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s name testifies to his immense fame in the region. This is even reflected in the article of the eminent Russian scholar of Ismā‘īlism Evgeniĭ Bertel’s (d. 1957) who writes, “[D]own to the present day there has survived in this region [Badakhshān] a little sect known as the Nasiriya, which owes its origin to the “saint Sho Nosir” (*sic*) and tells fantastic stories about its founder.”³³

It is a historical fact that Nāṣir-i Khusraw spent more than fifteen years of his life in the Yumgān valley, a place in Badakhshān, which was his final abode and where he composed most of his surviving works.³⁴ He died in Yumgān at an unknown date after 462/1070 and his shrine (*ziyārat’gāh*) is presently located in that valley, in a village called Ḥazrat-i Sayyid of modern Afghan Badakhshān.³⁵ Whether Nāṣir-i Khusraw was the first to convert the local people is unknown (although the prince who gave him refuge was an Ismā‘īlī), but as an ardent Ismā‘īlī missionary he certainly preached and taught Ismā‘īlism in the region. According to his own testimony, he sent one book with missionary purposes (*yakī kitāb-i da‘vat*) to all parts of the world (*aṭrāf-i jahān*) every year and was the commander of the *shī‘at* in Yumgān.³⁶

²⁹ Dawlatshāh Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-shu‘arā’*, ed. Fāṭimah ‘Alāqah (Tehran: Pazhūhishgāh-i ‘ulūm-i insānī va muṭālī‘āt-i fārhangī, 1385HSh/2007), 108-11. Dawlatshāh Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-shu‘arā’*, ed. Edward Granville Browne (Leiden: Brill, 1900), 61-65. Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 26.

³⁰ Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *Rawzat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, 10 vols., vol. 9 (Tehran: Kitāb-furūshī-yi markazī, 1339HSh/1960), 276.

³¹ Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh Abū al-Ma‘ālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, ed. ‘Abbās Iqbāl Āshtiyānī et al. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Rūzanah, 1375/1997), 55-56.

³² The word Nāṣirī or “a follower of Nāṣir” was certainly in use in the pre-Soviet time. See Chapter Five.

³³ Evgeniĭ Bertel’s, “Nāṣir-i Khusraw,” *EII*.

³⁴ Bertel’s, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 60.

³⁵ For an excellent description of the architecture of the shrine, its meaning to the local people and some historical information, see Marcus Schadl, “The Shrine of Nasir Khusraw: Imprisoned Deep in the Valley of Yumgan,” in *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World*, ed. Gülrü Necipoğlu and Karen A. Leal (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 63-93.

³⁶ “Gratitude to God because of Whose grace I have become the commander over the soul and property of the Shī‘at in Yumgān” (*shukr an khudāy-ra kih bih Yumgān zi faẓl-i ū, bar jān-u māl-i shī‘at farmān’ravā shudam*) in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Divān-i Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, ed. Sayyid Naṣr Allāh Taqavī (Tehran: Kitābkhānah-i Tehran, 1304-7/1925-28), 283:19. *Divān-i ash‘ār*, ed. Mujtabā Mīnuvī and Mahdī Muḥaqqiq (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihān, 1353/1974), 140:36. “Every year I send a *da‘vat* book to all parts of the world” (*har sāl yakī kitāb-i da‘vat, bih aṭrāf-i jahān hamī firistam*). *Ibid.*, 221. Vladimir Ivanow does not answer the questions he poses about what Nāṣir-i Khusraw was doing in Yumgān, whether he was alone or had some disciples, whether his disciples were local people or not and, most importantly, whether he was preaching Ismā‘īlism locally or not. He remarks, “Personally, I would not in the least trust the local tradition of the Badakhshani Ismailis with regards Nasir as the person who converted them to Ismailism.” He also observes, “Nasir, in his

Nāṣir-i Khusraw has attracted the attention of both devotees and detractors, “admirers and critics for a millennium.”³⁷ While his admirers have produced hagiographical stories and legends that depict him in a positive light, his detractors wrote accounts asserting that he was, among many other things, a heretic (*mulhid*) and an irreligious person (*bad'dīn*).³⁸ Modern scholars have paid significant attention to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s extant treatises and collection of poems (*dīvān-i ash‘ār*),³⁹ which have been edited in the original Persian and translated into many languages.⁴⁰ Much has been written about aspects of Nāṣir’s poetry, biography and teachings by orientalist and scholars of Persian literature.⁴¹ Although major portions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life still remain shrouded in mystery,⁴² many scholarly works have shed significant light on aspects of his life and thought. While the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw has attracted significant attention in scholarship, very few studies, which are examined in Chapter One, paid attention to ‘the remembered’ and ‘imagined’ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the saint, among the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. Both the saintly images of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the hagiographies and the views of the followers for whom these images are meaningful must be seen as comparably important; the one cannot be studied in isolation from the other. A study of the saintly images of Nāṣir-i Khusraw will help shed light on aspects of Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī religiosity and the world that has shaped the ideal of his saintliness. As Mark Juergensmeyer states, “saintliness, like beauty, exists largely in the eye of the beholder, and the point of view is as interesting as the object of attention.”⁴³

Sources

This dissertation uses written hagiographical narratives about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. A thorough examination of the sources is provided in Chapters Five, Six and Eight where the stories are introduced and analyzed, but I will briefly mention the main ones here. Many of the stories that appear in the form of hagiography are found in texts that are either composed or copied between the late 10th/16th century and the late 1980s. Some of the manuscripts used for this study are kept in the digital archives of the Research Unit of the Institute of Ismaili Studies (KhRU-IIS) in Khorog, Tajikistan. As

poems, never boasts of successes in his propaganda work, or mentions these in his “reminders” to the Cairo headquarters. This, however, is probably due to the fact that such matters related to the *da‘vat* affairs which were inappropriate for mention in poetry.” Wladimir Ivanow, *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism* (Bombay: Thacker, 1948), 40-42.

³⁷ Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 1.

³⁸ Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines* 2ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 206. Alice Hunsberger investigates the myths, stories and writings about Nāṣir-i Khusraw by his contemporaries and others. Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 17-32. On the myths see also Bertel’s, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 148-60.

³⁹ For Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s extant works, see Chapter Two. For a full list of works still in manuscript, see Ismail K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismā‘īlī Literature* (Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications, 1977), 123.

⁴⁰ For a comprehensive list of scholarly translations and editions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s works see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, 134-40.

⁴¹ Daftary lists close to 200 scholarly works that have been published in various languages on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life and works and other related issues. *Ibid.*, 199-435. For studies on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life and works, see also ‘Alī Mīr Anṣārī, *Kitābshināsī-yi Hakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw Qubādiyānī* (Tehran: Anjuman-i āṣār va makhāfir-i farhangī, 2004).

⁴² Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 217.

⁴³ Mark Juergensmeyer, “Saint Gandhi,” in *Saints and Virtues*, ed. John S. Hawley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 188.

the manuscripts were in the process of being catalogued, they were assigned temporary accession numbers (e.g. MS Folder 232, USBk8, etc.). While some Folders hold only one manuscript written by one scribe, others contain images of various codices with manuscripts copied by different scribes at different times. Some folders contain manuscripts with texts copied by the same scribe in different years. For these reasons, I always provide references in the footnotes and offer as much information as possible about the texts. Among other things, readers will find information about the dates of transcription and the scribes (if the information is available) in the footnotes. The texts referred to in the chapters can be easily located in the Folders, but for the poems (some of which are very similar in style and diction), I provide a transcription of the first verse along with an English translation. One of the main reasons for doing so is to allow researchers to locate them easily even if the accession numbers (with which I was provided between 2011 and 2013 at KhRU-IIS) are changed for some reason.

Apart from the material from the archives of KhRU-IIS, I used photocopies of manuscripts that are kept in the library of the Oriental Institute of the Tajik Academy of Sciences (OITAS) in Dushanbe, Tajikistan. Brief descriptions of these manuscripts are found in Andreï Evgen'evich Bertel's and Mamadvafo Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog Rukopiseĭ, Obnaruzhennykh V Gorno-Badakhshanskoĭ Avtonomnoĭ Oblasti*, ed. Bobojon Ghafurov (Moscow: Nauka, 1967). The accession numbers for the manuscripts in the Bertel's and Baqoev collection have remained unchanged since 1967. In addition to these, I used manuscripts that are in the archives of the Khorog Institute for Humanities (KIH) and the private collections (PC) of the Ismā'īlīs of Shughnān. The manuscripts in KIH are photocopies of manuscripts kept in paper folders (referred to by their Russian name *papka*).

For our purposes, the sources used for this dissertation are divided into four categories: the earliest, early, middle, and late hagiographical accounts about Nāṣir-i Khusraw:

1. The earliest sources are the different variants of the *Risālat al-nadāmah fī zād al-qiyāmah* (*A Treatise on Provisions of Repentance for the Journey to the Resurrection*), which seems to have been composed in the 10th/16th century. Its first extant recension was included in the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār va zubdat al-afkār* (*The Essence of the Poems*) of Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥusaynī Kāshī (d. after 1016/1607 or 1608) sometime around 993/1585. A shorter version of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* appeared almost a decade later in the *Haft Iqlīm* (*The Seven Climes*) (finished in 1002/1594) of the Persian biographer Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī (d. sometime in the 11th/17th century). Another version of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* emerged in the *Ātashkadah* (*Fire Temple*) of Ḥājjī Luṭf 'Alī Bīg Āzar (d. 1195/1781), completed shortly before his death around 1193/1779. In Badakhshān, the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, among other names (e.g. *Sarguzasht-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (*The Story of Nāṣir-i Khusraw*) and the *Safar'nāmah-i Sayyid*

Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*The Book of Travels of Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, not to be confused with the well-known travelogue by Nāṣir-i Khusraw which bears the same title), is known with its Persian title of *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* (*A Treatise on Repentance for the Day of Resurrection*). The earliest copy of the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* that I have identified is dated 1078/1667. This text is found in MS Folder 232 in the archives of KhRU-IIS. Its shorter version, dated 1144/1732, is found in a codex that is kept in the Bertel's and Baqoev collection in the archives of OITAS with the accession number 1959/24a.⁴⁴ I use these four recensions in my examination and analysis of this early Badakhshānī hagiographical account about Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

2. The early hagiographical works are 1) the *Dar manqabat-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Haft band* (*On the Virtues of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Seven Volumes*) of a Badakhshānī poet who wrote under the pseudonym of Ḥusaynī and 2) the *Dar manqabat-i Sayyid Nāṣir, az Mahjūr bih tarz-i Kāshī* (*On the Virtues of Sayyid Nāṣir by Mahjūr in Kāshī's Style*), by Mahjūr, a 12th/18th century poet who was most likely from Badakhshān. The earliest appearance of the *Haft band* is in a manuscript copied in 1151/1738, but the poem seems to have been composed in 1117/1705. Its digitized copy is kept in the archives of KhRU-IIS with the accession number of MS Folder 220. It is also found in MS Folder 12, copied in 1395/1975 by Gulzār Khān, in the same archives. Ḥusaynī most likely lived in the second half of the 11th/17th and first half of the 12th/18th century. His *Haft band* is a poetic composition dedicated to the glorification of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and is composed in imitation of the *Haft band* of the 7th/13th century Shī'ī poet Ḥasan-i Kāshī (Mawlānā Ḥasan-i Kāshī) that is in praise of the first Shī'ī Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Some may argue that the *Haft band* is not a hagiographical account, since, unlike the other accounts, it does not tell stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but merely praises his saintly qualities. As discussed in Chapter One, this dissertation moves beyond the “narrower” and traditional definition of a genre-specific term.⁴⁵ In this study, hagiographical data are anything that portray Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an important saint and their form and genre vary from pseudo-autobiographical accounts to poetry, from popular, romantic and mystical epic replete with stories to simple sayings, and so on.⁴⁶ A copy of Mahjūr's *Dar manqabat-i Sayyid Nāṣir* belongs to the PC of Khalīfah Farrukhrūz Ibrāhīm in Sūchān, Shughnān. It is also found in MS Folder 21 (copied by Mullā Nuṣrat Allāh Darvīsh in 1377/1958) in the archives of KhRU-IIS.

⁴⁴ Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 64-65 (#137, (MS 1959/24a). There is a typo in the catalogue. The date of the transcription is on page 65b of the codex in which the text appears, not on page 65a as the catalogue indicates.

⁴⁵ On the “narrower” definition of the term, see John Renard, *Tales of God's Friends: Islamic Hagiography in Translation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 7.

3. The middle hagiographical accounts, composed between the second half of the 12th/18th and the beginning of the 14th/20th centuries are the first chapter (*bāb-i avval*) of the *Kalām-i pīr* (*The Sage's Discourse*), one of the most sacred texts in Badakhshān (the earliest copy of which was written in 1207/1794),⁴⁷ the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* (*The Pearl Scatterer*), composed sometime between 1244/1829 and 1246/1837 (OITAS, accession number 1961/29b),⁴⁸ the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir* (*The Book of Travels of Nāšir*)⁴⁹ (also known as *Jāmi' al-ḥikāyāt va baḥr al-akhbār* or *A Collection of Stories and Sea of Traditions*) (copied in 1337/1918)⁵⁰ and the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* (*The History of the Shrines in the Mountains*), written sometime in the beginning of the 14th/20th century.⁵¹

4. The late hagiographical sources, produced during Soviet time (1925-1990), include the *Āmadan-i Nāšir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* (*The Arrival of Nāšir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān*), a text that was composed in Persian by Sayyid Yūsuf Shāh in 1395/1975 in Shughnān. A copy of this text is currently kept in the private library of the late Durmanchah-i Zivārī in Shughnān. The other text containing hagiographical stories, titled *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāšir* (*On Nāšir-i Khusraw*), was apparently copied from another work in 1396/1976 in Shughnān. According to this text, the original on the basis of which this copy was made belonged to a certain Sayyid Gawhar. Whether Sayyid Gawhar is the author the original work or the owner of a copy that served as a source for the current one is unknown. This text belongs to Sayyid Naẓar from Navābād in Shughnān. The third text that contains hagiographical stories about Nāšir-i Khusraw is the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw*. This text, which is also called *Dar javāb bih afsānah va ḥaqīqat* (*In Response to Tales and Truth*) at the beginning, was composed in Persian script in 1403/1982 by Sayyid Yāmīn in Shughnān. A copy of this manuscript belongs to the personal library of Rizvān Shāh in Navābād, Shughnān.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 6-8.

⁴⁷ The *Kalām-i pīr*, also known as the *Haft Bāb-i Shāh Sayyid Nāšir* in Badakhshān, was edited in the original Persian and published by Wladimir Ivanow in 1935. Harātī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*. Ivanow's published *Kalām-i pīr* is based on two copies dated 1207/1794 and 1219/1804. He attributes the authorship of the *Kalām-i pīr* to an Ismā'īlī author Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī (d. after 960/1553). Copies of the *Kalām-i pīr* are numerous in Badakhshān. Two digitized copies of it titled *Haft Bāb-i Ḥaẓrat Sulṭān Shāh Sayyid Nāšir* and *Haft Bāb-i Shāh Sayyid Nāšir*, copied in 1333/1915 and 1337/1919 respectively, are kept in the archives of KhRU-IIS. Their temporary accession numbers are 23/8 and 36/14. Also, among other early copies of the treatise are those in the Ivan I. Zarubin (dated 1321/1904, accession number C1707) and Aleksandr Semēnov (dated 1333/1915, accession number C1706) collections kept in the archives of OIMRAS. For a description of the *Haft Bāb* in Zarubin collection, see entry #3 in Wladimir Ivanow, "Ismailitskie rukopisi Aziatskogo muzeia (Sobranie I. Zarubina, 1916 g.)," *Izvestiia Akademii nauk* 2/6 (1917): 359-86. For a description of the *Haft Bāb* in Semēnov collection, see entry #9 in Aleksandr Semēnov, "Opisanie ismailitskikh rukopisei, sobrannykh A. A. Semēnovym," *Izvestiia Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* (1918).

⁴⁸ Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 85-88.

⁴⁹ The Tajik pronunciation of the title is *Sayohatnomai Nosir*, but as the text is in the Persian script, I chose to write *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir* throughout the dissertation.

⁵⁰ Raḥimqul Raḥmonqulov published the text of the *Baḥr ul-akhbār* in Tajik. Saidjaloli Badakhshī?, *Baḥr ul-akhbār*, ed. R. Raḥmonqulov (Khorog: Pomir, 1992).

⁵¹ This manuscript is kept in the Ivan Zarubin archive of OIMRAS (fund (ф.) #121, catalogue (оп.) #1, file (ед. xp.) #336).

It should be noted that this division does not suggest that the late hagiographical stories, found in the sources produced during the Soviet period, are all new. Many of the legends recorded in these sources resonate with legends found in written texts before the establishment of the Soviet Union and it is likely that the earliest written sources are, in fact, based on a much more ancient oral tradition. But, common elements notwithstanding, there are differences between the earliest, early, middle and late Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiographical sources in terms of selection and presentation of the material, authorial motives and agendas. All of them speak to the contingencies of the historical environment in which they were produced. These sources will be the focus of our attention since they help us to demonstrate the evolution of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s hagiography and its role in the socio-political world of the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān.

This dissertation will primarily introduce and analyze sources listed above. To clarify certain points in the introduction, analysis and historical contextualization of these sources, I will use a number of texts produced or copied in Badakhshān. These sources, some of which have never been studied before and are not listed in Poonawala’s *Biobibliography of Ismā‘īlī Literature*, include:

- The *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw (The Story of Nāṣir-i Khusraw)*, the earliest known version of which was copied in 11th/17th century, while its most recent version was transcribed in the early 20th century. The text in question is in MS Folder 232 (dated 1078/1667), MS Folder 223 (dated 1221/1806), MS Folder 207 (dated 1310/1892), MS Folder 50 (the date given is difficult to read, either 1121/1709 or 1217/1802), MS Folder 175 (undated, probably early 20th century) and MS Folder 5 (undated, late copy, sometime in the 20th century) in the archives of KhRU-IIS.
- A *qaṣīdah* by a certain Mawlānā Afshangī, composed sometime before 1078/1667, the date of MS Folder 232 in which it is included. It is also reproduced in MS Folder 207 (dated 1310/1892). Digitized copies of both manuscripts are in the archives of KhRU-IIS.
- The *Salām'nāmah (The Book of Salutations)* and the *qaṣīdahs* of the Shughnānī Ismā‘īlī poet Shāh Z̤iyā (fl. 10th/16th century), kept in the libraries and archives of OITAS, KhRU-IIS, and KIH. The *Salām'nāmah* is found in MS 1962/17 of the Bertel’s and Baqoev collection. A digitized copy of this work is in MS Folder 101i (KhRU-IIS), copied by Sayyid Munīr ibn Muḥammad Qāsim in 1357/1938. Some *qaṣīdahs* of Shāh Z̤iyā are included in MS 1954/24v in the library of OITAS. Other *qaṣīdahs* are kept in MS Folder (*Papka*) 21 (ff. 5-6, ff. 9-12) in the archives of KIH. Shāh Z̤iyā’s pen name was Z̤iyāyī. As he is better known by his pen name, I will refer to him as Shāh Z̤iyāyī throughout the dissertation.
- The *Sirāj al-Mu`minīn (The Believers’ Lamp)* (completed sometime before 1206/1792) and poetry of the 18th century Ismā‘īlī poet Nazmī Shughnānī. A photographed copy of Nazmī’s *Sirāj al-*

Mu'minīn (MS 1960/4ab) is in the Bertel's and Baqoev collection in OITAS. Nazmī's poetry can also be found in the archives of KIH (MS Folder (*Papka*) 21 (f. 25) and MS Folder 22 (ff. 94-95)), MS1960/4v in the archives of OITAS and in the works of the late Tajik scholar Amirbek Ĥabibov.⁵²

- The early 18th century Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī poet Mīrzā Kūchak's *qaṣīdahs* and *munājāt*. A copy of his *qaṣīdahs* (odes) and *munājāt* (whispered prayers) is kept in MS Folder (*Papka*) 21 (ff. 125-146) of the archives of KIH. One of the poet's *munājāt* is in MSGK130 (copied in 1309/1892) in KhRU-IIS.
- The *Haft Nuktah* (*Seven Aphorisms*) (completed in the 9th/15th century). The text is found in MS 43 in the library of IIS, MSGK152, MS Folder 28 (copied in 1367/1948), MS Folder 175 (early 20th century) and MS Folder 8 (lithograph edition prepared in 1381/1962) in the archives of KhRU-IIS.
- The *Haft Nuktah min fuṣūl-i Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī* (*Seven Aphorisms from the Epistles of 'Alī, the Prince of the Believers*), completed sometime before 1078/1667. The text is included in MS Folder 232 (dated 1078/1667) in KhRU-IIS and MS 1959/24d of the Bertel's and Baqoev collection in the archives of OITAS.
- The *Haft Arkān* (*Seven Pillars*), completed sometime before 1078/1667. The earliest extant copy of the text is found in MS Folder 232 (dated 1078/1667) and MS Folder 207 (dated 1310/1892) in KhRU-IIS. There are a number of redactions with this title that are briefly examined in Chapter Two.
- A *Du'ā* (*Invocation*) providing a list of Muḥammad Shāhī Imāms (completed sometime between 994-1032/1586-1622). The *Du'ā* is part of a collection of texts included in MS Folder 232 (dated 1078/1667) and MS Folder 207 (dated 1310/1892) in KhRU-IIS.
- A *Du'ā* (*Invocation*) providing a list of Qāsim Shāhī Imāms (completed sometime between 885-904/1480-1498). It is also found in MS Folder 232 (dated 1078/1667) and MS Folder 207 (dated 1310/1892) in KhRU-IIS.
- The *Mukhammas az Ḥusaynī* (*Ḥusaynī's pentastich*) that is included in MS Folder 12 (*Mukhammas az Ḥusaynī*, copied in 1395/1975) (KhRU-IIS).
- The *qaṣīdah* of Ātashī (or Ātishī) that is found in a codex with the accession number of MSGK131 in the archives of KhRU-IIS. Some of the works included in the codex were copied in 1170/1757 and 1171/1758. The part containing the *qaṣīdah* of Ātashī was also most likely copied at this time.
- *Nām-i chahār'dah ma'ṣūmān-i pāk* (*The Names of the Fourteen Pure Ones*) (date of composition is unknown). This work is in MS 1959/14e, which is preserved in the Bertel's and Baqoev collection in the library of OITAS. A digitized copy of the work titled *Bāb dar bayān-i chahār'dah ma'ṣūm*

⁵² Amirbek Ĥabibov, *Ganji Badakhshon* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1972). *Az ta'rīkhi ravobiti adabii Badakhshon bo Hinduston* (Dushanbe: Donish, 1991).

(*A Chapter on The Twelve Pure Ones*) (copied in 1392/1972) is kept in the archives of KIH (no accession number).

- The *Charāgh'nāmah* (also known as the *Qandil'nāmah*), composed sometime before the early 12th/18th or early 13th/19th century. Copies of the text are found in MS Folder 50 (the date given is difficult to read, either 1121/1709 or 1217/1802), MSGK93 (copied in 1387/1967), MS USBk54 (undated), Folder 168 (undated) and Folder 206 (undated) in the archives of KhRU-IIS.
- The *Āghāz-i Charāgh'nāmah* (undated, but judged by other texts included in the codex, copied sometime during the imamate of Imām Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh (r. 1232-1298/1817-1881). It is found in MS Folder 164, ff. 81a-84a (KhRU-IIS).
- The *Nasabnāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (*Genealogy of Nāṣir-i Khusraw*), in MS 1961/29b (dated 1219/1804) of the Bertel's and Baqoev collection in the library of OITAS. Digitized copies of the *Nasabnāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* are in MSGK92 (dated 1344/1925) and MS Folder 224 (undated) (KhRU-IIS).
- The *Dīvān-i Ja'farī*, completed sometime before the first half of the 13th/19th century. The *Dīvān-i Ja'farī* is in MS Folder 169 in the archives of KhRU-IIS. The *Dīvān-i Ja'farī* is also available in the library of OITAS in the Bertel's and Baqoev's collection with the accession number of 1962/15. Ja'far (or Ja'farī) lived in the 13th/19th century, in the village of Khāsa, Pārshinīv. His full name is Sayyid Ja'far ibn Sayyid Shāh Tīmūr. The *Dīvān-i Ja'farī*, kept in the Bertel's and Baqoev's collection, was copied in 1270/1854.⁵³
- The *Dar bayān-i haft ḥadd-i jismānī* (*On the Seven Physical Ranks*) (copied in 1367/1947). The work is in MS 1959/7z of the Bertel's and Baqoev collection in the library of OITAS.
- The *Bāb dar bayān-i ṭarīqat va ḥaqīqat* (*A Chapter on the Path and the Truth*) (no date). The text is in MS 1959/14zh of the Bertel's and Baqoev collection in the library of OITAS.
- The *Safar'nāmah-i Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (*The Book of Travels of Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*) (copied in 1385/1965). Its temporary access number in the archives of KhRU-IIS is USBk8. This work, titled *Savāniḥ-i 'umrī*, was published in Mirzā Muḥammad Malik al-Kātib, ed. *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw-i 'Alavī ma'a savāniḥ-i 'umrī* (Bombay: [1860?]) and in Tajik by Sardori Azorabek as “Safarnomai Ḥaẓrati Sayyid Nosiri Khusravi quddusi sara (sic)” in 1992.⁵⁴
- An untitled text containing Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hagiography (copied in 1321/1903), found in MS Folder 171 in the archives of KhRU-IIS.
- The *Risālah-i afsānah va ḥaqīqat* (*A Treatise on Tale and Truth*) of Shāh Sulaymān son of (valad-i) Qurbān Shāh, completed in 1976, a digital copy of which is kept in KhRU-IIS. Its temporary accession number is MSGK50.

⁵³ On it, see Bertel's and Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 46.

⁵⁴ Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 55-69.

- The *Hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-tālibīn* (*Guidance for the Seeking Believers*) of Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Fidāʿī Khurāsānī (d. 1342/1923), composed sometime during the early 20th century. This treatise was edited and published by Aleksandr Semēnov (d. 1958) in 1959.⁵⁵
- A text containing a foundational narrative about a figure known as Afāq(ī) who is believed to be the ancestor of a line of *pīrs* in Shākh'darah (MS Folder 92, KhRU-IIS). This text is undated (it only mentions Saturday (*yawm-i shanbih*)), but it seems to have been copied sometime during Soviet times. Although the text does not have a title, it is registered under *Shajarah'nāmah-i pīrān-i mawrūṣī-i vādī-i Shākh'darah* (*The Genealogy of the Hereditary Pīrs of the Shākh'darah Valley*) in the temporary handlist of manuscripts at KhRU-IIS. The actual *Nasab'nāmah* follows this text in the manuscript.
- The *Min kalām-i Amrī* (*From Amrī's Words*), a *qaṣīdah*, apparently by Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad Kūhpā'ī or Amrī Shīrāzī (d. 999/1590-91). The *qaṣīdah*, which is about signs of the emergence of the Imām of the time, is in MS Folder 13 (copied in 1394/1974) (KhRU-IIS).
- The *Manqabat-i sharīf-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (*The Noble Manqabat of Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*), found in MS Folder 12 (transcribed in 1395/1975 in Shughnān) (KhRU-IIS).
- The *Mukhammas-i Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw dar na't-i Sayyid al-mursalīn* (*Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Pentastich in praise of the master of the messengers*). This elegiac *qaṣīdah* is attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It is also included in MS Folder 12 (transcribed in 1395/1975 in Shughnān) (KhRU-IIS).
- *Duvāzdah faṣl* (*Twelve Chapters*), in MS Folder 19 (KhRU-IIS). This text is undated.

In analyzing the hagiographies, I will also refer to Nāṣir-i Khusraw's own works. These include 1) The *Dīvān*, a) The edition of Sayyid Naṣr Allāh Taqavī et al., with an introduction by Ḥasan Taqī'zādah (Tehran: Kitābkhānah-i Tehran, 1304-7HSh/1925-28). This edition, which includes the poetic *Rawshanā'ī-nāmah* and the *Sa'ādat'nāmah*, attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, is designated in the footnotes as *Dīvān* (Taqavī), b) *Dīvān-i ash'ār*, ed. Mujtabā Mīnuvī and Mahdī Muḥaqqīq (Tehran: Dānīshgāh-i Tehran, 1353 HSh/1974), designated in the footnotes as *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī); *Safar'nāmah* (*Book of Travels*) in its original Persian, and Russian and English translations: E. Bertel's's Russian of the book, *Nasir-i Khosrov: Kniga putestvīiā* (Leningrad: 1933), *Naser-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnama)*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986) and *Safar'nāmah*, ed. Nādir Vazīnpūr (Tehran: Riyāsat-i Nashrāt, 1370/1991); The Tajik edition of the *Vajh-i dīn*, *Vajhi din*, ed. Aliqul Devonaqulov and Nurmuḥammad Amirshohī (Dushanbe: Amr-i Ilm, 2002); *Zād al-musāfirīn*, ed., Muḥammad Badhl al-Raḥmān (Berlin: Kaviānī, 1341/1923); *Shish faṣl, yā Rawshanā'ī-nāma-yi naṣr*, trans. Wladimir Ivanow (Leiden: Brill, 1949); *Kitāb jāmi' al-*

⁵⁵ Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Fidāʿī Khurāsānī, *Kitāb bih hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-tālibīn*, ed. Aleksandr Semēnov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoi Literatury, 1959).

hikmatayn, ed. Henry Corbin and Muḥammad Muʿīn as *Kitab-e Jami' al-Hikmatain: Le livre réunissant les deux sagesse, ou harmonie de la philosophie Grecque et de la théosophie Ismaélienne*, Bibliothèque Iranienne, 3 (Tehran: Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien, 1953).

To explore elements of the written hagiographical sources in the oral hagiographical tradition of Badakhshān, I will use the stories recorded during the Soviet time between 1962 and 1986. Records of these stories are kept in the archives of KIH (with accession numbers of FP1: 7510-7513, FFVI: 1461, FFVI: 1504) and ILLR in Dushanbe (with accession numbers of FFVI: 1448, FFVI: 1443). Some of them (including stories with accession numbers of FSH11:1729-1730, FFVII:1506-1508, FSH11: 4265-4274, FB1: 2666-2668, FSH11:8516-8518, VI: 1445-1448 in the archives of KIH and ILLR) were published in Nisormamad Shakarmamadov's *La"li kūḥsor* (Khorog: 2003), *Folklori Pomir*, vol. 4 (Dushanbe: 2015) and *Folklori Pomir*, vol. 2 (Dushanbe: 2005). In addition, I will use hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw that appear in some early 20th century Russian ethnographic works. These sources include works by Alekseĭ A. Bobrinskoĭ (d. 1927), who visited Badakhshān at the dawn of the 20th century.⁵⁶ To draw further parallels between our sources and other recorded hagiographical narratives, I will refer to Ibrāhīm Bāmiyānī, *Afsānahā-yi tāriḵhī-i Nāṣir-i Khusrav dar Badakhshān* (Pīshāvar: 1377/1998), Amirbek Ḥabibov, "Chashmai Nosiri Khusrav: rivoi'athoi khalqī dar borai Nosiri Khusrav," *Ilm va ḥayot* 11 (1990), Toḥir Qalandarov, "Agiografiā 'apostola pamirskikh ismailitov'," *Ētnograficheskoe Obozrenie* 2 (2004), Ioann Gornenskiĭ, *Legendy Pamira i Gindukusha* (Moscow: Aleteiā, 2000) and relevant articles in *Nasir Khusraw: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, ed. Niyoʻzov and Nazariyev (Khujand: Noshir, 2005).

For information about Nāṣir-i Khusraw's life and teachings, the history of Ismā'īlism in general and the socio-political history of Badakhshān, I will use primary and secondary sources produced in English, German, French, Russian, Persian, Tajik and Arabic languages. Information on these sources will be provided in footnotes and a complete list of all these sources can be found in the bibliography. The primary sources related specifically to Badakhshān are: The *Ta'riḵh-i Shughnān* (*The History of Shughnān*) of Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh (d. 1355/1936), completed in 1330/1912. Aleksandr Semēnov translated and published this work in Russian as "Istoriā Shugnana (Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh's *Ta'riḵh-i Shughnān*)," *Protokoly Turkestanskogo kruzḥka liūbiteleĭ arkheologii* 2 (1917): 1-24. The other important sources are the two works on the history of Badakhshān, both of which carry the title of *Ta'riḵh-i Badakhshān*. The first *Ta'riḵh-i Badakhshān* is by Sang Muḥammad Badakhshī and Faẓl 'Alī Bek Surkhafsar. It was translated into Russian by A.N. Boldyrev and S.E. Grigor'ev (Moscow: Izdatel'skaia firma "Vostochnaia literatura", 1997). The same work was published in Tajik as Sangmuḥammad Badakhshī and Fazlalibek Surkhafsar, *Ta"riḵh-i Badakhshon*, ed. Gholib

⁵⁶Alekseĭ A. Bobrinskoĭ, *Gorĭsy verkhov'ev Pīandzha (Vakhanĭsy i Ishkashimĭsy)* (Moscow: 1908). "Sakta Ismail'ia v Russkikh i Bukharskikh predelakh Srednei Azii. Geograficheskoe rasprostranenie i organizatsiia," *Ētnograficheskoe Obozrenie* 2 (1902).

Ghoibov and Mahmudjon Kholov (Dushanbe: Donish, 2007). The first author, Sang Muḥammad Badakhshī,⁵⁷ wrote the first part of the *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān* in 1223/1808 and the second author, Faẓl 'Alī Bek Surkhafsar, completed the remaining part of the work in 1325/1907. The other *Tā'rikh-i Badakhshān* was composed by Ākhūnd Sulaymān Qurbān'zādah (d. 1373/1953) and Sayyid Shāh Fiṭūr Muḥabbat Shāh'zādah (d. 1379/1959). This work was edited in the original Persian by Bahodur Iskandarov as *Tā'rikh-i Badakhshān*, ed. Bahodur Iskandarov (Moscow: Glavnaia Redaktsiia Vostochnoi Literatury, 1973). There seems to have been a third work titled *Tā'rikh-i Badakhshān* written by Muḥammad Ḥusayn in the 18th century, but this work is not extant today. The late Afghan scholar Shāh 'Abd Allāh Badakhshī (d. 1367/1948) had apparently used this source for his *Armughān-i Badakhshān*. This work was edited and published by Farid Ullah Bezhan (Shāh 'Abd Allāh Badakhshī, *Armughān-i Badakhshān*, ed. Farid Ullah Bezhan (Kabul: Intishārāt-i kamīnah-i davlatī-i ṭab' va nashr, 1367HSh/1987)). Apart from these four sources, I will use Burhān al-Dīn Kushkakī's *Rāh'namāh-i Qattaghān va Badakhshān* (Kābul: 1925), which provides useful information about the geography and socio-political and cultural life of Badakhshān. This work was translated into Russian as *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, trans. et al. P.P. Vvedenskii (Tashkent: 1926). Other primary sources directly related to the history of Badakhshān that will be used in this study are Qurbān Shāh Zuhūr Bīk'zādah and Gharīb Muḥammad Qāzī'zādah's *Qaydhā-i Ta'rikhī (Historical Notes)*, found in MS 1963/7 in the library of OITAS and the "Material regarding to the history of West Pamir (1932)" of an anonymous author, included in Leonid N. Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo v T'Sentral'noi Azii i Ismailizm* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1995), 218-231.

Finally, the decrees (*farmāns*) and documents confirming receipts of religious dues sent by Imām Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh Āghā Khān I (r. 1232-1298/1817-1881) and Imām Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Āghā Khān III (r. 1302-1376/1885-1957) to the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān will shed some light on the nature of the contact between the Imām and the Ismailis of Badakhshān. These documents are published in Kawahara Yayoi and Umed Mamadsherozodshoev, eds., *Documents from Private Archives in Right-Bank Badakhshan (Facsimiles)*, TIAS Central Eurasian Research Series 8 (Tokyo: Department of Islamic Area Studies, Center for Evolving Humanities, Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, University of Tokyo, 2013). Digitized copies of some of these documents are kept in Folder 230 and Folder 231 in the archives of KhRU-IIS.

⁵⁷ As Farid Ullah Bezhan argues, based on internal evidence in the work, the first author of the *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān* is not Sang Muḥammad, but another person named Muḥammad Rizā, a scribe at the court of *amīr* Muḥammad-Shāh (r. 1206-1223/1792-1808). See Farid Ullah Bezhan, "The Enigmatic Authorship of Tārikh-i Badakhshān," *East and West* 58, no. 1/4 (2008): 110.

Conclusions and Organization

The dissertation seeks to answer the following questions:

- What are the general images and portrayals of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshānī hagiography?
- What do these images and portrayals reveal about the perceptions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's sanctity among Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs in pre-Soviet and Soviet times?
- What does the content of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hagiography reflect about the spiritual, social, political, and economic realities of the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān?
- What do the images and portrayals of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshānī hagiographical works tell us about the social conditions, values, concerns and aspirations of the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān in the period in which these works were composed?
- What are the agendas and authorial motives of the hagiographical narratives about Nāṣir-i Khusraw?
- In what ways has Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hagiography evolved in Badakhshān?
- What are the continuities and changes in the evolution of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hagiography in Badakhshān?
- What do these continuities and changes tell us about the influence of the socio-political context on the choice of material, motives and agendas of the hagiographies?

In examining the sources, this dissertation puts forward the following arguments and conclusions:

- I. Contrary to an opinion commonly accepted in scholarship, I argue that it is the Shī'īs in Badakhshān, who are none other than the Ismā'īlīs, who were behind the composition of the earliest hagiographical account about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the *Risālat al-nadāmah fī zād al-qiyyamah*, henceforth referred to as the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. I demonstrate that the views of some scholars about the agendas of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* are erroneous. The most common scholarly opinion is that the *Risālat al-nadāmah* was composed by Sunnīs whose agenda was to “sunnicize” Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁵⁸ Based on a close analysis of the text in its four recensions that appear in the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, *Haft Iqlīm*, *Ātashkadah* and the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyyāmat*, I

⁵⁸ Maryam Mu'izzī, for instance, writes that these accounts present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Sunnī (*fard-i ahl-i tasannun*). Maryam Mu'izzī, "Ta'rīkh-i Ismā'īlyān-i Badakhshān" (Ph.D. Diss., Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt va 'Ulūm-i Insānī, Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 1381/2002), 156. *Ismā'īlyah-i Badakhshān* (Tehran: Pazhūhishkadeh-i Tārīkh-i Islāmī, 1395/2017), 118-19. Bertel's has also noted that all these accounts regard Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an “orthodox” Muslim (*pravovernyī musul'manin*), by which he means “Sunnī,” as he describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as “an heretic” (*eretik*). Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 152. See also Rizā Māyil Haravī, "Afsānah-hā va qīṣṣah-hā dar bāra-yi Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw Qubādiyānī Balkhī," in *Yādnāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (Mashhad: Dānishgāh-i Firdawsī, 1976), 451-64. Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 162.

demonstrate that the text contains prominent Shī‘ī elements that cannot be explained away by the proponents of the theory regarding the “sunnicization” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Moreover, other elements clearly indicate that the *Risālat al-nadāmah* was composed in Badakhshān. My contention is that the *Risālat al-nadāmah* was composed in the 10th/16th century in Badakhshān. These was a period when the local Sunnī Tīmūrīd rulers, who enjoyed the support of the Ṣafavids of Iran in their fights against the Sunnī anti-Shī‘ī Shaybānids, seem to have tolerated Twelver Shī‘ism, but were hostile to the Ismā‘īlīs. There is evidence in the local Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī literature composed during the 10th/16th century showing that the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs praised both the Twelver Shī‘ī and the Nizārī (both Qāsim Shāhī and Muḥammad Shāhī) Imāms. During the 10th/16th century, Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Imāms (the Qāsim Shāhīs in Iran and the Muḥammad Shāhīs first in Iran and later in India) practiced pious circumspection under the cover of Twelver Shī‘ism. The Imāms of both lines had followers in Badakhshān who seem to have taken after them in their pious circumspection in the guise of this Shī‘ī branch. For this reason, the most important agenda of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* is to present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an acceptable Muslim, not only to the ruling Sunnīs, but also to Twelver Shī‘īs. The work traces Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s familial genealogy back to the Twelver Shī‘ī Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799). There, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is presented as a pious, ascetic and deeply religious individual who has faith in the oneness of God and His Messenger. It responds to age-long accusations of heresy and unbelief that many Sunnī and Twelver Shī‘ī authors leveled against Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The agendas of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* are, in many ways, rather apologetic and are noticeably different from the early, middle and late hagiographical sources. I argue that the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān composed this work with a single purpose: to portray Nāṣir-i Khusraw in a manner that renders not only him, but also his followers, the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān, known as the Nāṣirīyyah (i.e. followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw), acceptable to other Muslims. This should be understood in relation to the socio-political environment in which the work was produced.

- II. The second half of the 11th/17th and the first half of the 12th/18th century mark a certain transition in the Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. During this period, Badakhshānī poets who wrote under the pen names of Ḥusaynī and Mahjūr composed their *Dar manqabat-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Haft band* (*On the Virtues of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Seven Volumes*) and the *Dar manqabat-i Sayyid Nāṣir* (*On the Virtues of Sayyid Nāṣir*) respectively. Unlike previous accounts about Nāṣir-i Khusraw (e.g. the different variants in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (*The Story of Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, produced sometime before 1078/1667), which only portray Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a wise and learned man who was chosen to lead the *da‘vah* in Khurāsān and Badakhshān by the Ismā‘īlī Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh (d. 487/1094)), Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* and Mahjūr’s *Dar manqabat-i Sayyid Nāṣir* revere Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint. Similarly,

unlike the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, their presentation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a specifically Shī'ī saint is unambiguous. The poems include Shī'ī elements common to all, but the distinguishing factors between communities tend to point toward Twelver Shī'ism. In addition to portraying Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a great saint capable of performing marvels, they seem to identify him with the Mahdī, mentioned after the eleven Twelver Shī'ī Imāms. During this period, the Ismā'īlī Imāms, who had contacts with the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān, continued to practice pious circumspection under the cloak of Twelver Shī'ism and Ṣūfism. As the Imāms did not operate publicly as Ismā'īlī leaders, the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān also remained under the guise of Twelver Shī'ism and Ṣūfism. This period coincides with the rule of the founder of the Yārid dynasty, Mīr Yār Bīk (1068/1657-1118/1706), who enjoyed the support of the Badakhshānīs. The sources examined do not describe Mīr Yār Bīk, who was a Ṣūfī, as having harbored any sort of antagonism towards Shī'īs. This environment naturally had an influence on the way Nāṣir-i Khusraw was presented, in a rather glorifying fashion, in the *Haft Band*. The *Haft Band* associates Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Twelver Shī'ism, but many of its elements are found in the middle hagiographical accounts about Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

- III. The middle hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw take in elements from the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* and Ḥusaynī's *Haft band*. They trace his genealogy back to the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms and still attempt to present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an acceptable Muslim to other Muslim communities, including Sunnīs, Twelver Shī'īs and Ṣūfīs. During their period of composition (the second half of the 12th/18th and the beginning of the 14th/20th century), the Ismā'īlīs remained under the rule of Sunnīs who saw them as heretics and unbelievers. At the same time, some major developments occurred since at least the second quarter of the 18th century in Ismā'īlī history and the history of Badakhshān. The power of the Sunnī and the later anti-Ismā'īlī Yārid rulers considerably weakened during this period. The Persian conqueror Nādir Shāh (1148-1160/1736-1747), who was closely associated with the Ismā'īlī Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Beg (also known as Sayyid Ḥasan 'Alī, d. after 1167/1754), brought Badakhshān under his authority when, in 1150/1737-8, Rizā Qulī, his son, defeated and executed its ruler. Also, the Afghan Durrānīd dynasty (established in 1159/1747) significantly reduced the power of the Yārids and by 1178/1765 (or 1181/1768-69) even brought major parts of Badakhshān into its domain. Members of the Yārid dynasty also engaged in internecine warfare, which further contributed to their downfall. Other external powers like the Khvājagāns of Yārqand, the Qunduzid Qubād Khān and his representatives who claimed authority over Badakhshān contributed to the creation of political chaos in the region in the 18th century. The *shāhs* of Darvāz defeated the army of the Yārid Sulṭān Shāh in 1162/1748 and since then continued to pose a serious challenge to the Yārids. The ruler of Shughnān, Shāh Vanjī also rose

to defy the Yārīds in the second half of the 18th century. Second, taking advantage of such a chaotic environment, the Ismā‘īlī *da‘vah*, headed by the Ismā‘īlī Imāms who by now began to operate openly, resurfaced and became very active during this period. The engagement of the Ismā‘īlīs in the *da‘vah* activities during the second half of the 18th century is unprecedented. The Ismā‘īlīs became united, and in the words of the author of the *Silk-i guhar-rīz*, the 18th/19th century Badakhshānī author, the *mazhab* (i.e. Ismā‘īlism) “became manifest” and numerous Ismā‘īlī *khalīfahs* controlled the affairs of the Ismā‘īlī communities in different parts of Badakhshān.

The Ismā‘īlī Imāms residing first in Iran and later in India established closer and more frequent contacts with the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. Although both Muḥammad Shāhī and Qāsim Shāhī Imāms had followers in Badakhshān who were engaged in the *da‘vah* activities before the second half of the 18th century, it seems that they carried them out either clandestinely or with extreme caution. Up until the mid 11th/17th century, the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān followed both lines of Nizārī Ismā‘īlism. However, from the mid-18th century, it seems that the Qāsim Shāhī Imāms managed to bring the remaining Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān into their fold. Under the Qāsim Shāhī Imāms, the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān “became united” and well-organized networks of *pīrs* and *khalīfahs* functioned more openly at this time. This explains a major shift in the middle hagiographical sources. While continuing their attempts at building bridges between Ismā‘īlism and Twelver Shī‘ism and Sunnism, they now begin to openly present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an Ismā‘īlī saint. In this, they differ from Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* and Mahjūr’s *Dar manqabat* that associate Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms. The middle hagiographies begin to emphasize the relationship between Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the Ismā‘īlī Imām. They also present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a great saint who was chosen by God and the Ismā‘īlī Imām to teach the people of Badakhshān. Similar to Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band*, however, the middle hagiographies portray Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint who helps those who believe in his sainthood to achieve salvation. Unlike the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, in addition to recording the community’s memory of the *pīr*, the middle hagiographical sources serve at least five fundamental purposes: First, they increase devotion to Nāṣir-i Khusraw (and through him to the Ismā‘īlī Imām) and strengthen faith in him by asserting his spiritual authority and holiness. Second, the hagiographical narratives legitimize Badakhshān’s Islamic pedigree by focusing on the stature of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who is credited with introducing the faith in the region, by connecting the (5th/11th century Fāṭimid) Ismā‘īlī Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh to the area and by symbolic construction of sacred places, or “places of memory” associated with the *pīr*. Third, now that the community is organized and headed by *pīrs*, the hagiographies serve to legitimate the religious authority and leadership of the *pīrs* claiming spiritual descent from and initiatory ties to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Fourth, they distance

Nāṣir-i Khusraw and through him his followers from accusations of heresy and provide defense against charges of heterodoxy and immorality. Fifth, the pre-Soviet hagiographies foster devotion to the institution connected to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the Ismāʿīlī theological and moral teachings.

As mentioned, before the establishment of Soviet sovereignty over Badakhshān in the early 14th/20th century, the socio-political life of the Ismāʿīlīs was often dependent on and dominated by their Sunnī – Afghan and Bukhāran – neighbours. Having branded the Ismāʿīlīs “unbelievers” (*kāfīrs*), the dominant Sunnīs oppressed, massacred and enslaved them on religious grounds. Prior to the establishment of Soviet power, the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān considered their region to be a part of the Muslim world. In this period, Islamic and communal identity went hand in hand and the Ismāʿīlīs felt the need to justify their “orthodoxy” to other Muslims, including the dominant Sunnīs. Badakhshān was under the control of local *pīrs* (representatives of the Ismāʿīlī Imām) who enjoyed extraordinary authority among the community. In pre-Soviet times, it was usually individuals from among the families of the *pīrs* that composed the hagiographies in which they sought to link their physical and spiritual lineage to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. These and other socio-political factors that had a bearing on the selection and presentation of the hagiographical material will be explored in detail in this dissertation.

- IV. The late or the Soviet Badakhshānī hagiographical works about Nāṣir-i Khusraw largely detach themselves from the five central aims of the pre-Soviet hagiographies. Many of the pre-Soviet socio-political agendas of the Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition, including religious, ideological and apologetic ones, lose their significance in the Soviet Badakhshānī hagiographies. The texts use Badakhshānī hagiographical stories (many of which appear in the pre-Soviet Ismāʿīlī hagiographies) and elements from the oral hagiographical tradition, but refashion certain elements of the hagiographical stories by responding to the Soviet secular and ideological influences. Unlike the pre-Soviet hagiographies, the vast majority of the hagiographical stories recorded in the late sources convey criticism of the wealthy landowners, hypocritical religious figures and tyrant kings who dupe, oppress and take advantage of the masses. I argue that this is due to the influence of Soviet ideological positions regarding the so-called “feudalist” Islam and the interests of the masses. It is also the case due to the influence of the Soviet scholarship (influenced by the Soviet ideology) that presented Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a rationalist, freethinking, progressive and anti-feudalist philosopher who fought for the causes of the oppressed, the peasants and the artisans.

Based on the analysis of these sources, I conclude that the lack of focus on the familial and spiritual genealogy of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the hagiographies of this period is related to a number of factors, primarily to the Soviet ideological influences and the authors’ knowledge of “historical truth” offered by the Soviet scholarship. In most cases, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was regarded

first and foremost as a progressive Tajik philosopher. Much of the focus of the late hagiographical sources is placed on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's worldly activities and intellectual achievements. Following Soviet scholarship, the hagiographical works associate Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the Tajik nation (a trope that came into play after the establishment of the Tajik republic in the 1920s), which does not occur in pre-Soviet hagiographies. The reluctance of the hagiographers to map sacred spaces in Badakhshān through Nāṣir-i Khusraw and other figures can be explained by the fact that Badakhshān was part of the Soviet Union and, more obviously, by the fact that the Soviets were suspicious of anything related to Islam. The reason the authors of the late sources do not attempt to legitimize the religious authority of those claiming descent from Nāṣir-i Khusraw has to do with the fact that the *pīrs* who claimed descent and legitimacy from Nāṣir-i Khusraw were either eliminated by the Soviet regime or had fled from the region by the time the works were composed. The examination of the material shows that whilst the pre-Soviet hagiography was used to legitimize the authority of the *pīrs* and their families, the late hagiographical works, following the general trends in Soviet scholarship, serve as the medium and site of opposition to the authority of those who claimed to have inherited religious authority from Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Not being part of the Islamic world or under constant threat from their neighbouring Sunnīs, Soviet-time hagiographers did not feel the need to respond to accusations of heresy in an apologetic fashion. On the contrary, they explicitly describe Nāṣir-i Khusraw's teachings as different from that of his accusers. Whereas in pre-Soviet times, the Ismā'īlīs sought to depict Nāṣir-i Khusraw and, through him, their community as acceptable to the Sunnīs, in Soviet times, the hagiographers present him as an acceptable figure to the Soviets. He becomes an advocate for the rights of the peasants and a martyr for the cause of the oppressed. Finally, the lack of references to Ismā'īlī teachings, which was an important feature of pre-Soviet hagiography, can be explained by the anti-religious policies of the Soviet Union.

The only area in which continuity in the evolution of the Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition about Nāṣir-i Khusraw can be fully observed is the communication of moral and ethical messages. The late hagiographical works, similar to the earliest and middle sources, often tell stories with a fairly clear pedagogical intent. Nāṣir-i Khusraw is presented as a moral sage and a beacon of virtue. As moral teachings about forgiveness, kindness, generosity, honesty, hospitality, justice and other traits, these transcend cultures, whether secular or religious, making it safe for the hagiographers to devote significant portions of their hagiographical works to them in Soviet times. But even in this regard, we notice a shift in the evolution of the Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition. Soviet scholarship paid significant attention to the moral teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and translated many of his moralistic poems into Russian and published these Persian verses in Tajik with Cyrillic script. Following Soviet scholarship, the hagiographical

sources focus on the oppression and exploitation of the peasant masses by the wealthy and unjust landowners, political leaders and religious figures. In the stories, it is the ordinary people who are the repository of moral virtue. They present a struggle for freedom and harmony and a fight against ignorance and oppression as the moral duty of the ordinary people. Thus, whereas in pre-Soviet hagiography, following and obeying the religious leaders (*pīrs*, *khalīfahs*) was incumbent upon the believers, in the late sources we come across injunctions of resistance against individuals who use religion for their interests.

Unlike pre-Soviet hagiography (i.e. the early and middle sources), the hagiographical works recorded and produced in Soviet times incorporate elements from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's "biography," as established in scholarship, and take in elements from his own poetic and prose works. This is one of the most significant changes in the evolution of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hagiography. Pre-Soviet hagiography makes no use of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's "biography" and does not include elements from his works. We come across the presence of "historical truth" in the late hagiography, which is largely absent in the pre-Soviet hagiography. I contend that this is related to the fact that the Soviet Ismā'īlīs became widely exposed to Soviet "scholarly" studies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's biography and teachings. It is also due to a tendency among some Ismā'īlīs to reconstruct the "authentic" biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and to view his hagiography as false "tales" (*afsānah*). In response to this tendency and by incorporating elements from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's "biography" and works, the hagiographers attempt to give them a more "authentic" tone.

- V. On the basis of the analysis and by focusing on the continuities and changes in the images and portrayals of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshānī hagiographies produced during the period of more than four centuries, this dissertation comes to the general conclusion that although Nāṣir-i Khusraw's sanctity takes an "idealized" form in the sources, it was never fully solidified or standardized, but remained a fluid category that was negotiated between the hagiographers and the narratives about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The motives and agendas as well as selection of material and perceptions of sanctity of the hagiographers in Soviet times are different from those of the pre-Soviet Ismā'īlīs. Depending on the time period, Nāṣir-i Khusraw emerges in the sources as 1) a Muslim who was wrongly accused of unbelief and heresy and as someone with an ambiguous sectarian affiliation (16th century); 2) a great Shī'ī saint on par with the last Twelver Shī'ī Imām (early 18th century); 3) a foundational figure and a great Ismā'īlī saint blessed by the Ismā'īlī Imām (between the late 18th and the early 20th centuries); 4) a saint fighting for the causes of common folk and a fighter against the injustices of the ruling class (20th century). I argue that these differences are related to the dictates of the changing historical environments.

The structure of this dissertation is straightforward. Chapter One, titled ‘Hagiography,’ introduces the theoretical framework of this dissertation and offers a review of the past research that is of particular relevance to the current study. The chapter discusses the most important terms and concepts related to hagiography and elucidates their intended meanings. In addition to that, Chapter One briefly reviews the current research on Islamic hagiography highlighting fundamental points that are both relevant and useful for our purposes. Finally, it examines the state of the current scholarship of the Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. I will demonstrate that the study of the Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw has in many ways paralleled the study of Christian as well as Islamic hagiography, with similarly negative characterizations of the “legendary” and “mythical” nature of hagiographical reporting of a historical figure. The Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw has received little attention from scholars. Most of those who displayed interest in it simply recorded and catalogued legends and stories without providing any analysis of their contents.

As this dissertation explores the evolution of the hagiography in light of its socio-historical context, it would be useful to provide a brief overview of both the religious and historical background in order to appreciate the specific working of the hagiography. For this reason, Chapter Two, titled ‘History - Ismā‘īlism in Badakhshān,’ begins by briefly introducing the history of Ismā‘īlism and then moves onto an introduction of key Ismā‘īlī concepts that are of particular importance for the analysis of the hagiography. The chapter also examines the history of Ismā‘īlism in Badakhshān in order to provide an understanding of the importance of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which in turn explains the significance of the hagiographical accounts about him. Since my analysis of the hagiographical sources about Nāṣir-i Khusraw in later chapters will contain references to many Ismā‘īlī and Twelver Shī‘ī personalities (e.g. Mūsá al-Kāẓim, Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh, Musta‘lī, Imām Nizār, Imām Hādī, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, Sayyid Suhrāb Valī), concepts (e.g. Imām, *hujjat*, *pīr*) and Ismā‘īlī branches (e.g. Musta‘līyyah, Nizāriyyah), it would be useful for the readers to acquire general understanding of the history of Ismā‘īlism before engaging with those specifics. This chapter also demonstrates that although information about the history of Ismā‘īlism in Badakhshān is extremely limited, the fragmentary evidence culled from several sources indicates that Ismā‘īlism has always been present in Badakhshān since the very time of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the 5th/11th century. It may have possibly existed in Badakhshān even before the arrival of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This research project is not about the life and works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. His historical biography is neither a central nor an urgent question for this dissertation. Far more important for my purposes are the ways in which the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs have understood and remembered him and how his hagiographies shed light on other issues. Yet, I acknowledge that readers who are unfamiliar with Nāṣir-i Khusraw will want more information about his life and significance than what the hagiographies offer. For this reason, this chapter provides a brief overview of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s scholarly biography.

Chapter Three, ‘Social and Political History of Badakhshān,’ reviews the socio-political history of Badakhshān from the 9th/15th century to the end of the Soviet Union. The chapter divides this phase of the history of Badakhshān into two periods: 1) from the 9th/15th to the early 14th/20th centuries and 2) from the early 14th/20th century to the collapse of the Soviet Union. During the first period many Sunnī dynasties of Central Asia saw the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān as “unbelievers” and “heretics” and in this way justified their conquest of the region, persecution, plundering, enslavement, and killing of the Ismā‘īlīs. Some Sunnī rulers forcefully imposed Sunnism on the Ismā‘īlīs. An understanding of this context is important, since the authors of the hagiographical sources produced during this time either practiced pious circumspection or attempted to present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an acceptable figure to other Muslim communities (e.g. *Risālat al-nadāmah* and even the *Sayāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*). Prior to the second half of the 12th/18th century, the Ismā‘īlī Imāms seem to have generally practiced pious circumspection under the guise of Twelver Shī‘ism and Ṣūfism. The Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān also followed them in this regard. However, the second half of the 11th/17th witnessed significant socio-political developments in Badakhshān. Supported by the majority of Badakhshānīs, the Ṣūfī leader Mīr Yār Bīk (d. 1118/1706) drove the anti-Shī‘ī Uzbek rulers from Badakhshān, established the Yārid dynasty in 1068/1657 and ruled the region until his death. Under his rule, the region seems to have prospered and no persecution of religious minorities is recorded in the sources. It is approximately during this time that the *Haft band*, which openly associates Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Twelver Shī‘ism, was composed. During the period, some evidence indicates that the Ismā‘īlī Imāms established closer contacts with the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. Although some later Yārid rulers and other outside Sunnī rulers regarded the Ismā‘īlīs as “heretics” and persecuted them, some more significant socio-political changes occurred in the second half of the 12th/18th century. In addition to the waning of the power of the Sunnī Yārid dynasty during this period, other major transformations included the public operation of the Ismā‘īlī imamate in Iran and subsequently in India after the mid-18th century. A major Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī *pīr*, who visited the Ismā‘īlī Imām of the time Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg, was authorized to establish the Ismā‘īlī *da‘vah* in Badakhshān. From the mid-18th century until the time of the composition of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* (completed in the 1830s), on which this information is based, the Ismā‘īlī *da‘vah* was active in Badakhshān in an unprecedented way. It certainly continued in this manner up until the beginning of the 14th/20th century. A third significant socio-political transformation, brought about by Russians towards the end of the 13th/19th century and early 14th/20th century, had further effect on the contexts in which the hagiographical sources were produced. The Russians protected the Ismā‘īlīs against Sunnī persecutions on religious grounds.

All of these socio-political changes had a direct influence on the ways the Ismā‘īlīs presented Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the hagiographical sources produced during this time. Most importantly and for our purposes, the ways in which the hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw were written reflect the

changing concerns of the Ismā‘īlīs of this period. The authors of the hagiographical sources produced between the mid-18th century and the beginning of the 20th century, do not practice strict pious circumspection. While they still present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a figure acceptable to other Muslim communities, they now openly associate him with Ismā‘īlī Imāms, Ismā‘īlī teachings and the Ismā‘īlī community in Badakhshān. An understanding of the role of *pīrs* or local religious leaders in the lives of the Ismā‘īlīs is central for interpreting the hagiographical sources produced between the mid-18th and the early 20th centuries. Members of the families of *pīrs* composed some of the sources (e.g. the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*) and much of what these sources convey concerns the authority, status, genealogy and activities of the *pīrs* in Badakhshān. This chapter demonstrates their immense authority among the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. Chapter Three shows that during the second period, i.e. the Soviet time, the newly established regime put an end to the centuries of intervention by Sunnī rulers, oppression and persecution. The Soviet attitude towards the Ismā‘īlīs was ambivalent: they were tolerant at first, but adopted strict anti-religious (and indeed anti-Ismā‘īlī) policies later, especially in the 1960s. During the Soviet period, from the early 1920s to the end of the 1980s, religious teachings and ideologies were seen as a serious threat to the Soviet policy of secularization in public life. While the Soviets, with their dogmatic atheist ideology and distrust of the Ismā‘īlī Imām Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, who was seen as an agent of the British in the context of the “Great Game,” vilified the Imām, Ismā‘īlism and Islam, they presented Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a progressive thinker, a “heretic” and an acceptable figure from the perspective of the Soviet ideology. As expounded later in the thesis, this had a bearing on the attitude of scholars who wrote about Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life and teachings. That in turn influenced the Ismā‘īlī hagiographical writing about Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the Soviet period.

Chapter Four, ‘The Contested Nature of Badakhshānī Hagiography,’ provides a critical examination of the Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition concerning Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān, Shāh Burhān and Shāh Khāmūsh. These figures are variously described as *sayyids*, *pīrs*, dervishes and *qalandars*, terms that Ismā‘īlism shares with Ṣūfism and Twelver Shī‘ism. Various scholars regard these figures as Ṣūfīs, Twelver Shī‘īs and Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs who came to Badakhshān sometime during the Alamūt period (12th and 13th centuries). There are Badakhshānī accounts that introduce these figures as Sunnīs. This chapter argues that the various narratives about these four figures should be treated as hagiographies, rather than as sources that contain “historical information.” Depending on the specific socio-political context and sectarian identity of the narrators (whether Sunnī or Ismā‘īlī), various elements in the narratives change. The chapter also argues that while the Ismā‘īlī accounts of this specific hagiographical tradition portray Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān, Shāh Burhān and Shāh Khāmūsh as *sayyids*, *pīrs*, dervishes and *qalandars*, it need not mean that they regarded or presented them as Ṣūfīs. Similarly, presence of Twelver Shī‘ī elements in the narratives does not suggest that the

people narrating those accounts regarded these figures as Twelver Shī'īs. It seems that by using the shared Ismā'īlī-Şūfī terminology and by tracing the genealogy of these figures back to the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms, the Ismā'īlīs must have still been able to express their memories of their foundational figures safely in the hostile milieu of pre-Soviet Badakhshān. Although other Muslims knew about their religious identity, the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān still seem to have practiced some form of pious circumspection by pretending to be Twelver Shī'īs with Twelver Shī'īs and Sunnīs with Sunnīs. In the narratives recorded before the establishment of the Soviet Union, the Ismā'īlīs did state these figures' association with the Ismā'īlī Imāms or Ismā'īlī teachings explicitly. An examination of this hagiographical tradition is useful for a better appreciation of the ambiguous nature of the pre-Soviet Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiographies (especially, that of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*) and the presence of Twelver Shī'ī elements in the narratives (e.g. Ḥusaynī's *Haft band*). It is also useful for another reason: the names of these figures occur in the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiographical sources about Nāşir-i Khusraw. Most importantly, this chapter's examination demonstrates that the value of hagiographical narratives like these lies in their presentation of a different kind of history, a history of the way people chose to remember the subjects. This chapter also reflects on the presence of Şūfism in Badakhshān. It shows that the region was a fertile ground for Şūfism and that various Sunnī rulers patronized Şūfīs and their shrines in Badakhshān. Nāşir-i Khusraw's shrine itself received patronage from a number of Sunnī rulers between the 9th/15th and 13th/19th centuries.

Chapter Four also reflects on the presence of Twelver Shī'ī elements in Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī tradition, a phenomenon that remains largely ignored in scholarship. Here, I seek to demonstrate that Twelver Shī'ism may have spread to Badakhshān in the 10th/16th century, during the reign of the local Tīmūrid rulers. Having the support of the Twelver Shī'ī Şafavids, the Tīmūrids seem to have tolerated Twelver Shī'ism in the region. It is therefore likely that the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs practiced some form of pious circumspection under both Twelver Shī'ism and Şufism at this time and continued to do so until at least the mid-18th century. An understanding of this will result in better appreciation of the hagiographical sources about Nāşir-i Khusraw, which contain Twelver Shī'ī elements and terminology that Ismā'īlism shares with Şufism.

Chapter Five, 'Non-Ismā'īlī sources,' briefly examines accounts about Nāşir-i Khusraw in non-Ismā'īlī sources produced between the 5th/11th and 12th/19th centuries. It aims to show that although there are a few non-Ismā'īlī sources that provide a balanced account about Nāşir-i Khusraw, praise his intellectual and poetic abilities, spiritual accomplishments and asceticism, the overwhelming majority of the accounts from the 5th/11th century down to the 13th/19th centuries are hostile toward him and condemn his faith. The various sources regard Nāşir-i Khusraw's religious opinions and doctrines as "false," and accuse him of teaching doctrines of exaggeration and transmigration. They accuse him of impiety, immorality and heresy and even of claiming to be a prophet. He is depicted as a heretic and

an unbeliever; moreover, non-Ismā'īlīs attributed a number of apocryphal heretical verses to him. These popular heretical verses were seen as proof of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's rejection of the notion of final gathering and of his opinion that God is to blame for injustice and sedition. The chapter demonstrates that Nāṣir-i Khusraw represented heresy in the minds of the majority of the non-Ismā'īlī Muslim writers who provided accounts about him.

During almost nine centuries, we only come across one 9th/15th century author who admires Nāṣir-i Khusraw's commitment to the "family of the Prophet" and praises him as "the master of faith" (*sarvar-i imān*). In this chapter, I argue that not only Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but also his followers in Badakhshān, referred to as the Nāṣiriyyah, were accused of heresy and immorality. The Ismā'īlī authors of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hagiography cite these heretical verses in their accounts (e.g. the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*) and this is a clear indication of the fact that they responded to these widely held accusations of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. I also show that only two authors, Dawlatshāh Samarqandī in his *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā* (written in 892/1486) and Majd al-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshānī in the *Jāmi' al-salāsil* (completed in the 11th/17th century) praised Nāṣir-i Khusraw for his spiritual accomplishments and asceticism and associate him with the famous Ṣūfī master Abū al-Ḥasan Kharaqānī (d. 435/1033) and Ṣūfism. I argue that the accounts in these sources are unique and should be considered as exceptions to the general tendency to criticize and to condemn Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Even though Dawlatshāh associates Nāṣir-i Khusraw with a Ṣūfī shaykh, he does not consider Nāṣir-i Khusraw a Ṣūfī. Majd al-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshānī is therefore the only author who, in the word of Beben, "sunnitized" Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁵⁹ However, there is an indication that the account in the *Jāmi' al-salāsil* is most probably based on a Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiographical tradition about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The *Jāmi' al-salāsil* makes use of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* for information about Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Chapter Six, titled 'Early Badakhshānī Hagiographies: Late 16th Through Early 18th Centuries,' examines and analyzes the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the earliest Badakhshānī hagiographical work about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This work, the first extant version of which appears in the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār va zubdat al-afkār* (*The Essence of the Poems*) of Taqī al-Dīn Kāshī (d. after 1016/1607), was most probably produced sometime in the 10th/16th century in Badakhshān. Contrary to the views of Andrei Bertel's, Maryam Mu'izzī, Rizā Haravī and Daniel Beben, who consider the *Risālat al-nadāmah* to be a by-product of an attempt at the "Sunnitization" of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his dissociation from heresy and Ismā'īlism, I argue that this scholarly opinion needs questioning and that the original authors of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* were in fact the Shī'īs of Badakhshān, most likely the Ismā'īlīs. My argument is based on internal evidence in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. Hence, drawing on a detailed analysis of this work, I argue that it does not present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Sunnī, but simply as a Muslim who was wrongly accused of unbelief and heresy. It presents the persona of Nāṣir-i

⁵⁹ "The Legendary Biographies."

Khusraw and through him the position of his followers in forms that are acceptable to Muslims of other persuasions, including the Sunnīs of Badakhshān in the 10th/16th century. This chapter analyzes the other agendas and motives of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, which include glorification of the figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, increasing devotion to him and assertion of his spiritual authority by tracing his familial genealogy back to the Prophet Muḥammad and by attributing wondrous deeds to him. I also argue that one of its most significant agendas is to criticize fanaticism in religion, which reflects the attempt of the Ismā‘īlīs to carve out a space for themselves in the religious landscape of Badakhshān. Contrary to the view that the Ismā‘īlīs, in constructing their hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, borrowed from the supposedly Sunnī-authored “pseudo-autobiography” (i.e. the *Risālat al-nadāmah*), this chapter maintains that the later Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiography should instead be seen as a continuation of the Shī‘ī-Ismā‘īlī hagiographical tradition presented in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. This chapter also introduces an early Ismā‘īlī account about Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (dated 1078/1667) in order to demonstrate that the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiographical elements related to Nāṣir-i Khusraw were in existence from at least the 11th/17th century onwards. Following that, I will introduce and analyze the early hagiography, i.e. the *Haft band* of Ḥusaynī, which also testifies to the fact that Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiographical elements linked with Nāṣir-i Khusraw existed well before the end of the 18th century. This goes against the view that the Ismā‘īlīs did not have a textual hagiographical tradition concerning Nāṣir-i Khusraw until this time. I will also introduce and provide a translation of Mahjūr’s *Dar manqabat*. However, since it reflects the views of Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band*, I will not analyze this poem. Chapter Six concludes with general remarks on the nature of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* and the *Haft band*. The *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* and Mahjūr’s *Dar manqabat* have not previously been studied by anyone.

Chapter Seven, ‘Middle Badakhshānī Hagiographies: Mid-18th Through Early 20th Centuries,’ introduces and analyzes the agendas of the hagiographical accounts in the *Kalām-i pūr*, the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Hikāyat-i mazār’hā-yi Kuhistān*, which were composed between the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 20th century. After commenting on the authorship and characteristics of these sources, the chapter introduces the persona of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as portrayed in these hagiographical sources. The chapter provides translations of these hagiographical documents that convey stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life. The remaining part of the chapter offers an analysis of the themes, messages and agendas of these hagiographical works in light of the cultural, political and religious landscape outlined in Chapter Three. I discuss the specific authorial and communal agendas behind the creation of the hagiography and the values and aspirations that the materials express in changing socio-political contexts. I show that while the four hagiographical sources make use of the material presented in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i*

Khusraw and the *Haft band*, they digress from them in a number of ways. The most important difference is that the *Kalām-i pīr*, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* and the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* explicitly present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an Ismā'īlī and openly express his association with the Ismā'īlī Imāms. These hagiographical sources go beyond simply presenting him as an acceptable figure to other Muslims, including Sunnīs and Twelver Shī'īs. Unlike the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, but similar to the *Haft band* (and Mahjūr's *Dar manqabat*), they strongly emphasize Nāṣir-i Khusraw's sainthood and present him as a great saint whose path is the path of salvation. This chapter shows that, in addition to recording the memory of the *pīr*, these hagiographical sources serve at least five major purposes described above, namely, they are meant to increase devotion to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and through him to the Ismā'īlī Imām and to strengthen faith in him by emphasizing his spiritual authority and sanctity; to legitimize the Islamic pedigree of Badakhshān; to legitimize the religious authority and leadership of those who claimed to have inherited his authority; to divorce Nāṣir-i Khusraw from heresy; and to promote devotion to the institution connected to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ismā'īlī teachings, theological and moral alike). In these sources, while we come across attempts at distancing Nāṣir-i Khusraw from the "heretics" (which is similar to the account in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*), we also notice the open expression of Ismā'īlī teachings. I situate this in the socio-political environment of the time, which witnessed the weakening of the power of the Sunnī Yārids and the establishment of stronger and more frequent contacts with the Ismā'īlī Imāms who began to operate publicly around this time. The open activities of the Imāms since the mid-18th century must have galvanized the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān who began to actively assert their Ismā'īlī identity in this period.

In order to get a full appreciation of the specific features of Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw within the Soviet-conditioned context, in addition to the socio-political context portrayed in Chapter Three, one needs to look at the intellectual and literary context in which the hagiography operated during this time. Chapter Eight, 'The Soviet context,' examines developments in the study and depiction of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's biography and teachings, Ismā'īlism and Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hagiography in Soviet literature produced between the 1920s and the late 1980s. It also examines Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī biographical writings about Nāṣir-i Khusraw in order to demonstrate the impact of Soviet scholarship on the changing attitudes towards his hagiography among the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān. An examination of Soviet scholarly works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ismā'īlism reveals that although Soviet scholars "feudalized" Islam and disapproved of what they called "orthodox Islam," their attitude to Nāṣir-i Khusraw's life and teachings was largely sympathetic. To Soviet scholars, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a "heretic," a progressive "philosopher" and a Tajik poet who fought against the "feudal lords" for the causes of the oppressed peasants and craftspeople. Books and newspapers published during Soviet times emphasized that Nāṣir-i Khusraw

was a champion for the rights of ordinary people who were spiritually enslaved by Muslim clergy and despotic rulers. This position reflects the communist ideology in the Soviet scholarship, which put to use selected excerpts from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's works to justify his supposed anti-religious views, criticism of religious scholars and even denial of the existence of God. Unlike Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Muslim detractors, the Soviet scholars praised him for his "heretical views," which, according to them, offered an accurate reflection of the views of the oppressed people. The chapter explores these and similar trends in Soviet scholarship, because they had an impact on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's presentation in the hagiographical sources produced during Soviet times. After examining the influence of the Soviet era on the scholarship of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, this chapter introduces and provides an analysis of the *Risālah-i afsānah va haqīqat* and the *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, produced in the early 1970s by the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān. The purpose of the analysis is to point to the existence of a tendency among the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān to question the reliability of the hagiographical tradition about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. I also show to what degree this tendency was influenced by Soviet scholarship.

Chapter Nine, 'Badakhshānī Hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Soviet Times,' which is the final chapter, introduces and analyzes the Badakhshānī hagiographies recorded and composed during Soviet times. None of these sources have been studied previously. These sources are the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān (The Arrival of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān)* (written in 1395/1975), *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir (On Nāṣir-i Khusraw)* (written in 1396/1976) and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw (The Story of Nāṣir-i Khusraw)* (written in 1403/1982) in Shughnān, Badakhshān. This chapter shows that these hagiographical sources do not simply record stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but also use them for new purposes that reflect the contemporary concerns of the authors. The texts use Badakhshānī hagiographical stories (many of which appear in the pre-Soviet Ismā'īlī hagiographies) and elements from the oral Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition, but modify certain elements of these stories by responding to Soviet secular and ideological influences. In this chapter, I aim to show that these Badakhshānī hagiographical works largely detach themselves from the major purposes of the pre-Soviet hagiographies, including the five central purposes of all the middle hagiographies. They do not seek to genealogically connect Nāṣir-i Khusraw to Mūsā al-Kāzīm, but emphasize his roots in Qubādiyān, Tajikistan. The hagiographers do not attempt to legitimize Badakhshān's Islamic pedigree, because they were now part of the Soviet Union, which was largely suspicious of anything related to Islam. The Soviet Badakhshānī hagiographical works do not attempt to legitimize the religious authority of those claiming spiritual descent from Nāṣir-i Khusraw, because by the time of their composition, the *pīrs* had long been eliminated or had fled from the region. One noteworthy tendency that can be observed in the hagiographical works written during Soviet times is that hagiography began to be used to express opposition to those claiming to have religious authority. These hagiographical works do not attempt to distance Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his followers from

accusations of heresy or to provide defense against these charges. Finally, they do not promote explicit devotion to Ismā‘īlī teachings. The only continuity in terms of the agendas displayed by the hagiographical sources recorded and produced during Soviet times is the communication of moral and ethical messages. The Soviet scholarship paid significant attention to the moral teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and published his didactic poems in Tajik and Russian. Since moral teachings about kindness, generosity and other values transcend cultures, whether secular or religious, the hagiographers had no difficulty incorporating them into their writings.

This chapter translates and provides an analysis of the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* in the socio-political, literary and intellectual contexts, presented in Chapters Three and Eight. I demonstrate that while these sources are largely dismissive of the agendas of the pre-Soviet hagiographical works, they make selective use of their elements. There is one agenda that connects the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*. Unlike the pre-Soviet hagiographies, overwhelming majority of these stories conveys criticism of the wealthy landowners, hypocrite religious figures and tyrant kings, who dupe, oppress and take advantage of the masses. In this and other regards, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* clearly bear the influence of the Soviet ideology as expressed through the Soviet scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This dissertation concludes with a short review section, which offers an overarching analysis of trends and themes in the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in particular and the genre of hagiography in general.

General Remarks

This dissertation aims to contribute to the study of Ismā‘īlī hagiography in particular and to the study of hagiography in general, a relatively new field in Islamic studies, through a study of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the most important saint in the region. This it does by examining the changing images of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s sainthood in Badakhshān and the ways these images shed light on the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs’ social values and aspirations, their perceptions of sainthood, their struggles and endeavours in the presentation of the saint and themselves to other Muslims, their religious beliefs and moral values and other issues during the period of more than four centuries. Considering Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s eminent position in the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī tradition, his hagiography offers a fascinating window into the devotional world of his community. As the late ninety-year-old Shoḥi Kalon Shoḥzodamuhammadov (d. 2015), who recited the verses introduced at the outset of this chapter to me in the summer of 2010 in Tajikistan, explained in his native Shughnānī, “Shāh Nāṣir is the ruby in these mountains [i.e. the Pamirs], through which the divine light illumines the hearts of the faithful and the light of pure love for Shāh Nāṣir transforms our soul into pure ruby by

penetrating the mountain of our being” (*Shoh Nosir la"li kuh̄sorat, nuri ilōhi wi qati mumin dil ruxno gar̄dent at iid nuri tozaū mūhabbat tar Shoh Nosir ta mash ruh̄ la"l gar̄dent mi mash kūhi wujudand*). This descendant of one of the famous families of religious leaders (*pīrs*) in Badakhshān further added, “Shāh Nāṣir’s teachings are important because they teach us about faith, but he himself is the embodiment of that faith. The path of Nāṣir-i Khusraw is the right path, the right path to salvation” (*Shoh Nosir kitobenēn mūhim dīn fahmtoward, ammo khubaō īu dinand wi tajassum, rohi Nosir rohi rost ast, rohi rosti rastagorī.*”)

The Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs do not seem to have composed any hagiographical works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the post-Soviet period. Considering the new post-Soviet socio-political realities, it is possible that the hagiographical tradition about Nāṣir-i Khusraw will evolve even further by responding to the dictates of the changing environment. Numerous hagiographical stories continue to circulate orally in the region. Most of these stories constitute different versions of the legendary accounts that are found in the hagiographical sources produced and recorded in pre-Soviet and Soviet times. At the present stage, considering the absence of written hagiographical literature in post-Soviet Badakhshān and the existence of abundant oral hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which have yet to be recorded, catalogued and studied, it is not possible to identify and analyze stories that may have emerged in the post-Soviet period. Almost every village in Badakhshān has a story and every corner a memory of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. My repeated attempts at finding new hagiographical stories with post-Soviet flavour have not yielded any result. It is safe to say that the post-Soviet Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs currently have no interest in composing new hagiographical accounts about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Instead, they have returned to the traditional pre-Soviet hagiographical works such as the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, the *Kalām-i pīr* and even the *Risālat al-nadāmah* for stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Similarly, when it comes to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s hagiography, the Ismā‘īlīs refer to the three hagiographical texts composed during Soviet times and those recorded by other scholars.⁶⁰ The findings of my research conducted in the summers from 2009 to 2013 in Badakhshān allow me to conclude that the post-Soviet Ismā‘īlīs merely remember, preserve and re-tell their traditional hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw without composing novel accounts with distinct agendas.⁶¹

As previously mentioned, the late Russian scholar Wladimir Ivanow (d. 1970), regarded by many as the founder of the modern study of Ismā‘īlism, considered Fatimid Ismā‘īlism as its

⁶⁰ Sayyid Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāmiyānī, *Afsānahā-yi tārikhī-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw dar Badakhshān* (Pīshāvar: 1377/1998).

⁶¹ See also Ioann Gornenskii, *Legendy Pamira i Gindukusha* (Moscow: Aleteiā, 2000), 73-78. Nisormamad Shakarmamadov, "Hakim Nosiri Khusrav dar tasavvuri mardum," in *Nasir Khusraw: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, ed. Niyozov and Nazariyev (Khujand: Noshir, 2005), 592-98. Bāmiyānī, *Afsānahā-yi tārikhī*. Nisormamad Shakarmamadov and Orif Shakarmamadov, "Chu la"l dar kūsor ast," *Sadoi mardum* (2003). Amirbek Habibov, "Chashmai Nosiri Khusrav: rivoiathoi khalqī dar borai Nosiri Khusrav," *Ilm va hayot* 11 (1990). Tohir Qalandarov, "Agiografiā 'apostola pamiorskikh ismailitov'," *Ėtnograficheskoe Obozrenie* 2 (2004).

‘orthodox’ form.⁶² However, he viewed the religious ideas of Badakhshānī regions as something “inorganic,” which, according to him, had strayed into Badakhshānī regions in heaps without any proper synthesis.⁶³ Despite the progress in Ismā‘īlī studies, the tendency to subscribe to such views is still very much alive. Scholars studying Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlism have described it as “rather unorthodox”⁶⁴ and its teachings “at odds with Ismā‘īlism”⁶⁵ that are “popular”⁶⁶ and “difficult to reconcile with the official Ismā‘īlī doctrine.”⁶⁷ They have also stated that Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlism is “not synthesized,”⁶⁸ “confused,”⁶⁹ and as mentioned above, “complicated,”⁷⁰ “syncretistic,”⁷¹ and contains “other religious”⁷² or “non-Ismā‘īlī” ideas.⁷³ Although it is true that different historical and regional Ismā‘īlī communities share the same fundamental teachings of Ismā‘īlism more broadly construed (the centrality of the Imām with an unrestricted religious authority and rightful guidance being the most significant of them), they have approached their faith in different ways depending on their historical, geographical and cultural contexts. The present study distances itself from measuring local traditions by the yardstick of an imagined “normative” tradition, a prevailing tendency in scholarship. Instead, it focuses on the data within their specific historical and social contexts to alleviate the problem of essentialization and normatization and to encompass the unique characteristics and the regional historical experience of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī tradition. It treats Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī tradition as a complex religious tradition that contains various disparate ideas belonging to different phases of Ismā‘īlī history. Hence, this study incorporates rather than abrogates heterogeneity, and studies Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī tradition in its indigenous context. In this context, the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw has an important place.

This study uses new approaches to the study of hagiography that have developed in the field of religious studies in general and Islamic studies in particular. Its subject has benefited considerably from the elements of these approaches, particularly from the focus the intentions of authors, patrons, and potential audiences of the texts, as well as from the recognition of the importance of various forms of context. These methods provide a much clearer picture of how the texts operated, what and who they were for and what important place was occupied by the cult of saints in Islamic societies. These

⁶² Wladimir Ivanow in his introduction to the *Umm al-Kitāb* argues that the teachings of the book are incompatible with what he terms “orthodox Ismailism.” Ivanow, “Ummu-l-Kitāb,” 5.

⁶³ Wladimir Ivanow, “Foreword,” in Sayyid Suhrāb Badakhshānī, *Sī-u Shīsh Ṣahīfah*, ed. Hūshang Ujāqī (Tehran: Ismaili Society, 1961), 9. “Ideas have strayed into Badakhshān in the absence of the Imam’s guidance.”

⁶⁴ Gabrielle van den Berg, “Ismaili Poetry in Tajik Badakhshan: A Ṣafavid Connection,” *Persica* 17 (2001): 9.

⁶⁵ Qalandarov, “Religioznaia situatsiia,” 37-47.

⁶⁶ Gabrielle van den Berg, *Minstrel Poetry from the Pamir Mountains: A Study on the Songs and Poems of the Ismailis of Tajik Badakhshan* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 129.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁶⁸ Wladimir Ivanow in Badakhshānī, *Sī-u Shīsh Ṣahīfah*, 10.

⁶⁹ Iliiev, *The Ismā‘īlī-Sufī Sage*, 4.

⁷⁰ Berg, “The Classical Persian Ghazal,” 13-15.

⁷¹ Qalandarov, “Religioznaia situatsiia,” 37-38. See also note 16.

⁷² Berg, “The Classical Persian Ghazal,” 113.

⁷³ Cherkasov, “Iz otchēta,” 127.

issues will form much of this dissertation's substance. It is not intended to be a comprehensive study of the hagiographical literature in Badakhshān produced between the 10th/16th century and the late 1980s, nor a complete account of religious life in the region during this period. Instead, it will focus on the written hagiographical narratives of one significant individual, the purposes for which they have been written, the strategies their authors used to achieve their aims and the issues that concerned them. In this way, it will complement studies on the social and cultural history of Badakhshān during the period concerned. Although it is a regional study, it will hopefully provide insights of general value and relevance and will improve understanding of the region that it is focused on. It is, above all, a dissertation about a particular type of storytelling, the importance of these stories, their mode of operation and purpose, and their place in the life of Badakhshānī society over a period of four centuries.

Chapter 1

Hagiography

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework of the current study and offers a review of relevant past research. As stated in the Introduction, this research project is concerned with tracing the development of the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlī hagiographical tradition surrounding Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The portrayals of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the hagiography change over time, reflecting the values and concerns of the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs in varying socio-political contexts. Hence, this chapter consists of two major parts. The first part, concentrated on hagiography, is organized in two subsections. The first section introduces the key terms and concepts pertaining to hagiography, including both what is meant and what is not meant by my use of the terms “hagiography” and “saint.” The second section introduces the general theoretical orientation of this study. It briefly examines the theoretical approaches of a number of scholars from which my study benefits. In relation to this, it discusses the approaches of scholars who use hagiography not necessarily as a source of information about saints, but as a useful source of information about the political, social and religious concerns of the communities that produce them. The second major part is also comprised of two subsections. The first section briefly reviews the current research on Islamic hagiography and highlights fundamental points that are both relevant and useful to the present study. Of particular importance for this dissertation are the studies of scholars who regard hagiography as an important source of social commentary in relation to Muslim societies that produce and use them. This section briefly discusses these sources. The second section examines the state of current scholarship of the Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Its purpose is to demonstrate that the study of Badakhshānī hagiography is marked by the negative characterizations of the “legendary” and “mythical” nature of hagiographical reporting of the historical figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Scholars of Nāṣir-i Khusraw have dismissed his hagiographies as useless for the purposes of reconstructing historical information about him. Similar to many scholars who have studied Christian and other Islamic hagiographies, their understanding of this genre has been shaped by the positivist historiography. The chapter concludes by stressing the importance of using the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw beyond positivist historiographical approaches. The Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw may not provide us with “factual information” or “historical truth” about their subject, but it can illuminate in deeply beneficial ways the world of the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs who have produced it. By offering an examination of studies on hagiography and introducing the theoretical framework of this study, this chapter as a whole seeks to present hagiography as “history,” albeit a different kind of history - a history of how and why Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s followers chose to remember the saint.

1.1 Theoretical Foundation

1.1.1 Terms: *Hagiography* and *Saint*

The term hagiography, which literally means “sacred writing” (Greek, *hagios*, “holy” and *graphai*, “writings”) commonly refers to a broad range of writings about the lives of Christian saints, but has been applied to a far wider range of writings about holy people from different religious traditions.¹ In the face of historical and critical assessments of hagiography as a fictitious and unreliable method of biographical writing, many scholars have preferred the term “sacred biography” to “hagiography” to avoid the negative associations of the term. Thomas Heffernan, for example, has chosen to use the phrase “sacred biography” instead of “hagiography” because he believes that hagiography has come to signify “a pious fiction or an exercise in panegyric,” labels which “can foster misreadings of these texts and obscure originality.”² For many scholars studying non-Christian hagiographical traditions, the term “hagiography” has a strong Christian connotation and they argue that it should be applied exclusively to Christian saints. They prefer the term “sacred biography” for other religious traditions instead.³ Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps, however, draw a distinction between “sacred biography” and “hagiography.” According to them, “sacred biographies” refer “to those accounts written by followers or devotees of a founder or religious savior,” and “primarily intend to depict a distinctively new religious image or ideal,” whereas hagiographies “chronicle lives of lesser religious figures” and present “their subject as one who has realized, perhaps in a distinctive way, an image, ideal, or attainment already recognized by his religious community.”⁴ The latter, according to them, could be “the lives of saints, mystic prophets, kings and other charismatic religious figures.”⁵ Thus, they reserve the term “sacred biography” only for the life of the *founder* of a particular religion, while the term “hagiography” is used in reference to the biographies of all the succeeding saints in that tradition. I designate the accounts of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life as hagiographies rather than sacred biographies simply because he is portrayed as an exemplification of an already existing ideal and not a founder of a new religious one.

The present study examines the hagiographical tradition of a Muslim community. In Muslim literature, hagiography holds a prominent position among a number of genres. It has a dominant presence in some, notably *tazkirah* (memorial, memento, remembrances, recollections), *manāqib* (virtuous and marvelous deeds or feats), *rijāl* (the men), *sīrat al-awliyā’* (biographies or life stories of

¹ Robin Rinehart, *One Lifetime, Many Lives: The Experience of Modern Hindu Hagiography* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1999), 4.

² Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography, Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 16.

³ See for example, Steven J. Rosen, "Introduction," *Journal of Vaisnava Studies* 1, no. 2 (1993): i.

⁴ Donald Capps and Frank Reynolds, *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), 3-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*

saints), and *ṭabaqāt* (ranks or classes, classifications, generations), and a presence in others, such as *fadā'il* (spiritual qualities), *malfūzāt* (oral discourses) and *waṣāyā* (testaments), *tarjamah* (biographical notes on the subject's early years, education and teachers, written works, pilgrimages and travel, and miscellaneous anecdotes), among others.⁶ With the exception of some poems designated as *manāqib* (sing. *manqabah*), the hagiographies in Badakhshān are generally not categorized in accordance with these genres. They are known as *rivoiāt* (legend),⁷ *naql* (saying, narrative) and sometimes as *khabar* (report) in oral tradition,⁸ but as their content is hagiographical, they are collectively referred to as hagiography in this study.

The words *rivoiāt* and *naql* (Persian-Tajik, *naql kardan* means “to relate,” “to tell”) generally mean transmission through the spoken word, including oral retelling from notes and books.⁹ The hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw examined in this study is in written form, but, as indicated in the sources (which are examined in Chapters Six, Seven and Nine), the stories are based on oral tradition. As mentioned above, hagiography literally means “sacred writing” and traditionally refers to all Christian literature that concerns the saints. Hagiographical elements can be found throughout different genres of writing, including biographies of saints, collections of miracle stories, canonization records, accounts of the discovery or transfer of relics, sermons and so on. In other words, hagiographies are generally understood to be different genres of *writing* and are therefore *written* narratives. However, as Jamie Kreiner observes in his study of Christian hagiography, “Written accounts incorporate and respond to oral traditions. Texts can be read aloud. Sometimes the written word carries symbolic weight that is legible even to the people who cannot read.”¹⁰ Written and oral hagiographies very rarely exist to the exclusion of one another in societies. They are in a creative conversation with each other and usually blend.¹¹ In Badakhshān, although some hagiographical traditions surrounding Nāṣir-i Khusraw have been committed to writing, the “primary” oral hagiographic tradition, as implied in the words *rivoiāt* and *naql*, continues unabated.

⁶ Renard, *Tales of God's Friends*, 7. Jullian Millie, “Khāriq ul-‘Ādah Anecdotes and the Representation of Karāmāt: Written and Spoken Hagiography in Islam,” *History of Religions* 48, no. 1 (2008): 43. Alessandro Gori, “First studies on the texts of Shaykh Ḥusayn’s Hagiographies,” *Rivista degli studi orientali* 48, no. 1 (1996): 56.

⁷ *Rivoiāt* is a Persian-Tajik pronunciation of the Arabic *riwāya*, which is a verbal noun of *rawā* and originally means “to bear, to convey water.” Hence, it signifies “to transmit, relate.” In classical Arabic the noun *riwāya* mostly applies to the technical meaning of transmission of poems, narratives, *ḥadīths*, and also applies to the authorized transmission of books. It is sometimes used in classical Persian in the sense of a *ḥadīth*. Leder, S., “Riwāya,” in *EI2*, vol. 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1960-2004), 545-547.

⁸ *Khabar* (pl. *akhbār*) is a report, piece of information. In classical Islamic terminology, the term *akhbār* has been applied to traditions that go back to the Prophet Muḥammad, which are distinguished from the sayings of the companions of the Prophet, often known as *āthār*. The word further denotes a piece of information of a historical, biographical or even anecdotal nature. Wensinck, A.J., “Khabar,” in *EI2*, vol. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1960-2004), 895.

⁹ Leder, S., “Riwāya,” in *EI2*, vol. 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1960-2004), 545-547.

¹⁰ Jamie Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 90.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Not all data about saints “come to us from literary forms that are hagiographical in the narrower and more intentional sense of the term.”¹² Fundamentally, hagiographical data are about important saints, but their form and genre vary from autobiographical accounts to poetry, from popular, romantic and mystical epic replete with tales to simple sayings and stories.¹³ All these can be written or oral, in the form of a “textualized” oral tradition or as an oral telling or retelling of written hagiographical stories. I use this broader and more inclusive definition of the term “hagiography” throughout the dissertation to refer to poetry of a laudatory nature, legends, tales, stories and sayings, both written and oral (in cases where I refer to oral tradition), about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the “saint” (*quddūs, pīr, pīr-i kāmil*) of Badakhshān.

The designation “saint” (Latin, *sanctus* “holy”), similar to the term “hagiography,” was used initially to refer to particular figures in Christianity. However, it is now used in a much wider context across religious traditions to refer to people whom the members of a particular religion deem to exemplify their highest ideals.¹⁴ The saints have achieved something that most ordinary people have not; nonetheless, the saints’ achievement of the religion’s highest ideals makes them worthy figures for imitation. Richard Kieckhefer and George D. Bond, in considering this tension between the saints’ imitability versus their “utter distinctness from normal humanity,” conclude that the term “saint” may best be applied across religious traditions to individuals “who come to be both imitated and venerated.”¹⁵ I am aware of the Christian connotations of the designation “saint” (*hagios, sanctus*), which was first used broadly in reference to people in the Christian community, and was narrowed later to mean those who withstood martyrdom, and then, finally, those who fit a canon-law definition involving miracles and heavenly intercession.¹⁶ Also, the fact that in Islamic terminology the words that could be translated as “saint,” “holy” or “sacred” “rarely occur in explicit references to persons.”¹⁷ However, as Robert L. Cohn points out regarding his application of the term “saint,” for the term to be relevant to another tradition (in Cohn’s case, Jewish tradition), it should mean a holy person who is “both a model for imitation and an object of veneration.”¹⁸ In this study, I am applying the designation “saint” to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, an Ismā‘īlī Muslim, in this sense.¹⁹ As we shall learn, his followers believe

¹² Renard, *Tales of God's Friends*, 7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 6-8.

¹⁴ Rinehart, *One Lifetime, Many Lives*, 4.

¹⁵ Richard Kieckhefer and George Doherty Bond, "Preface," in *Sainthood: Its Manifestations in World Religions*, ed. Richard Kieckhefer and George Doherty Bond (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), vii.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, viii.

¹⁷ Frederick M. Denny, "'God's Friends': The Sanctity of Persons in Islam," *ibid.*, ed. Richard Kieckhefer and George, 69.

¹⁸ Robert L. Cohn, "Sainthood on the Periphery: The Case of Judaism," *ibid.*, ed. Richard Kieckhefer and George Doherty Bond, 43.

¹⁹ The sociologist Bryan Turner has argued that the Christian terms “saint” and “sainthood” are of little use in an Islamic context. Using the Roman Catholic process of canonization as his basis of comparison, he points out that this formal and highly bureaucratic procedure for recognizing posthumously the holiness of theologians and clerics has little to do with the informal and often ad hoc sanctification of living persons in the Islamic world. He argues that it is best to leave the Arabic concepts untranslated. For a criticism of his views, see Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint* (Austin, Tex.: University of

that he was a worthy exemplar in certain ways but that, at the same time, he had attained a level of spiritual achievement far beyond the range of the ordinary person, thereby illustrating the central tension in sainthood between imitability and inimitability. Of value is the broad-based definition offered by Kieckhefer and Bond, because it allows us to recognize a general category across religious traditions, yet leaves room to analyze the specific nature of what each tradition considers worthy of imitation and veneration, and the concomitant tension between imitability and veneration. There is no single word used in the hagiographies examined in this study that corresponds directly to “saint,” but there are related terms, qualities and titles, which, among many, include *valī Allāh* (“friend of God”), *quṭb al-awliyā’* (“the pole of saints”), *quṭb al-muḥaqqiqīn* (“the pole of those who seek the truth”), *quṭb al-‘ālamīn* (“the pole of the worlds”), *quṭb al-‘arīfīn* (“the pole of the gnostics”), *burhān al-‘arīfīn* (“the proof of the gnostics”), *burhān-i dīn* (“proof of religion”), *ṣāqib al-valīyīn* (“the most sublime of the friends [of God]”), *ghawṣ al-ṣaqalayn* (“the sustainer of both worlds”),²⁰ *rukṅ-i jahān* (“the pillar of the world”), *pīr*, *pīr-i kāmil*, *pīr-i rukṅ* (“a spiritual director” or “a perfect spiritual director”), *quddūs* (“a holy man”), *burhān al-awliyā’* (“proof of saints”), *shāh-i ‘ālījanāb* (“the exalted king”) and so on.

1.1.2 Theoretical Orientation

Early studies of Christian hagiography, where the study of hagiographies began, were highly critical of the genre because of its apparent lack of regard for historical accuracy and uncritical acceptance of myths, miracles and wonders. As Heffernan points out, much of the contemporary understanding of this genre has been shaped by the positivist historiography, which grew out of the Enlightenment response to hagiographical literature. For many, hagiography was a subgenre of historical writing, but as Heffernan observes, the primary function of hagiography is instructional, not historiographical - it aims for religious edification, not historical documentation.²¹ As many scholars have noted, hagiography serves a variety of functions, both pious and non-pious, ranging from preserving the memory of the saint to demonstrating ideal models for religious life within a particular religion, from the edification of its readers or hearers to advancing the causes of faith.²² Hippolyte Delehaye, the

Texas Press, 1998). Cornell asks: “if a *wali Allah* looks like a saint, acts like a saint, and speaks like a saint, why not call him a saint?”

²⁰ The word *ṣaqalayn* means pairs of weighty or valuable things. It is used in Qur’ān 55:31 suggesting the pair of “Jinn and man” (*al-jinn wa al-ins*). This title may be taken from the famous *ḥadīth al-thaqalayn*, which exists in many variants. According to one version, popular among Shī’īs, the term *ṣaqalayn* refers to the Book of God and the progeny of the Prophet. In a Sunnī version of the *ḥadīth*, the term refers to the Book of God and the practice of the Prophet. See for example, Me’ir Mikha’el Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī-Shī’ism* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 93-94. In my translation of *ghawṣ al-ṣaqalayn* above, I have followed Scott A. Kugle. See Scott A. Kugle, *Sufis and Saints’ Bodies: Mysticism, Corporeality, and Sacred Power in Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 174.

²¹ Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, 54.

²² It is because of its various functions that scholars have adopted a multiplicity of approaches to its study. In the study of Christian hagiography, as Coon remarks, “since the 1930s ... there now exists a multiplicity of approaches to the study of hagiography, ranging from concentration of political uses of saintly biography to the search for gendered meanings in these

Bollandist monk with whom the investigations of European sainthood began, contended that the purpose of hagiography is to promote devotion as well as to teach religious doctrines, and that hagiography reflects both social and personal concerns.²³ In her study of Christian hagiography as a genre, Alexandra Olsen notes that we must understand hagiographies not simply as biographical accounts, but as didactic and polemical texts.²⁴ Hence, hagiography is not biography in its modern sense and its content cannot be taken at face value. As Rosemary Woolf points out in the Christian context, lives of saints do not represent the historical biographies suggested by their title:

The saint's life is a highly conventional form, and it must never be measured by the criteria which would be relevant to a modern biography. We should no more look to it for historical or psychological truth than we would to a medieval romance. In origins it is part panegyric, part epic, part romance, part sermon, and historical fact dissolves within the conventions of these forms.²⁵

Negative characterizations of hagiography are related to its markedly formulaic nature, which is its marked feature. In other words, there is a pattern peculiar to hagiography, and as Delehaye writes, hagiography falls

into three parts. Before birth: the saint's ... parentage, his future greatness miraculously foretold; his lifetime: childhood and youth, the most important things he did, his virtues and miracles; after death: his cultus and miracles. In numberless lives of saints at least one of the points in this programme is supplied "from stock," and at times the whole of it is no more than a string of such commonplaces.²⁶

Scholars of hagiography go so far as to state that we should refer to the "lives of the saints" simply as "the life of the saint." For instance, in his study of typology in early medieval Christian hagiography, James W. Earl concludes that "the lives of the just are more than similar: they are, in a sense, identical ..."²⁷ It is true that an examination of the mythical imagery in hagiographies shows that they seem to draw from a "stock" or a "storehouse" of motifs and patterns. There are recurring themes and motifs in the hagiographies of different religious traditions and many scholars have tried to explain the "origin" of these universal themes and motifs in hagiography.²⁸ As interesting as seeking

allegorical texts." Lynda L. Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 5. For a list of works on the various functions of hagiography, see *ibid.*, 158.

²³ Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints: An Introduction to Hagiography* (London: Longmans, Green, 1907), 2.

²⁴ Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, "'De Historiis Sanctorum': A Generic Study of Hagiography," *Genre* 13 (1980): 408.

²⁵ Rosemary Woolf, "Saints' Lives," in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. Eric Gerald Stanley (London: Nelson, 1966), 40.

²⁶ Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, trans. Donald Attwater (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 72-73.

²⁷ James W. Earl, "Typology and Iconographic Style in Early Medieval Hagiography," in *Typology and English Medieval Literature*, ed. Hugh T. Keenan (Hugh T. Keenan: AMS Press, 1992), 91.

²⁸ Some scholars have linked these motifs to the various constructions of universal hero-patterns. See for example, Otto Rank, *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero* (New York: Vintage Books, 1959). Lord Raglan, *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama* (New York: Vintage Books, 1956). Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York: Meridian Books, 1956). Raglan's quintessential list that would account for major points of the hero pattern is provided in Natalie M. Umdenburg, "The Hero Cycle, Various Motifs," in *Archetypes and Motifs in Folklore and Literature*, ed. Jane Garry and Hassan El-Shamy (London: M.E.Sharpe, 2005), 11-12. Reynolds and Capps discuss Rank's "universal biographical pattern" behind myths, legends and folklore and Campbell's 'monomyth' in Reynolds, *The Biographical Process*, 16-23. Alan Dundes shows that the life of Jesus conforms to the universal pattern of the life of hero. See particularly Alan Dundes, *The Hero Pattern and The Life of Jesus. Essays in Folkloristics* (Merut: Folklore Institute, 1978). Tamar Alexander shows that the presentation of numerous heroes of legend conforms to the model and that "this heroic pattern

the “origin” of these common themes and motifs may be, this study is not concerned with trying to account for their recurrence in the Badakhshānī hagiography.

The approach taken in this study is similar to the one Robin Rinehart adopts in her study of the hagiographical tradition of the Hindu saint Swami Rama Tirtha (1873-1906). As Rinehart demonstrates, despite the formulaic nature of hagiography common among saints and the replication of motifs and patterns in the “mythical” and “legendary” imagery in the hagiography, the specific details of a given saint’s life serve as important resources for the study of society and culture in which they were produced. As she writes, “hagiographers and/or the saint’s community of followers have made specific choices about which patterns or motifs to use and which to avoid.”²⁹ Following Rinehart, this study focuses on the different ways in which patterns and motifs are used in the hagiography and the different contexts in which they appear. The historically minded scholar may ignore the “mythical” and “legendary” aspects of hagiography and extract only historically plausible material from it, but such an approach, in the words of Rinehart, privileges “the scholar’s “historically accurate” account over the memories of the saint’s followers.”³⁰ As she writes, “... the ongoing hagiographical tradition itself constitutes a kind of history – the history of how the saint’s followers have chosen to remember him or her.”³¹ Like Rinehart, I acknowledge the “mythohistoric character” of hagiography and treat it as a blend of historical information with mythical and legendary images.³² This study moves beyond the strictly “historical” approach to hagiography. From this standpoint, the hagiographies serve as useful sources of information on the social, religious and political concerns of the communities that produced them.

In this dissertation, to put it in Jean-Claude Poulin’s terms, I am concerned not with the “lived” sanctity but rather with the “imagined” and “remembered” sanctity in the sense that I am reading the hagiography not to establish facts about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but to observe the ways in which the devotional world of the saint has decided to present him and its relationship with him in the hagiography. I am interested in the hagiography as an expression of the followers’ intentions and choices, and in the way changing contexts shape the modes in which those intentions and choices are expressed. In that sense, this dissertation is about something “lived,” and not only “imagined.” It is not

spans Jewish culture in general.” See for example Tamar Alexander, “Rabbi Judah the Pious as a Legendary Figure,” in *Mysticism, Magic, and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism: International Symposium*, ed. Karl Erich Grözinger and Joseph Dan (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 128-32. In his presentation of Islamic hagiography, John Renard refers to “a host of motifs or tropes, character types, and plots or story formulae that make up the apparently universal stock-in-trade of the hagiographer.” Renard, *Tales of God’s Friends*, 2, 8-9. David Lorenzen points to the general pattern, thematic structure and the use of the same folkloric motifs in the Bhakti hagiography in North India and notes that the basic pattern resembles the archetype of the hero as presented by Rank, Raglan and Dundes. David Lorenzen, *Bhakti Religion in North India: Community, Identity and Political Action* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 182-84. For a list of other studies presenting typical life patterns for Indian saints, see Rinehart, *One Lifetime, Many Lives*, 8-9.

²⁹ *One Lifetime, Many Lives*, 10.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² On mythohistoric character of hagiography see Reynolds, *The Biographical Process*, 1.

about the life of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but about the way his followers remembered and experienced him as a saint. As mentioned above, aims of hagiographies differ from those of academic historicist scholars constructing critical historical biographies. By blending facts into an intricate mix of myth and legend, hagiographies with their “mythohistoric character” tell us a great deal about how the followers of saints construct and preserve their memory.³³ While not everything that a hagiography reports may be historically accurate, the blending of myth and history itself within a hagiographical tradition takes on a historical dimension as the portrayal of the saint changes over time. As Rinehart states, “when hagiographical traditions record mythical or legendary information, they nonetheless reveal what are indeed historical facts – not necessarily about the historical figure of the saint, but about the situation of the community the hagiographer addresses.”³⁴ Regarding this point, she further writes,

Analyses of hagiographical images, which stress the role of mythical imagery and common patterns and motifs may intentionally or otherwise give precedence to the ahistorical, timeless nature of myth. Yet every hagiography, however much it makes the individual saint into a “type,” is in some way firmly rooted in a particular community, a particular time, and a particular place. One of the advantages of following the development of a recent hagiographical tradition ... is that it is possible to identify those particulars of time and place, permitting us to investigate the nature of the interaction of those historical particularities with the imagery of myth.³⁵

Rinehart’s work is useful for my project because of her approach to hagiography; she focuses on the history of how followers remember saints and the reasons for doing that rather than on the historical information that the hagiography provides or on the explanation of the recurring universal patterns. The general theoretical orientation of this study significantly derives from her work.

The other relevant theoretical basis for this study is the view that “sainthood” is a “fluid” category that results from negotiations between narratives about saints and their followers. The theoretical ideas of a number of scholars, most notably Aviad Kleinberg,³⁶ Vincent J. Cornell,³⁷ Pierre Deloiz,³⁸ Edmund Kern,³⁹ Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell,⁴⁰ are particularly useful for this study. Analyzing the social dynamics at work in the process of “sainthood-making” in the late middle ages, Kleinberg concludes that sainthood is an attribution, or in Ernest Gellner’s words, it is “in the

³³ Rinehart, *One Lifetime, Many Lives*, 3.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁶ Aviad M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997).

³⁷ Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*.

³⁸ Pierre Deloiz, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church," in *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

³⁹ *Ibid.* Edmund Kern, "Counter-Reformation Sanctity: The Bollandists’ Vita of Blessed Hemma of Gurk," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45, no. 3 (1994): 412-36.

⁴⁰ Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982).

eye of the beholders.”⁴¹ It is through complex negotiations between saints, their narratives and the followers of the saints that sainthood is made. Depending on the different concerns of the followers and the need of the hagiographers to respond to those concerns, the character of the hagiographies changes. Similarly, in his study of the authority of pre-modern Moroccan Ṣūfī saints, Vincent Cornell states that “sainthood is a matter of discourse” and is the result of a process of negotiation.⁴² He acknowledges that saints achieve their status as a result of social and literary processes. Cornell argues that regardless of the actualities of the saint’s qualities, sainthood is a constructed phenomenon. He goes on to say that “the image of the saint is continually being remodeled according to the expectations of the saint’s audience.”⁴³ As Cornell states, “sainthood needs to be recognized by another to exist” and “the collective memory of a saint’s past attributes is based on a living model.”⁴⁴ Similar ideas are echoed in the works of the French sociologist Pierre Delooz who observes that saints “are made saints *by other people*.”⁴⁵ In his words, saints are “for other people ... remodeled in the collective representation that is made of them.”⁴⁶ He goes on to explain that sanctity exists only as others perceive it and, therefore, it always depends on a communal memory or the act of recollection.⁴⁷ As Delooz further asserts, “one is never a saint except for other people.”⁴⁸

Apart from these scholars, Edmund Kern, Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell in their studies on saints in Christendom also argue that a saint cannot or does not live outside of his or her representations or that there is no saint distinct or separate from the discourse about her or him.⁴⁹ They observe that hagiography reflects the mentality of the audience or the community.⁵⁰ According to them “the pursuit as well as the perception of holiness [mirrors] social values and concerns.”⁵¹ Hagiographic narratives may not reflect real events objectively, but they convey traces of collective memories consistent with the “ideal type” of virtues expected from people. According to their shared experiences, faith and religious doctrines, communities define, redefine and transform the recollection of the saint so that only certain traits are reinforced and retained, while others are blurred and forgotten with the passage of time. Sainthood, therefore, is a living creation and recreation, constantly changing according to changing societal memories. The investigations of these and other scholars⁵² on

⁴¹ Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country*, 6.

⁴² “Whether the other who bestows legitimacy on the saint is divine or human, learned or unlearned, a process of negotiation is invariably involved.” Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*, 63.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Delooz, "Towards a Sociological Study," 199. Emphasis is his.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 194.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* For a review of Delooz’s position see Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*, xxxi-xxxii.

⁴⁹ Kern, "Counter-Reformation Sanctity," 412-36. Bell, *Saints and Society*, 13.

⁵⁰ *Saints and Society*, 13.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵² In his study of legends in a South Asian saint’s biography, David Lorenzen argues that legends, “take the form of stories that the members of the community tell about and for themselves. They are reflexive commentaries that define the imagined shared past of the community, its historical identity, as well as normalize its religious, social, moral, political and even

hagiography suggest useful directions for the study of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's sainthood in Badakhshān as they view saints not only as historical persons, but also as constructs, and consider sainthood as an ascribed status, negotiated within particular discourses that are saturated with contextual themes and motifs.

At this juncture, it is important to note that in the hagiographies, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a high-ranking member (*hujjah*, Persian, *hujjat* - literally "proof") of the Ismā'īlī religious hierarchy or *hudūd al-dīn* (Persian, *hudūd-i dīn*). He was bestowed this high rank by the Ismā'īlī Imām. Had he not been given the designation of *hujjat*, it would have been difficult for the community to revere him. In the context of the Ismā'īlī hagiography in Badakhshān, there are two strands at play in this context. While the community itself perceived or accepted the sanctity of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, sanctity was also bestowed on him by the authority of the Ismā'īlī Imām. Likewise, in following the aforementioned scholars and assuming that saints are cultural artifacts who do not exist outside the value that individuals and communities project onto them, I do not intend to deny the possibility that the saint of our hagiographical sources was an individual who was granted special favor by God or the Ismā'īlī Imām and whose entire life was a manifestation of divine love or superhuman sacrifice. Neither is it to deny that he was capable of performing marvels or acts of charity. An examination of the ontological status of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's sainthood is beyond the scope of this study, just as his biography as a historical person. It solely focuses on an examination of him as a construct, the creation of his followers' perceptions and expectations centuries after his death.⁵³ Whatever his "real" merits, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, like any other saint, is relevant, in part, due to his ability to mirror people's perceptions and expectations according to changing hopes, pressures and ideals. Thomas Head has rightly pointed out that for the believer or the hagiographer, Delooz's subtle distinction between "real" saints and "constructed" saints does not hold.⁵⁴ All saints are real and, paradoxically, it is the "constructed" saint, the saint that is pertinent, that is perceived to be the "real" one.⁵⁵ This "reality" for the believer is determined, among other things, by his relevance; that is to say, the saint is "real" as long as the believer can invest the saint with relevance. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as this study demonstrates, has not been dismissed into oblivion, forgotten or erased from the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī community's memory, but

economic values." David Lorenzen, *Kabir Legends and Ananta-Das's Kabir Parachai* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 4. Robert Rozeznal contends that hagiographic narratives blur the boundaries between history and mythology. He argues that sainthood is simultaneously paradigmatic, protean, and socially constructed and as a public marker of personal piety, sainthood is an ascribed status. Robert Thomas Rozeznal, *Islamic Sufism Unbound: Politics and Piety in Twenty-First Century Pakistan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 41.

⁵³ Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell acknowledged the crucial distinction between "the saint as historical person and as construct, the creation of other people's perceptions and expectations" and examine both. Bell, *Saints and Society*, 9.

⁵⁴ Delooz draws a fundamental distinction between the perception of living saints and the reputation that is ascribed to saints after death. Real saints were often recent saints and there was much historical data available about them. Constructed saints were remodeled saints, in whom sometimes nothing of the real was left, or about whom sometimes there was no historical information. Delooz still emphasized that all saints are, in a way, constructed, because saints are saints for other people and "they are remodeled in the collective representation which is made of them." Delooz, "Towards a Sociological Study," 195.

⁵⁵ Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orleans, 800-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 117-18.

remains a “real” saint.

“Hagiography,” as Rinehart points out, “must chronicle the ways in which followers experienced the saint as a saint.”⁵⁶ It is the experience of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī community of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint with which this study is concerned. The present study examines the historical evolution of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s hagiography in Badakhshān. In this regard, it is unlike the study conducted by Kleinberg, who examines the lives of saints and their interactions with their followers during their lifetime,⁵⁷ the work of Cornell who examines negotiations between prospective saints and their followers⁵⁸ and that of Rinehart who examines how representations of a Hindu saint changed over his lifetime and after his death.⁵⁹ The authors of the hagiographies and the community that remembers the hagiographical stories were not close companions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw; they did not witness or experience his piety, miracles and behaviour. Nāṣir-i Khusraw died some five hundred years before the earliest reliably dated Badakhshānī hagiographical account of him examined in this study was produced. These scholarly works, however, are useful for my project because they acknowledge how concerns of the communities of saints are projected onto accounts of the saint’s life and how hagiography should be seen not simply as an account of the life of a saint, but also an account of the exchange between the saint and his followers. Indeed, the hagiographical tradition is not simply about his life; it is just as much or even more so about his followers’ experiences of that life.

1.2 Scholarship on Islamic Hagiography and Nāṣir-i Khusraw

1.2.1 Islamic Hagiography

Scholars have sometimes neglected Islamic hagiography – which has a dominating presence in *tazkirah*, *manāqib*, *rijāl*, *sīrat al-awliyā’*, *ṭabaqāt*, *faḍā’il*, *malḥūzāt*, *waṣāyā*, *tarjamah* and writings - as a sort of superficial manifestation of popular literature, full of strange and fanciful stories and tales, unworthy of any historical attention.⁶⁰ Despite that, some scholars have made a distinction between “a historical” component and “a fanciful” part in the contents of hagiography or between “a more historically reliable” and “a more fabulous” hagiography, devoting their attention to the possibility of drawing historical information from it.⁶¹ This undue distinction has finally been overcome and scholars have come to consider hagiography as an indivisible whole that represents a peculiar genre.

⁵⁶ Rinehart, *One Lifetime, Many Lives*, 12.

⁵⁷ Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country*.

⁵⁸ Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*.

⁵⁹ Nancy Caciola, too, presents a brilliant study of the discursive process of representations of saints. Nancy Caciola, "Through a Glass, Darkly: Recent Work on Sanctity and Society," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 2 (1996): 301-09.

⁶⁰ Gori, "First studies on the texts of Shaykh Ḥusayn’s Hagiographies," 55. “Until comparatively recently, historians tended to raise an eyebrow at the mention of such texts which were regarded as miraculous flights of fancy rather than a part of the more “tangible” historical record.” Scott Reese, *Renewers of the Age: Holy Men and Social Discourse in Colonial Benaadir* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 26.

⁶¹ Gori, "First studies on the texts of Shaykh Ḥusayn’s Hagiographies," 55.

Hagiographical accounts have begun to be used for perspectives missing from historiographical accounts and are used as valuable sources for reconstructing social and cultural history.⁶² Some have focused on the function of hagiographical sources for the time in which they were produced, by paying attention both to their redefinition and restructuring of the past for present needs as well as to the clues about the social context of their compilation provided by them.⁶³ Other scholars have used these sources for information on religious doctrines.⁶⁴ Yet other scholars in Islamic studies, similar to their counterparts in the study of Christian hagiography, have focused on the nature of hagiography, the ways in which hagiography promotes the memory of individual saints, the processes by which biographical images are created and the role of hagiography in shaping religious communities.⁶⁵ Overall, there is a multiplicity of approaches to hagiography in Islamic scholarship.

Thomas Heffernan argues that hagiographies are texts that have broad social relevance within the communities that create them and are, in fact, reflections of what members of these communities regard as important.⁶⁶ Scholars studying Islamic hagiography have begun to offer similar arguments with regard to Islamic hagiographical narratives. Michael Gilson, David Edwards and Karen Ruffle have shown – in Egypt, Afghanistan and India respectively – that such narratives can tell us a great

⁶² As Jürgen Paul remarks, “while it is true that hagiographic texts should be used only with extreme caution for the reconstruction of the historical events they mention, nonetheless they remain valuable for social and cultural history.” Jürgen Paul, “Hagiographic Literature,” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XI/5, 2002, 537. Similarly, a quarter of a century ago, Jean Aubin observed, “Nous y saisissons le mode de vie, les préoccupations quotidiennes, la voix même des couches modestes, mieux qu’aucun autre document de l’époque ne les enregistre. Avec les restrictions, toutefois, qu’implique le genre hagiographic.” Jean Aubin, “La propriété foncière en Azerbaydjan sous les Mongols,” *Le monde iranien et l’Islam* 4 (1977): 85. Monika Gronke has recently developed this approach in the context of Islamic studies. She offers an example of how hagiographic and documentary sources can be used in a complementary way. As Gronke demonstrates, hagiographies have value in historical research. They do reveal much about the social history and spiritual beliefs that is not normally included in official histories. On this see Monika Gronke, *Derwische im Vorhof der Macht* (Stuttgart:1993), 208. Another recent study is based on the meticulous analysis of narrative elements employed in hagiographic and other historiographical texts, which are treated on the same basis. Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park, Pa.1994). See also DeWeese, *An Uvaysi Sufi in Timūrid Mawarannahr: Notes on Hagiography and the Taxonomy of Sanctity in the Religious History of Central Asia*, Papers on Inner Asia 22 (Bloomington, 1993). Since historical information about daily life in Muslim societies is not readily available, the fact that hagiography is one of the few genres where the concerns of ordinary people are expressed at all has led to recent attempts at using such works accordingly. The items of information about the past that are provided in these works may be unreliable, and so it has been proposed to study the references to individuals and events in hagiographic texts in a quantitative way. On this see Jürgen Paul, “Au début du genre hagiographique dans le Khurassan,” in *Saints Orientaux*, ed. D. Aigle (Paris:: 1995), 15-38. “Hagiographische Texte als historische Quelle,” *Saeculum* 41 (1990): 17-43. Jacqueline Chabbi, “‘Abd al-Qâdir al-Djîlânî personnage historique: Quelques éléments de biographie,” *Studia Islamica* 38 (1973): 77-105. Other studies examine hagiographical narratives to draw out larger social and ideological currents running through the literature. See for example Shahzad Bashir, “Narrating Sight: Dreaming as Visual Training in Persianate Sufi Hagiography,” ed. Özgen Felek and Alexander Knysh (New York: State University of New York Press, 2012), 233-48.

⁶³ See for example Jawid A. Mojaddedi, *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism: the Ṭabaqat Genre from al-Sulami to Jami* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001). Scott Reese, *Renewers of the Age*.

⁶⁴ Carl Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 75-78.

⁶⁵ Tony Stewart, “The Subject and the Ostensible Subject: Mapping the Genre of Hagiography among South Asian Chistis,” in *Contemporary Islam Between Theory and Practice*, ed. Carl W. Ernst and Richard Martin (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010), 227-44. Tony Stewart, “The Subject and the Ostensible Subject: Mapping the Genre of Hagiography among South Asian Chistis,” in *Contemporary Islam Between Theory and Practice*, ed. Carl W. Ernst and Richard Martin (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010), 227-44.

⁶⁶ Within the Western Christian context, he notes, “the lives of the saints were sacred stories designed to teach the faithful to imitate actions which the community had decided were paradigmatic.” Such texts, “iterate a system of values with wide community acceptance,” and “are designed to promote social cohesion.” Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, 5, 18.

deal about the communities that produce and use them. As works of literature, they argue, miracles may be best approached as stories that “provide an avenue for understanding the cultural significance of Islam ...” in a given society. In particular, hagiographical stories act as a popular “discursive vehicle” through which “a certain kind of ethos and worldview are made real and apparent.”⁶⁷ In her study of South Asian Shī‘ī hagiography, Ruffle demonstrates that hagiography of charismatic individuals expresses “the prescriptive ideas and doctrines of Islam as well as vernacular/local social values.”⁶⁸ “Hagiography,” she writes, “reflects local cultural values, variations in religious practice, political ideology, language, and gender norms.”⁶⁹ In short, in addition to glorifying the life of given saints or charismatic individuals, hagiography has come to be regarded as an important source of social commentary in relation to Muslim societies that produce and use them.

Although most studies on Islamic hagiography focus on texts that are produced in the Šūfī tradition and focus on the more restrictive, Šūfī-oriented view of sainthood,⁷⁰ there are studies that adopt a more inclusive approach to hagiography,⁷¹ focus on hagiography beyond Šūfism⁷² and beyond

⁶⁷ David Edwards, *Heroes of the Age: Moral Fault Lines on the Afghan Frontier* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 130-32. Michael Gilson, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt: An Essay in the Sociology of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

⁶⁸ Karen Ruffle, *Gender, Sainthood, and Everyday Practice in South Asian Shi‘ism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ See, for instance, Berndt Radtke and John O’Kane, *Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996). Katherine Ewing, *Arguing Sainthood: Modernity, Psychoanalysis, and Isla* (Duke University Press, 1996). Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*. Among many studies on specifically Šūfī hagiography are Devin DeWeese, “Sacred Places and ‘Public’ Narratives: The Shrine of Ahmad Yasavi in the hagiographical traditions of the Yasavi Sufi Order, 16th-17th centuries,” *Muslim World* 90 (2000): 353-76. Richard McGregor, *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Wafa Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn Arabi* (Albany: SUNY, 2004). Devin DeWeese, “Aḥmad Yasavī and the Dog-Men: Narratives of Hero and Saint at the Frontier of Orality and Textuality,” in *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Istanbul, March 28-30, 2001* (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2007), 147-73. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*. Mojaddedi, *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism*. Paul, “Au début du genre hagiographique dans le Khurassan,” 13-38. “Hagiographische,” 17-43. Chabbi, “‘Abd al-Qādir al-Djilānī,” 75-106.

⁷¹ In his article “Hagiographic literature in Persia and Central Asia,” Jürgen Paul defines hagiography or, rather, hagiographic literature “as a biographical genre devoted to individuals enjoying an exclusive religious status as “saints” or “holy men” in the eyes of the authors.” Jürgen Paul, “Hagiographic Literature,” 536-539. Although the definition is inclusive, Jürgen Paul focuses on the hagiographic literature produced in the Šūfī tradition about the Muslim equivalent of saints or the *awliyā’* (the Arabic for ‘friend of God’, ‘divine protégé’, ‘saint’). John Renard, however, takes a more inclusive approach and adopts a very broad definition of the term *walī* (pl. *awliyā’*). The term *walī* describes a personage who is regarded as a special “friend” of God; hence, the term “saint” is generally used to describe a *walī*. Nevertheless, for Renard, any individual who has happened to become an object of popular adulation, of pious visitations to and special rituals associated with his/her grave site, as well as of hagiographical accounts and miracle narratives, deserves to be placed into the category of “friends of God.” Renard, *Tales of God's Friends*.

⁷² Some studies of hagiography in relation to the role and function of sainthood within the Shī‘ī tradition include: Ruffle, *Gender, Sainthood, and Everyday Practice*. Caroline Williams, “The Cult of Alid Saints in the Fatimid Monuments of Cairo Part I: The Mosque of al-Aqmar,” *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 37-52. Caroline Williams, “The Cult of Alid Saints in the Fatimid Monuments of Cairo Part II: The Mausolea,” *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 39-60. Naşrollah Pourjavady, “Opposition to Sufism in Twelver Shiism,” in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics*, ed. Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radtke (Leiden: Brill), 614-23. Michel Boivin, “The Saint as Ancestor in Some Sufī and Ismaili Communities of the Sindh Area,” in *Family Portraits with Saints: Hagiography, Sanctity, and Family in the Muslim World*, ed. Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen and Alexandre Pappas (Berlin: Klaus Scharz, 2014), 327-42. Rafīque Keshavjee, *Mysticism and the Plurality of Meaning: The Case of the Ismailis of Rural Iran* (London: I.B. Taruis, 1998).

textual hagiography.⁷³ Since I have already explained the meaning of the term “hagiography” as used in this study, at this point I only need to add that it is the inclusive approach to hagiography, beyond Ṣūfism and the written hagiography, that is adopted here. The materials, as mentioned, used in this study do not fall within the specific traditional categories or sub-genres of hagiography, but they contain elements that appear in them. When it comes to themes and narrative devices, common threads are easily discernible in the written materials for this study and the aforementioned sub-genres of Islamic hagiography. As for the medium, in addition to textual modes, which have received the bulk of attention in scholarship, there are verbal or oral varieties of Islamic hagiography. The sources used in this study are oral and, as mentioned, those that appear in the written form are themselves based on and part of the oral tradition. The *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir* (also known as the *Jāmi‘ al-ḥikāyāt va baḥr al-akhbār*) begins with the claim that “it comes to us from the *mukhābirān-i pīshīn*” (the past narrators) or “*naql ast az darvīshān*” (as the dervishes narrate), which usually indicates that the stories in it had been orally transmitted. Similarly, the reason given for writing the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* is that only a few individuals knew the tradition; so it had to be recorded in order to be preserved. It is fair to assume that, prior to being written down, the stories and legends had been circulating orally among the community, having been told, retold, changed and adapted to various circumstances many times and still kept alive in the collective memory of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs.

1.2.2 Scholarship on the Hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw

It is fair to state that the study of Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw has in many ways paralleled the study of Christian hagiography, with similarly negative characterizations of the “legendary” and “mythical” nature of hagiographical reporting on the historical figure. The Tajik scholar Qudratbek Ēl'chibekov, for instance, notes that the hagiographical stories “are without any scientific and historical basis” and are not therefore historically useful sources.⁷⁴ He describes the attitude of the people who attribute wondrous deeds (*karāmāt*) to Nāṣir-i Khusraw “a thoughtless attitude” (*neobdumannoe otnoshenie*), which according to him damages the image of the great intellectual, Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁷⁵ The study considers the attribution of wondrous deeds to Nāṣir-i Khusraw as “magic” (*siḥr*) and state that the “stories and legends describe him as a sorcerer and a

⁷³ For example, Millie, “Khāriq ul-‘Ādah Anecdotes,” 43-65. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt*. Edward B. Reeves, “Power, Resistance and the Cult of Muslim Saints in a Northern Egyptian Town,” *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 2 (1995): 306-23. Studies on Badakhshānī hagiography and saint traditions include Sharaf Oshurbekov, “Places, Memories and Religious Identity: Muslim Places of Worship in Badakhshan Region of Tajikistan” (PhD Diss., York University, 2014). Gross, “The Pamir: Shrine Traditions,” 10. “The Motif of the Cave,” 134. Beben, “The Legendary Biographies.”

⁷⁴ Qudratbek Ēl'chibekov, “Istoki Legend O Nasir Khusrave,” in *Nasir Khusraw: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, ed. Niyozov and Nazariyev (Khujand: Noshir, 2005), 404. In his recent publication on the spiritual hierarchy of Ismā‘īlism in Badakhshān, which is based on the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov notes, “This addition [to the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*] provides information about the life of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān, about his disciples and followers, but a large portion of it has mythological character and it, apart from separate moments, cannot serve as a source for the study of the life of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān.” *Ierarkhiā dukhovenstva v Ismailizme Badakhshana, Silk-i guharrez* (Dushanbe: 2015), 81.

magician” (*koldun i charodei*).⁷⁶ In a harsher tone, Shāh Sulaymān valad-i Qurbān Shāh condemns several hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw as utterly useless sources of information about him. In his unpublished work called *Afsānah va haqīqat* or *Tales and Truth* (RU-IIS, accession number MSGK50) and written in Persian in 1976, he describes these sources as the product of the imagination of “the uneducated” (*bi’savād*) and labels them as “laughable” (*khandah’āvar*).⁷⁷ He also writes that these sources bring the great intellectual Nāṣir-i Khusraw to “lowness” (*pastī*) by attributing “magic” (*jādūyī va sihr*) and “impossible feats” (*kārhā-yi nā’ mumkin*) to him.⁷⁸

Ēl’chibekov and Shāh Sulaymān valad-i Qurbān Shāh judge these sources to be unreliable, in contrast to works of history. In this, their approach is similar to that of Wladimir Ivanow, who in his discussion of the first chapter of the *Kalām-i pīr*, which contains a hagiographic life story of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, rejected it as unworthy of any scholarly attention.⁷⁹ To be fair to these scholars, their primary purpose is to find “historical truth” about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as they are neither interested in nor attempt to investigate the functions of the hagiography or pay attention to the memory of the community. Ivanow deliberately avoided using hagiographical legends and stories surrounding the figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, for he considered them to be the subject of study for folklorists. He called these sorts of sources a product the “popular collective fancy and imagination.”⁸⁰ Regarding the Badakhshānīs in particular, he explicitly stated that “the imaginative Badakhshānīs” were “fond of inventing” fictions.⁸¹

In Soviet times, Andrei Bertel’s briefly examined the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and pointed to the importance of studying the hagiographic literature of the East as a source for understanding people’s attitude to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s writings in different periods. He wrote that the so-called Pāmīrī *Safar’nāmah* (another local name for the *Risālat al-nadāmah*) shared many elements with the Athanasius of Alexandria’s hagiography of Saint Anthony and contained elements of “modern Tajik folklore,” by which he means the “folklore” of the Ismā’īlīs.⁸² Bertel’s described the versions of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* as entirely “fantastic” that cannot be used as sources for an authentic biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. According to him, only Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s own works could serve as reliable sources on his biography.⁸³ Although Bertel’s examines the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, he mentions nothing about the other Badakhshānī Ismā’īlī hagiographical works about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. He planned to devote a

⁷⁵ "Istoki Legend O Nasir Khusrave," 404. See also Gulniso Rizvonshoeva considers such stories as “popular” that are only “unfavourable” to the image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and passes judgements on the “miraculous” nature of the stories.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Shāh Sulaimān Qurbānshāh, *Afsānah va Haqīqat* (Unpublished, Khorog Research Unit of the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 1976). Accession number MSGK50, 168.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 94.

⁷⁹ See Wladimir Ivanow’s discussion of the first chapter of the *Kalām-i pīr*, which contains a hagiographic life story of Harāfī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*, xvi-xxi.

⁸⁰ Ibid., xvi.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Bertel’s, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 152-53.

⁸³ Ibid., 160.

separate work to the study of all known “sacred biographies” (*zhitii*) of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but it does not appear that he was able to achieve this. A few years later, together with Baqoev, Bertel’s briefly describes the *Sarguzasht-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*,⁸⁴ the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*⁸⁵ (both of which, as I will show in Chapter Six, are the *Risālat al-nadāmah*) and the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* in their catalogue.⁸⁶

Some local Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī researchers, including A. Karimova, M. Davlatshoev, N. Jonboboev and N. Shakarmamadov recorded oral hagiographical “stories” (*rivoiat*) about Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān between 1961 and 1989. The results of their research are kept in the Institute for the Studies of Humanities in Khorog, the Institute of Languages and Literature in Dushanbe and some of these stories were recently published in Nisori Shakarmamadov’s *La”l-i kūhsor*.⁸⁷ These researchers simply recorded these oral stories. None of them paid attention to the written hagiographical stories composed during the Soviet era. Other ethnographic research on the Badakhshānīs conducted during the Soviet era similarly ignored the oral and written hagiography surrounding Nāṣir-i Khusraw, regardless of whether it was related to shrines or other religious practices or not.⁸⁸ Similar to these scholars, the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī scholar Amirbek Ĥabibov simply records a number of hagiographical stories but does not provide any analysis.⁸⁹

Although the above-mentioned Ēl’chibekov uses the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* or *The Pearl Scatterer* that contains hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw for historical information in his dissertation on the structure and hierarchy of the local Ismā‘īlī mission, he does not focus on the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁹⁰ Some scholars stand on the opposite pole to those who are critical of the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and accept those narratives as “factual history.”⁹¹ Between the two

⁸⁴ Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 64-65 (#137). There is a typo in the catalogue. The date of the transcription is on page 65b of the codex in which the text appears, not on page 65a as the catalogue indicates.

⁸⁵ *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 17b. Ibid., 58-59 (#119).

⁸⁶ Bertel’s and Baqoev also list its as *Guhar’rīz* in their catalogue. Ibid., 65 (#198).

⁸⁷ A”lo Karimova recorded stories in Rūshān in 1989. The records are kept in the archive of KIH (FP1: 7510-7513, FFVI: 1461, FFVI: 1504). Some documents that contain stories (recorded in 1961) about Nāṣir-i Khusraw are found in FFVI: 1448 and FFVI: 1443 (recorded by M. Davlatshoev), which are kept in the Institute of Languages and Literature (Rudaki). Nisori Shakarmamadov has published some of the stories that he and Nazardod Jonboboev recorded in Shughnān and Rūshān during the Soviet time (from 1962-1986) in his *La”l-i kūhsor*. See Nisori Shakarmamadov, *La”l-i kūhsor* (Khorog: 2003), 29, 34, 35, 41, 43.

⁸⁸ There is a limited number of pre-Soviet and Soviet ethnographic studies in Badakhshān, such as Ivan Zarubin, *Materialy i zametki po etnografii gornyx tadjikov Dolina Bartanga* (Petrograd: Tipografiia Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk, 1917). Mikhail S. Andreev, *Tadjiki doliny Khuf (verkhov’ia Amu-Dar’i)*, vol. 1 (Stalinabad: Akademiia Nauk Tadjikistana, 1953).

⁸⁹ Ĥabibov, “Chashmai Nosiri Khusrav.”

⁹⁰ Qudratbek Ēl’chibekov, “Ierarkhiia dukhovenstva v Ismailizme v ee politicheskaia rol’ (na osnove materialov, sobrannykh ekspeditsiei v Gorno-Badakhshānskuu Avtonomnuu Oblast’ Tadjikskoi SSR v 1959-1970 gg.)” (PhD Diss., Institute of Oriental Studies, 1977).

⁹¹ La”ljubai Mirzohasan and Alidodi Charoghbdol, *Tazkirai adiboni Badakhshon* (Dushanbe: Adib, 2005), 3-5. The authors, as Daniel Beben observes, “draw literally both from Nāṣir’s own works and from the pseudo-autobiographical tradition in narrating his biography.” Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” 157. The Soviet writer Maĭskii, despite being critical of religion, accepts the hagiographical narratives about Nāṣir-i Khusraw as factual. P. M. Maĭskii, “Sledy drevnikh verovanii v pamiirskom islamizme,” *Sovetskaia Ēnografiia* 3 (1935): 50-58. Amirbek Ĥabibov also questions the historical authenticity of the hagiographical narratives of the *Risālat al-nadāmah fi zād al-qiyāmah* in some, but quotes them uncritically in other cases. See Ĥabibov, *Ganji Badakhshon*, 16. *Az ta”rĭkhi ravobiti adabii Badakhshon bo Ĥinduston*, 5-6. “Nosiri Khusraw va

poles one finds those studies that adopt a new approach to the hagiography and focus on its functions rather than use it for “historical” information. They, however, use them in relation to other issues, which are their main foci. Marcus Schadl, for example, uses some stories to illustrate certain points in his article on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s shrine in Yumgān.⁹² Jo-Ann Gross examines the motif of the cave related to oral and written traditions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s burial and death in Yumgān.⁹³ Apart from these, several scholars have only produced descriptive collections of stories and catalogued both oral and written hagiographical traditions surrounding Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁹⁴

Daniel Beben’s recent PhD dissertation is of particular relevance to this study in terms of its focus and approach. Beben examines the evolution of the legendary biographical traditions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw among Sunnīs from the 16th to the 19th century. He focuses on the *Risālat al-nadāmah* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Unlike other scholars, who only attempted to establish its inauthenticity and its unreliability as a source for the historical life of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Beben places it and other narratives that derive from it within their own historical context and examines the particular agendas behind their creation. Unlike previous studies, which have focused on the need to separate the legendary from the historical in explicating the biographical narratives of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Beben’s study offers the first systematic analysis of the legendary material and its evolution over time. His approach is different from the previous ones, as he examines the value of these narratives for understanding social and religious history of Badakhshān. His study, as he points out, “falls squarely within the hagiographical tradition that DeWeese described as “concern not for ‘what happened,’ but ‘what people say happened’” and ““what people say happened” may provide a valuable window into the social context in which they spoke.”⁹⁵

In his study, Beben argues that it was only in the 18th century that a written hagiographical tradition connected with Nāṣir-i Khusraw took shape among the Ismā‘īlī communities in Badakhshān. He argues that this Ismā‘īlī hagiographical tradition drew significantly upon the older stratum of Sunnī biographical narratives about Nāṣir-i Khusraw and sought to capitalize upon his charisma as a popular saint in an effort to extend the Ismā‘īlī mission in Badakhshān. Beben explores the various agendas behind the creation of the narratives that range from political and social legitimacy to communal

folk’lori Badakhshon," *Sharq-i surkh*, no. 9 (1960): 134-35. *Az ta"rikhi adabiēti tojik dar Badakhshon* (Dushanbe: Donish, 1971), 25.

⁹² See for example, Schadl, "The Shrine of Nasir Khusraw," 63-93.

⁹³ Gross, "The Motif of the Cave," 130-68.

⁹⁴ Bertel's and Baqoev, for instance, provide brief descriptions of the contents of some of the texts that contain hagiographical materials about Nāṣir-i Khusraw in their catalogue of Badakhshānī manuscripts. Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*. Among works focused on the hagiographical traditions about Nāṣir-i Khusraw see Orif Shakarmamadov, "Rivoĭat va afsonaho doir ba Nosiri Khusrav dar osori khattī," in *Nasir Khusraw: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, ed. Niyozov and Nazariyev (Khujand: Noshir, 2005), 599-602. Nisormamad Shakarmamadov, "Hakim Nosiri Khusrav dar tasavvuri mardum," *ibid.*, 592-98. Bāmiyānī, *Afsānahā-yi tārikhī*. Shakarmamadov, "Chu la'l dar kūhsor ast." Ĥabibov, "Chashmai Nosiri Khusrav." Qalandarov, "Agiografiā." Qudratbek El'chibekov, "Manshai rivoēt dar borai Nosiri Khusrav," *Nomai pazhuhishgoh* 4 (2003): 181-89.

⁹⁵ Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 3.

formation. In this study, I argue that it is not the Sunnīs, but the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān that created the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, which later hagiographies use as a source of data. As such, the Ismā‘īlī hagiographical tradition has a history longer than what Beben argues. I will return to Beben’s specific points and arguments in their proper contexts, but here I must mention that his study is the most significant contribution to the study of the Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. As Beben focuses on the legendary biographical traditions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, he understandably does not deal with the broader written hagiographical traditions surrounding the saint in Badakhshān beyond the early 14th/20th century. As he mentions, “the study of the legendary and hagiographical traditions connected with Nāṣir-i Khusraw remains largely untouched.”⁹⁶ This dissertation makes the first attempt at the understanding of the hagiographical traditions surrounding Nāṣir-i Khusraw among the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān from the 10th/16th century to the end of Soviet times in the late 1980s. It is in some way an addition as well as a continuation of Beben’s study, but it also questions some of his assumptions and concerns itself with broader hagiographical traditions. This work does not limit its scope to those accounts that are seemingly based on the *Risālat al-nadāmah* in which Beben is interested.

Beben examines the hagiographical stories in the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* and briefly compares them with those in the *Baḥr al- akhbār*. The latter, which is referred to as the *Siyāḥat’nāmah-i Nāṣir* in this study, is an important hagiographical source about Nāṣir-i Khusraw and was recently transcribed from the Persian into Tajik Cyrillic and published in Khorog, Badakhshān.⁹⁷ For the sake of his argument(s), Beben focuses on the similarities between these sources and the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, but my study pays serious attention to the differences as well. As mentioned before, hagiographical stories may share much in common, but by paying attention to the differences, the various ways in which the saint’s images are represented and the varying contexts in which they appear, we will appreciate and learn more about the *creative process* of the art of hagiography and the active “editing process” of the community involved. The written hagiographical traditions are different in many ways from the *Risālat al-nadāmah* – much has been removed from or added to it. As I aim to show, the hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw underwent changes in Badakhshān in different socio-historical contexts from the 10th/16th century until the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Conclusion

The focus of this study, similar to Beben’s work, is on “the views of the beholders” rather than “the object of attention.” Unlike most of the studies on the Badakhshānī hagiography, it reads the various oral and written hagiographical stories as “mirrors” that reflect values of the community beyond the mere accounts about the subject, Nāṣir-i Khusraw. To date, these oral traditions and hagiographies still

⁹⁶ Ibid., 38.

remain a neglected area of study and have mostly been dismissed as unreliable sources. In the 9th/15th century, Dawlatshāh Samarqandī reported that the ruler of Badakhshān dismissed such tales as popular rumor (*sukhan-i 'avvām*) that lacks credibility. Half a millennium later, Wladimir Ivanow warned the reader of a serious “drawback” in the account of the biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, offered by the Persian scholar Sayyid Ḥasan Taqī'zādah that is appears in the latter's introduction to the Tehran edition of the Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīvān*. He noted that the problem with the account is that “it does not reject the legend which has already begun to grow around Nāṣir's name at an amazingly early period.”⁹⁸ He went on to say,

“I believe it would be a safer policy not to touch a source of information to which we have no key to understanding. The possibility may not be entirely ruled out that such legends contained grains of truth, but truth distorted and perverted is as useless as plain untruth.”⁹⁹

Ivanow writes the following regarding the portion of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* included in the first chapter of the *Kalām-i pīr*:

“It will thus be seen that the story given in the first chapter of the *Kalam-i Pir* is purely fictitious, from beginning to end, and we may safely reject it. The same applies to the other details of the first *bab*. A modest, sober-minded, and clever man, such as Nasir-i Khusraw appears in his genuine works, especially his *Safar-nama*, would never write such a bombastic, boastful, exaggerated, sentimental, and utterly incoherent account as this, with all these plainly fictitious details about his “900 tafsirs” which he studied, etc., intended to strike the imagination of the reader. Though quite worthless, the first *bab* is included into this edition only in order not to interfere with the entirety of the work.”¹⁰⁰

The “historical truth” that Ivanow is after concerns the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw and not the product of what Ivanow calls “popular collective fancy and imagination.”¹⁰¹ As mentioned, we cannot depend on such texts as repositories of “factual information” or “historical truth” about their subjects, but they can illuminate the world of those who do the telling in deeply beneficial ways. Lives of the subjects of hagiographical accounts are primarily cloaked in legends. Legends are much more than “popular collective fancy and imagination.” Legend has been characterized as a reflection of commonly held values and beliefs in the community in which it exists. Legends and beliefs enjoy a symbiotic relationship in tradition, and legend narratives both reiterate and reinforce these beliefs. Legends are not detached from reality. The truth-value of legends is irrelevant because, whether the story told is true or not, the fact that the story is being told at all allows scholars to use it as commentary upon the cultures that produce and circulate the legends.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Badakhshī?, *Bahr ul-akhbor*.

⁹⁸ Ivanow, *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, 4.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Harātī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*, xxi.

¹⁰¹ Ivanow, *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, 4.

¹⁰² According to Timothy R. Tangherlini, “Legend, typically, is a short (mono-)episodic, traditional, highly ecotypified historicized narrative performed in a conversational mode, reflecting on a psychological level a symbolic representation of folk belief and collective experiences and serving as a reaffirmation of commonly held values of the group to whose tradition it belongs.” Timothy R. Tangherlini, “‘It Happened Not Too Far from Here...’: A Survey of Legend Theory and Characterization,” *Western Folklore* 49 (1990): 385.

Having reviewed the theoretical approaches of a range of scholars in this chapter, this dissertation examines the various images of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition and uses them as a window to study the social, religious and political concerns of the community that produced and read them. It presents the findings in a way that recognizes the mythical and legendary elements of the hagiographies. As researchers in the study of religions, we acknowledge the value of the hagiographical tradition when it comes to presenting a different kind of history, a “history of how the saint’s followers have chosen to remember him or her” as it blends, “historical information with mythical and legendary images.”¹⁰³ Hagiographies function as both generally accepted and localized forms of historical experience and imagination; thus allowing us to understand what Murphy describes as the development of religious and communitarian sensibilities, “as expressed through the imagination of the past.”¹⁰⁴ Hagiographies impart information about the tellers and their views about the holy person, illustrating how the community imagined the holy person and how they imagined themselves.

It is my hope to demonstrate the ways in which the hagiographic process has taken place, the changes and the additions that have been made and to examine the reasons behind those changes and additions in varying social and political contexts. The following two chapters, both concentrated on history, will examine the religious background and socio-political context of the hagiography. Chapter Two offers a brief survey of the history of Ismā‘īlism in Badakhshān in order to facilitate an understanding of the religious context of the hagiography and the importance of Nāṣir-i Khusraw for the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs. Chapter Three provides an account of the socio-political history of Badakhshān in order to help the reader appreciate some of the historical and cultural dynamics that have an influence on the hagiographical materials of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

¹⁰³ Rinehart, *One Lifetime, Many Lives*, 8.

¹⁰⁴ James M. Hegarty, "Hagiography and the Religious Imaginary in Eighteenth-Century Punjab," in *Routledge South Asian Religion: Time, History and The Religious Imaginary in South Asia*, ed. Anne Murphy (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2001), 136.

Chapter 2

History: Ismā‘īlism and Badakhshān

The readers of this dissertation will come across many personal names and concepts in later chapters, which introduce and analyze the Badakhshānī hagiographical sources about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The majority of the individuals named in the sources are Ismā‘īlī historical figures and many of the concepts used in these accounts are Ismā‘īlī. While the later chapters will provide information about these individuals and concepts in their proper place, it would still be useful to provide a general understanding of Ismā‘īlism and a brief survey of the history of Ismā‘īlism in Badakhshān. This will help us to better appreciate the religious context of the hagiography and the importance of Nāṣir-i Khusraw for the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs, which in turn explains the significance of the hagiographical accounts about him. Beyond this purpose, the readers will probably wonder what Ismā‘īlism is and what its main teachings are. This chapter is especially useful for the readers who are not familiar with Ismā‘īlī history and basic teachings.

For these purposes, the first section of the chapter offers a brief overview of Ismā‘īlī history. The manner in which Nāṣir-i Khusraw is presented in the hagiographies is influenced by the developments and transformations that occurred in Ismā‘īlī history. This section demonstrates that since at least the mid-12th/18th century, the Ismā‘īlī Imamate in Iran came to function more openly. The Ismā‘īlīs Imāms established more regular and closer contact with the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. As a result, the Ismā‘īlī *da‘wah* activities became more active in the region. In this section, the readers will also be introduced with key concepts and historical figures that frequently occur and feature in the analysis in subsequent chapters. In the second section, I aim to briefly examine the history of Ismā‘īlism in Badakhshān. Based on fragmentary evidence, this section shows that Ismā‘īlism has been continuously present in the region from at least the time of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. As I will be comparing the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the Nāṣir-i Khusraw of the hagiographies later in this study, it would be useful to introduce the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The third section of this chapter is therefore devoted to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s biography, as established by scholars based on his own works.

2.1 Ismā‘īlism

Ismā‘īlism is a major branch of the Shī‘a mainstream of Islam. It is named after Ismā‘īl (d. c. 133-145/750-763), the son of the Shī‘ī Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) whom the Ismā‘īlīs consider as his designated spiritual successor.¹ In this, they differ from the Twelver Shī‘īs (so called because they

¹ Sources place Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s death in different years. The year 133/750 is mentioned in Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Ibn ‘Inaba, *Umdat al-tālib fī ansāb al-Abī Ṭālib*, ed. M.H. Āl al-Ṭāliqānī (Najaf: n.p., 1961), 233. The year 138/755-756 is given in Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’ bi-akḥbār al-a‘imma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā’*, ed. Jamāl

believe that their twelfth Imām became occult in 260/873) who accept Ismā‘īl’s younger brother Mūsā al-Kāzīm (d. 183/799) as the Imām. According to Ismā‘īlism and Shī‘ism in general, the leadership of the Muslim community after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad (d. 11/632) belongs to Imāms, who are both the spiritual and physical descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭimah and ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661). As we will see below, according to them, the Imāms are divinely chosen and guided, infallible leaders and authoritative teachers in religion and this belief distinguishes them from the majority of the Sunnī branch of Islam.

Following the death of Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far al-Šādiq, the Ismā‘īlīs recognized his son Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl as the next Imām. Virtually nothing is known about those who recognized Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl and his descendants as their Imāms until after the middle of 3rd/9th century when the Ismā‘īlī missionary activity (*da‘wah*) began to be carried out in many parts of the Muslim world.² Before that, however, not long after the Imām al-Šādiq’s death, Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl seems to have left Madīna (where his uncle Mūsā al-Kāzīm also resided) for Iraq and later Khūzistān in southwestern Persia from where he seems to have established contacts with his supporters and sent missionaries (*dā‘īs*) to the neighbouring areas. During this period, Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl was in hiding (*satr*); hence, the period is known as “the period of concealment” (*dawr al-satr*) that ended with the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate in 297/909 that had initiated “the period of unveiling or manifestation” (*dawr al-kashf*).³

The history of Ismā‘īlism during the “the period of concealment” or more accurately before the year 264/877-8 when an Ismā‘īlī missionary called Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ began to spread the Ismā‘īlī mission in Kūfa remains murky.⁴ The early Ismā‘īlīs, known as Mubārakiyyah, split into two major groups on the death of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl. A descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl named ‘Abd Allāh (d. 322/934) (or ‘Ubayd Allāh in non-Ismā‘īlī sources) who claimed the imamate for himself and his ancestors and founded the Fāṭimid caliphate in North Africa in the early 10th century belonged to one of these groups.⁵ The Fāṭimid caliphate, which lasted for over two centuries (297-567/909-1171), was headed by Ismā‘īlī Imāms, who continued to dispatch missionaries to areas outside of their

al-Dīn al-Shayyāl and Muḥammad Ḥilmī M. Aḥmad, vol. 1 (1387-1393/1967-1973), 15. The year 145/762-763 is given in ‘Aṭā-Malik Juvaynī, *Ta’rīkh-i jahān-gushā*, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī (London, 1912-1917), vol. 3, 146 and in Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh: qismat-i Ismā‘īliyyān va Fāṭimiyyān va Nizāriyyān va dā‘īyān va raḥīqān*, ed. Muḥammad T. Dānishpazhūh and M. Mudarriṣī Zanjānī (Tehran: 1338HSh/1959), 10. de Goeje, *Memoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain*, 2 ed. (Leiden: 1886), 203. These dates do not accord with Ismā‘īlī tradition, which holds that Imām Ismā‘īl outlived his father.

² Wilferd Madelung, "Ismā‘īliya," in *EI2*, 198. See also Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 98.

³ For a detailed biographical account of Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl based on Ismā‘īlī sources, see Idrīs Imād al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan, *Uyūn al-akhbār wa funūn al-āthār*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib, vol. 4 (Beirut: 1973-1974), 351-56. See also Daftary, ‘Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Maymūn’, *EI2*, vol. 12, Supplement, 634-635.

⁴ On Ḥamdān and the missionary activities, among other sources, see Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ed. M. Jābir ‘Abd al-‘Āl al-Ḥīmī, vol. 25 (Cairo: 1404/1984), 189-91. See also Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi‘ al-ghurar*, ed. Ayman F. Sayyid, vol. 6 (Cairo: 1985), 44-47.

⁵ The Fāṭimid period of the Ismā‘īlī history has been the focus of many scholars’ studies. For information about sources and studies on the Fāṭimids, see Paul E. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources* (London: I.B.

domain. They retained a network of *dā'īs* who operated on their behalf outside Fāṭimid territory where the Ismā'īlīs were obliged to practice pious circumspection (*taqiyyah*). It was during the caliphate of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh (d. 487/1094) that Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited the Fāṭimid capital of Cairo. I will talk about the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw later in this chapter, but here it suffices to say that he was one of the most active representatives of the Fāṭimid caliphate in Khurāsān and Badakhshān. The second group of the early Ismā'īlīs maintained that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl did not die, but remained in hiding and would come back as the Mahdī or Qā'im.⁶ Later historians would generally label the last group as the Qarāmiṭa (the followers of Ḥamdān Qarmat).⁷

After al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh's death in 487/1094, the Ismā'īlīs again split into two groups, which came to be known as the Musta'lians and the Nizārīs, named after al-Mustanṣir's sons who competed for the office of imamate. The Nizārīs believe that the Imām al-Mustanṣir appointed his elder son Abū Maṣṣūr Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir (d. 488/1095) as his legitimate successor, but the Musta'lians accepted the imamate of al-Mustanṣir's younger son Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad (d. 495/1101). Abū al-Qāsim, who enjoyed the support of the then powerful vizier Abū al-Qāsim Shāhanshāh, was placed on the Fāṭimid throne assuming the title of al-Musta'li bi'llāh.⁸ The Ismā'īlīs of Persia and elsewhere advocated Nizār's cause and his right to the imamate and do not seem to have supported the Musta'lian cause.⁹ The famous Persian senior Ismā'īlī dignitary (*ḥujjat*) Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (d. 518/1124),¹⁰ whose name frequently appears in the hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, advocated for the cause of Nizār.¹¹ After taking the fortress of Alamūt in 483/1090, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ founded an Ismā'īlī state with territories spread in different parts of Persia and Syria.¹² The state lasted for over one and a half centuries until the Mongol onslaught in 654/1256. Much has been written on the history of the Nizārīs

Tauris, 2002), 93-202. See also Michael Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids: The World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Fourth Century of the Hijra, Tenth Century CE* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1-26.

⁶ Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 99.

⁷ *A Short History of the Ismailis: Traditions of a Muslim Community* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 108.

⁸ For further information regarding Imām Nizār, see H.A.R. Gibb, 'Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir', *EI2*, vol. 8, 83. On Imām al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh's succession dispute and Imām Nizār's rising, see Abū Tamīm Ma'add al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh, *al-Sijillāt al-Mustanṣiriyyah*, ed. 'Abd al-Mun'im Mājid (Cairo, 1954), 109-118. See also Idrīs, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, vol. 7, 199-200. 'Izz al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr, *Ta'rikh al-Kāmil*, vol. 10 (Cairo: 1303/1885), 82. Of the secondary source on this issue, see the brilliant study of Marshall Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizārī Ismā'īlīs against the Islamic World* (The Hague: Mouton & Co, 1955), 62ff. For further information about al-Musta'li, see H.A.R. Gibb, 'al-Musta'li Bi'llāh', *EI2*, vol. 7, 725. On al-Musta'li's caliphate, see Idrīs, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, vol. 7, 187-217. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Ta'rikh al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, 82, 91, 114.

⁹ On Musta'liyyah and its factions, see Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 238-300.

¹⁰ As we shall see later, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ is identified as a *ḥujjat* in the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiography. The *Rawḍa-yi taslīm* of Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsī (d. 672/1274) also indicates that Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ was a *ḥujjat*. See Hermann Landolt, "Introduction," in Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsī, *Paradise of Submission: A Medieval Treatise on Ismaili Thought, Rawḍa-yi taslīm*, ed. S.J. Badakhchani (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 9-10. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's contemporary Abū al-Ma'ālī also refers to him and Nāṣir-i Khusraw as *ḥujjats* in the Ismā'īlī hierarchy. al-Ma'ālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, 55.

¹¹ On Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his activities, see Marshall Hodgson, "The Ismā'īlī State," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. I. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 429. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 311-344.

¹² There is a poem attributed to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ in which he pledges his loyalty to the offspring of Imām Nizār (*Kih ākhir bandah-i farzand-i Mawlānā Nizāram man*). The poem begins with *Ay raftqān ...* (O comrades). MS Folder 232 (KhRU-IIS).

of Persia and Syria during this period.¹³ Here, it should only be mentioned that Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his immediate two successors ruled as *hujjat* (proofs) and chief representatives of the Nizārī Imāms. Starting with the fourth ruler, Ḥasan ‘alā *dhikrihi* ‘l-*salām* (d. 561/1166) and more specifically from the time of the proclamation of the Great Resurrection (*qiyāmah*) in 559/1164¹⁴ the Nizārī Imāms emerged at Alamūt and headed the *da‘vah* and the state till the arrival of the Mongols in the second half of the 13th century.¹⁵ Their opponents regarded the Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs as “heretics” (*malāḥidah*)¹⁶ and this finds a reflection in Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s hagiographies.

The collapse of the Nizārī state in 654/1256 was the beginning of what has been described as the “longest obscure phase” in the history of Ismā‘īlism.¹⁷ Shafīque N. Virani, however, sheds light on aspects of the Nizārī Ismā‘īlī history from the fall of the Nizārī state to the eve of the Ṣafavid revolution, from the mid-13th to the end of the 15th century.¹⁸ For our purposes, it is not necessary to present this phase of the Ismā‘īlī history, as the names of the historical figures associated with it do not feature in the hagiographical sources about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. What is noteworthy, however, is that having lost their political prominence, the Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs survived merely as a minority religious community in Persia, Afghanistan, Syria, South and Central Asia. It is generally believed that many of the Persian Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs who survived the massacres of the Mongols migrated to adjacent regions of Afghanistan and Badakhshān as well as Sind.¹⁹ Following a dispute over succession in the post-Mongol period, it is believed that the Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs split into two groups that came to be known as Muḥammad Shāhī (or Mu‘minī) and Qāsim Shāhī branches.²⁰ Both the Muḥammad Shāhī Imāms (whose line discontinued soon after 1786) and the Qāsim Shāhī Imāms had followers in northern Persia and Central Asia, including Badakhshān.²¹ While the Nizārīs of Persia remained active in the immediate post-Alamūt period,²² and an Ismā‘īlī Imām even recaptured and established himself at Alamūt for some time,²³ for the most part the Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Imāms and their adherents remained underground and exercised *taqiyyah* until the Imāms of the Qāsim Shāhī line resurfaced at Anjudān (a village in central Persia between Qumm and Maḥallāt) in the 9th/15th century and remained there until

¹³ On the Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs see Marshall Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*. A summary of this work appears in Hodgson, “The Ismā‘īlī State,” 422-82. For a summary of the activities and teachings of the Nizārīs in Persia and Syria see Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 301-402. See also Shafīque N. Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages: A History of Survival, A Search for Salvation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), *passim*.

¹⁴ On the Great Resurrection, see Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 358-67.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 303-10.

¹⁶ *The Ismailis in Medieval Muslim Societies* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2005), 161.

¹⁷ *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 403.

¹⁸ Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*.

¹⁹ Farhad Daftary, “The Medieval Ismā‘īlīs of Iranian Lands,” in *Studies in Honor of Clifford Edmund Bosworth, II: The Sultan’s Turret: Studies in Persian and Turkish Culture*, ed. C. Hillenbrand (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 43-81.

²⁰ Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 77-83.

²¹ Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 405.

²² For instance, the Khushayjī *amīrs* who controlled much of Daylam by 770/1386 adhered to Nizārī Ismā‘īlism. Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 34-36. Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 416-17.

²³ On this Imām by the name of Khudāvand Muḥammad, see Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 35-37. Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 416-17.

the end of the 11th/17th century, for a period of two centuries, which started from the time of Mustanşir bi'llāh (d. 885/1480) and ended with the time of Imām Khalīl Allāh II (d. 1090/1680).²⁴ The Anjudān period brought a period of revival in the *da'vah* activities and it seems that the Imāms through a network of *dā'īs* began to reassert control over Nizārī communities in various distant lands, including those in Badakhshān. I will return to Badakhshān in the next section.

It seems that the religio-political situation created after the coming to power of the Şafavids in 907/1501 and their adoption of Twelver Shī'ism as the state religion had become more favourable for the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs. The Ismā'īlī *da'vah* activities seem to have been carried out more openly for a short period. While the Imāms and their followers still practiced *taqiyyah* mainly under the guise of Şūfism, they clearly reduced the intensity of the pious dissimulation during the first decades of the Şafavid rule.²⁵ Later, the Şafavids persecuted various Shī'ī groups whose teachings and practices did not conform to their interpretation of Twelver Shī'ism. For instance, the Şafavid monarch Shāh Ṭahmāsp (d. 984/1576) persecuted the Ismā'īlī Imām Murād Mīrzā (d. 981/1574) and his followers. Shāh Ṭahmāsp finally had Imām Murād Mīrzā captured and executed.²⁶ During the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I (995-1038/1587-1629), the Ismā'īlī Imāms carried out their activities quietly and the successor of Imām Murād Mīrzā, Khalīl Allāh (d. 1043/1634), also known as Zu'l-Faqār 'Alī developed friendly relations with the Şafavids. As Daftary shows on the basis of an epigraph at Anjudān that reproduces an edict of Shāh 'Abbās I in 1036/1627), the Anjudānī Shī'īs were regarded as Twelvers. This shows that the Ismā'īlī Imāms and their followers practiced *taqiyyah* under the cover of Twelver Shī'ism.²⁷ After Imām Khalīl Allāh II (d. 1090/1680), the Nizārī Qāsim Shāhī Imāms had moved from Anjudān to the village of Kahak around 1090-1134/1680-1722. Imām Shāh Nizār (d. 1134/1722), who had close connection with the Ni'mat Allāhī Şūfī order, was succeeded by Sayyid 'Alī (d. 1167/1754) who in turn was succeeded by Sayyid Ḥasan 'Alī, also known as Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg. Imām Sayyid Ḥasan 'Alī moved to Shahr-i Bābak in Kirmān, closer to Nizārī Ismā'īlīs pilgrims from India. Having now received tithes from the Indian Nizārī Ismā'īlīs much more easily, Sayyid Ḥasan 'Alī's wealth significantly increased. As Daftary mentions, Imām Sayyid Ḥasan 'Alī “was, indeed, the first imam of his line to emerge from concealment and obscurity.”²⁸ Imām Sayyid Ḥasan 'Alī was actively involved in political activities and enjoyed the respect of the Afshārids who ruled in Kirmān after their founder Nādir Shāh's death (r. 1148-1160/1736-1747). The later Ismā'īlī Imām Abū al- Ḥasan 'Alī (d. 1206/1792) became the governor of Kirmān during the Zand period (1163-1209/1750-1794), which was another dynasty that ruled the area.²⁹ Imām Abū al- Ḥasan 'Alī

²⁴ *The Ismā'īlīs*, 418.

²⁵ The Ismā'īlīs, however, prepared the ground for this revival since the fall of Alamūt. *Ibid.*, 405, 25, 31, 35.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 436.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 437.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 459.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

received large sums of money in religious dues from his followers in India. He enjoyed tremendous popularity in Kirmān and even continued to rule as a governor of the region after the disintegration of the Zand dynasty in 1193/1779. Imām Abū al- Ḥasan ‘Alī was actively involved in the political activities of the area during this time.³⁰ His successor Khalīl Allāh ‘Alī (d. 1232/1817), also known as Shāh Khalīl Allāh moved the seat of the Ismā‘īlī Imamate to Kahak in 1219/1804 and then to Yazd in 1230/1815. The Qājār monarch Fath ‘Alī Shāh (1212-1250/1797-1834) who was on good terms with Shāh Khalīl Allāh, appointed Shāh Khalīl Allāh’s son and successor Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh Āghā Khān I (d. 1298/1881), who resided in the Maḥallāt area of Kahak, as the governor of Qumm. Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh also enjoyed the respect of the Qājārs. The successor of Fath ‘Alī Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh Qājār (1250-1264/1834-1848) appointed him as governor of Kirmān in 1251/1835. However, he fell out of Muḥammad Shāh’s favour after two years and was engaged in confrontations with the Qājār monarch.³¹ He finally left for Afghanistan in 1257/1841 where he developed a close association with the British who were engaged in the First Afghan War (1838-1842) in the country. The Imām then moved to Sind where he supported the British in their battles and finally arrived in Mumbai in 1262/1846. In the second half of the 13th/19th century, the Imāms Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh Āghā Khān I (d. 1298/1881), Āqā ‘Alī Shāh Āghā Khān II (d. 1302/1885)³² and Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Āghā Khān III (d. 1376/1957) established their seat in Bombay³³ from where they established closer contact with the Ismā‘īlis in India and outside, including Badakhshān. All of the Nizārī Ismā‘īlis of Central Asia regard Prince Karim Āghā Khān IV, who succeeded his grandfather Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Āghā Khān III in 1957, as their forty-ninth hereditary Imām.

Among concepts that often appear in the hagiographical sources are Imām, *ḥujjat* and *pīr*. The Imām is at the heart of Ismā‘īlism. According to Ismā‘īlism, the Imām, unlike the prophet, does not transmit a divine scripture, but he interprets the divine law for his followers. The Imāms are the *ḥujjats* (proofs) of God and the world cannot exist for a moment without them. They are the heirs of the knowledge of the Prophet. The Imāms are believed to have perfect knowledge of the Qur’ān, the sacred scripture of Islam, in both its outward or exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and the inward or esoteric (*bāṭin*) meaning. They provide spiritual guidance for their adherents and explain the inner meaning and significance of the Qur’ān and the religious injunctions. The Imām receives divine support (*ta’yīd*) and are divinely guided, sinless and pure (*ma’ṣūm*) who act as the authoritative teachers and guides of human beings in all their religious and spiritual affairs. They are the religious leaders of humankind. The Imām’s existence in the world is essential as his recognition and obedience is an absolute duty of every believer. As the Imām Ja‘far al-Šādiq said, “whoever dies without having acknowledged the true

³⁰ Ibid., 462-63.

³¹ Ibid., 468-69.

³² “During his brief imamate, Āqā ‘Alī Shāh increased his contacts with the Nizārī communities outside the Indian subcontinent, showing particular interest in his followers in Central Asia, Burma and East Africa.” Ibid., 477.

Imām of the time dies as an unbeliever (*kāfir*).”³⁴

The Imām as the head of the hierarchy in his time is the mediator between the believer and the spiritual world. The eternal reality of the imamate, termed as *valāyat* (Arabic, *walāyah*) is defined as the esoteric aspect of prophecy. The Ismā‘īlīs concentrated their doctrinal speculations on the reality of the Imām and the imamate as transcending history and the physical world. The Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs formulated the Shī‘ī doctrine of *ta‘līm* or authoritative teaching by the Imām according to which Muslims needed to base their understanding of religious truths on the teaching of Imāms who are designated by divine ordinance.³⁵ Before Ḥasan ‘alā dhikrihi’l-salām (d. 561/1166) proclaimed the Great Resurrection (*qiyāmah*) in 559/1164, the Imām who was in hiding (*satr*) was represented by his *hujjats*. In the elaboration of the doctrine of the Resurrection (*qiyāmah*), the Imām in his eternal essence was defined as a manifestation (*mazhar*) of the Word (*kalimah*) or Command (*amr*) of God, cause of the spiritual world. The believer attains his spiritual birth, or resurrection, through the recognition of the essence of the Imām.³⁶

2.2 Ismā‘īlism in Badakhshān

As mentioned in the Introduction, it is a historical fact that Nāṣir-i Khusraw spent more than fifteen years of his life in Badakhshān where he died in the last quarter of the 5th/11th century.³⁷ The Badakhshānī tradition holds that he brought Ismā‘īlism to Badakhshān. Whether or not Ismā‘īlism had existed in Badakhshān before the arrival of Nāṣir-i Khusraw is not known, but, as we will see, it is likely that it had found its way into Badakhshān before his arrival. It is not clear when exactly Islam itself began to make headway in the region. On the basis of some fragmentary pieces of information provided by several 3rd-4th/9th-10th century Muslim sources, we can surmise that Islam had gained a foothold in the region as early as the late 2nd/8th or the 3rd/9th century,³⁸ but, as Edmund Bosworth

³³ Ibid., 473-72.

³⁴ There is a Prophetic tradition related to this: “Whoever dies without recognizing the Imam of his time dies the death of the age of ignorance (*jāhiliyyah*), and the ignorant is in the fire,” (*man māta wa-lam ya ‘rif imām zamānih māta mūtah jāhiliyyah wa’l-jāhil fī’l-nār*). To save you some time you could simply provide the footnote along the following lines: Extensive references to this tradition in Sunnī, Twelver Shī‘ī and Ismā‘īlī Shī‘ī literature are provided in Shafīque N. Virani, “Persian Poetry, Sufism and Ismailism: The Testimony of Khwājah Qāsim Tushtarī’s Recognizing God,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, forthcoming. On the views of Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq regarding the Imamate, see *ibid.*, 82-84.

³⁵ Ibid., 339-42.

³⁶ Ibid., 363-65.

³⁷ Bertel’s, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 60.

³⁸ According to the *Kitāb al-buldān* (*Book of the Countries*) (composed in 278/891) of Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Ya‘qūbī (d. after 278/891), the Barmakī al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā (d. 193/808) conquered Shughnān in the caliphate of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809). This source further mentions that Badakhshān and Jirm were among the forty seven cities of the region of Balkh with mosques and that Jirm was the frontier town of Islam on the trade route to Tibet. See W. Barthold, “Badakhshān,” in *EI2*, 852. The *Kitāb al-masālik wa al-mamālik* (*The Book of Itineraries and Kingdoms*) of Ibn Khurrādādhbih (d. between 272-300/885-912) the longer version of which was composed in 846 mentions that Shughnān, Karrān (Kurān), Vakhān and Munjān paid tribute to the Tāhirids (205-278/821-891) in the year 211/826-827. The *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma‘ādin al-jawhar* (*The meadows of gold and mines of gems*) (first version completed in 336/947) of Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas‘ūdī (d. 345/956) mentions Badakhshān as a *ribāṭ* (frontier outpost) and the farthest corner of the city of Balkh and mentions that beyond it were lands inhabited by “infidels.” A. M. Mandel’shtam, *Materialy k istoriko geograficheskomu obzoru Pamira i pripamirskikh oblastei (s drevneishikh vremen do X v. n. é.)* (Stalinabad: AN TadzhSSR,

points out, “it is dubious whether Islam was permanently introduced there at this time.”³⁹ There is no evidence to the effect that the early Arab conquests (e.g. that of al-Faḏl b. Saḥl in the 9th century) to which the sources refer caused mass conversion. Similarly, the payment of tributes of the Badakhshānī principalities to Muslim dynasties (e.g. the Tāhirids, who reigned from 205/821 to 259/873 in Khurāsān) does not necessarily point to their allegiance to Islam. In fact, the sources concerned refer to the presence of “infidels” in addition to Muslims in Badakhshān.⁴⁰ It is probably safe to assume that the majority of the people in Badakhshān, particularly in the Upper Oxus areas, were not Muslim before the end of the 10th century. However, there definitely existed Muslims and it seems that before the arrival of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the region both Muslims (probably Ismā‘īlīs among them) and non-Muslims lived in Badakhshān.

Although the historical sources that provide accounts about the activities of various Ismā‘īlī *dā‘īs* in the neighbouring regions of Khurāsān and Transoxania in 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries make no reference to Badakhshān, it is possible that Ismā‘īlism spread to Badakhshān at this time. Both Fāṭimid and Qarmaṭī *dā‘īs* were active in Khurāsān and Transoxania in the 10th century.⁴¹ A man named Ghiyāṣ had apparently converted al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Marvazī (d. after 306/918) in Marv al-Rūd in Khurāsān and under the influence of the latter, who was a local ruler (*amīr*) and who later became a *dā‘ī*, many people in Ghūr, Ṭāliqān, Maymanā, Harāt and other places neighbouring Badakhshān came

1957), 152, 65-66. Other contemporary sources point to the presence of Muslims in Badakhshān. The anonymous *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (*The Limits of the World*) (composed in 982), for example, mentions a settlement called “Dar-i tāziyān” (“the gate of the Arabs”) somewhere in Badakhshān (according to Vladimir Minorskiĭ probably not far from Jirm), which had gates through which caravans left. These gates were supposedly built by the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma‘mūn (d. 218/833). The *Hudūd al-‘ālam* also mentions *Dih-i Sang(k)as* as a place inhabited by Muslims. Vladimir Minorskiĭ believes that this place should be sought in the lands of the “infidels,” because the author of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* specifically emphasizes that Muslims inhabited this locality. Although Minorskiĭ suggests that it may be Sanglīch, which is a village in the present day Badakhshān and is populated by Ismā‘īlīs, the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* has another name closer to the latter and even mentions Sang(k)as twice. This reduces the possibility of an orthographical error in the book. This work describes Sikāshim (the present day Ishkāshim in Badakhshān) as the capital of Vakhān and points that some of its people are “infidels” and some are Muslims. It also refers to localities such as Dar-i Tubbat leading to Vakhān that was apparently inhabited by Muslims; Samarqandak (possibly Sarḥad as *Hudūd al-‘ālam* describes it as the edge of Transoxania), inhabited by Hindus, Tibetans, Vakhānīs and Muslims (it is interesting to see that Vakhānīs are distinguished from Muslims here); Kh-mdad (this could well be the present day Ismā‘īlī populated Khandūt in Vakhān of Afghanistan), where “the temples of the Wakhanis’ idols” were. Finally, the *Ta’rīkh* of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) contains some pertinent information about Islam in Badakhshān. It mentions that al-Ma‘mūn’s vizier, al-Faḏl b. Saḥl, appointed as the ruler of the territory “from the mountains of Hamadān to the mountains of Shughnān and Tibet” in 812, led a campaign in the eastern fringes of the caliphate. *Ibid.*, 170-71, 76. The Meccan historian al-Azraqī (d. 218/934) supposedly saw the inscribed plaque that al-Ma‘mūn placed upon Kābul-Shāh’s (the king of Kābul defeated by al-Faḏl b. Saḥl in 202/817) crown and sent it to the Ka’bah. This text contains the following: “... Allah gave him [Ibn Saḥl] victory in Vakhān.” The text also mentions Bālūr, which in Arabs’ works is the word for Pāmīr. *Ibid.*, 177. On Kābul Shāh’s crown, see Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of translation: material culture and medieval “Hindu-Muslim” encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 30.

³⁹ Edmund C. Bosworth, “Shughnān,” in *EI2*, 4.

⁴⁰ In addition to the sources mentioned above, see Ibn Hawqal’s (d. after 367/977) revised edition of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Istakhrī’s *Kitāb al-masālik wa al-mamālik* (composed around 367/977), the *Kitāb aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma’rifat al-aqālim* (*The best division for the knowledge of the provinces*) of Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Muqaddasī (d. after 378/988), and others. However, the *Kitāb al-masālik wa al-mamālik* (composed around 933) of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Istakhrī (d. after 340/941), which is a revised edition of Aḥmad b. Saḥl al-Balkhī’s (d. 322/834) *Suwār al-aqālim* (*Figures of the Regions*) describes the Badakhshānī regions of Vakhān, Shikinān (Shughnān) and Karrān as lands of “infidels” and as lands from which “musk and slaves” came. See Vladimir Minorskiĭ, “Vakhān,” in *EI2*, 100. See also Mandel’shtam, *Materialy*, 162.

⁴¹ Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 118.

over to Ismāʿīlism.⁴² There is a shrine (*mazār*) in the village of Turbat (*turbat* means “grave” and the village is named because of the shrine) in Ishkāshim of modern Afghanistan that some people associate with al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marvazī. The shrine is called Mazār-i Sayyid Amīr Ḥusayn Sadād.⁴³ According to some Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs, Amīr Ḥusayn was a preacher (*dāʿī*) who came to the region before Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁴⁴ Although we do not know if al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marvazī, who was a Sāmānid governor, engaged in the *daʿvah* activities in Badakhshān, the association of his name with a shrine arouses one’s curiosity. At any rate, these early Ismāʿīlī missionaries preached the approaching return of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as the expected Mahdī rather than the continuous presence of Imāms from his descendants.⁴⁵ There were other Qarmaṭīs acting independently in Transoxania in the 10th century.⁴⁶ But the Ismāʿīlī *daʿvah* of the Fāṭimids was also taken to Khurāsān sometime in the early 10th century (290-301/903-913).⁴⁷ First from its seat in Nīshāpūr and later Marv al-Rūd, Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī missionaries converted many high military officers in Khurāsān and many prominent Sāmānid dignitaries and later even the *amīr* Naṣr II b. Aḥmad (r. 301-331/914-943) to Ismāʿīlism.⁴⁸ Although after Naṣr II was deposed and the Ismāʿīlīs of Khurāsān and Transoxania came to be severely persecuted under his son Nūḥ I (331-343/943-954),⁴⁹ there is some evidence that Ismāʿīlīs survived the persecution of Nūḥ I, were active in Central Asia⁵⁰ and still managed to convert high officials at the Sāmānid court during the reign of Maṣṣūr I b. Nūḥ (350-365/961-976).⁵¹ As Badakhshān was part of the Sāmānid empire during this period it is possible that Ismāʿīlism spread to

⁴² It is interesting to note that according to Rashīd al-Dīn, al-Ḥusayn al-Marvazī converted the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr b. Aḥmad and his vizier named Abū Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Balkhī. Rashīd al-Dīn further states that both of them, i.e. the *vizier* and the *amīr*, augmented and strengthened that *daʿvah* in Khurāsān by the power, prestige, and honour of the *emirate*. Regarding Naṣr b. Aḥmad, there may be confusion with al-Ḥusayn’s successor, who converted the *amīr* and his vizier Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Jayhānī to Ismāʿīlism. In his article, Stern says that he could not find further information about Mūsā al-Balkhī. Stern analyzes the confusion in Rashīd al-Dīn’s passage. But the name of the *vizier* that Rashīd al-Dīn mentions is Abū Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Balkhī. Samuel M. Stern, “The Early Ismāʿīlī Missionaries in north-west Persia and Khurāsān and Transoxania,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23 (1960): 61, 86-87.

⁴³ Mir Baiz Khan, *Living Traditions of Nasir Khusraw: A Study of Ismāʿīlī practices in Afghan Badakhshān* (London: IIS, 2004), unpublished Fieldwork Report, 215-17.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Stern, “The Early Ismāʿīlī Missionaries,” 59.

⁴⁶ For example, the Gnostic preacher, Aḥmad al-Kayyāl who was already active around 295/907-8 in Nīshāpūr and who seems to have presented himself as the Imām and *qāʿim* under whom the spiritual would triumph over the physical and the law would be abrogated. Patricia Crone and Luke Treadwell, “A New Text on Ismāʿīlism at the Sāmānid Court,” in *Texts, Documents and Artifacts: Islamic Studies in honour of D.S. Richards*, ed. Chase F. Robinson (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 62-63. Aḥmad al-Kayyāl later found favour with the Sāmānid court during the rule of Naṣr II (r. 301-331/914-943). Wilfred Madelung, “al-Kayyāl,” in *EI2*, 847. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 112. Al-Kayyāl was patronised probably by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who was vizier to Naṣr II b. Aḥmad from about 301/913-14 until his death in 313/925.

⁴⁷ The Fāṭimid *daʿvah* was taken to Khurāsān by a *dāʿī* named Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Khādīm. S. M. Stern, “The Early Ismāʿīlī Missionaries,” 77. Treadwell, “A New Text,” 61.

⁴⁸ Al-Khādīm was (around 307/919) succeeded by another *dāʿī* called Abū Saʿīd al-Shaʿrānī (killed between 321/933 and 327/938-38) who seems to have been dispatched to the region by the Fāṭimid ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 112.

⁴⁹ Naṣr II seems to have remained an Ismāʿīlī until his death in 331/943. Treadwell, “A New Text,” 46-47.

⁵⁰ The Ismāʿīlī *daʿvah* seems to have continued to function under Muḥammad al-Nasafī’s son Masʿūd, nicknamed Dihqān, and other *dāʿīs*. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 114. Al-Busfī mentions a certain Abū Muḥammad al-Murādī al-Naysabūrī as an eminent *dāʿī* and assistant (*janāḥ*) to al-Masʿūd, the son of al-Nasafī. Rashīd al-Dīn mentions another *dāʿī* in Khurāsān named Abū Muḥammad al-Muʿaddib, without, however, giving any details. Stern, “The Early Ismāʿīlī Missionaries,” 81.

⁵¹ Treadwell, “A New Text,” 51.

the region at that time.⁵² At any rate, it is clear that before Nāṣir-i Khusraw, both the Qarāmiṭa and the Fāṭimid missionaries were active in the regions close to Badakhshān.

The Fāṭimids made every effort to strengthen their *da'wah* activities beyond the Fāṭimid borders in the second half of the 10th century and were successful in winning over the support of dissident Ismā'īlis in regions like Khurāsān, Sijistān and Makrān.⁵³ Their *da'wah* continued to operate in the east, although in a much more restrained form in Transoxania, where Ismā'īlism continued to have secret adherents in the final years of the Sāmānids and in the several decades after the fall of the dynasty in the 11th century.⁵⁴ After the Sāmānids, the Fāṭimids seem to have sought to obtain the allegiance of the Ghaznavids (387-582/977-1186),⁵⁵ though without results,⁵⁶ and the presence of Ismā'īlis associated with the Fāṭimids in Ghaznavid territories is attested in several sources.⁵⁷ The Ismā'īlī *da'wah* seems to have successfully operated in Central Asia in the 11th century despite the former persecutions by the Sāmānids. Many Ismā'īlis, who acknowledged the imamate of the eighth Fāṭimid Caliph-Imām Abū Tamīm al-Mustansīr, were brutally massacred in Bukhārā and other regions of Transoxania on the orders of the Qarakhānid ruler Būghrā Khān in 436/1044–1045. It is also interesting to mention that the later Qarakhānid ruler Aḥmad b. Khiz̄r was accused of having converted to Ismā'īlism by the local Sunnī 'ulamā' and was executed in 488/1095.⁵⁸ Numismatic evidence in the Bāzār'darah in Badakhshān shows that the Qarakhānids or the Farghānīs who were under the control of the Qarakhānids may have controlled Badakhshān at this time.⁵⁹ Also, several tombs that are dated to 11th century indicate that Muslims, probably Sunnīs, lived in Bāzār'darah.⁶⁰ It was around the time of the Ismā'īlī massacre in Bukhārā and its vicinities that Nāṣir-i Khusraw embraced Ismā'īlism⁶¹ and after his appointment as the *hujjat*, he came to Khurāsān to preach

⁵² The Ismā'īlī mission in Khurāsān and Transoxania may have even started well before the rise of the Fāṭimids in North Africa. Around the time of 261/874-875 or possibly earlier, the Twelver Shī'ī scholar of Nīshāpūr, al-Faḏl b. Shazān had already written a refutation of the Qarāmiṭa. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 108. But we do not have information about whether the Ismā'īlī *da'wah* was spread in Khurāsān at this early time, given that the central leadership in South West Persia and Iraq only began their *da'wah* actively around this time.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 163-64, 68.

⁵⁴ For example, the famous philosopher-physician Ibn Sīnā's (d. 428/1037) father, 'Abd Allāh, who was a Sāmānid official and his brother were followers of (the Fāṭimid) Ismā'īlism. It was to "the missionary of the Egyptians" that Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) described his father as having responded. Treadwell, "A New Text," 66.

⁵⁵ On the Fāṭimid envoy to the Ghaznavids by the name of Tāhartī, see Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 94-98. On the vizier of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Mikalī, known as "amīr Ḥasanak" who accepted a robe of honour from the Fāṭimid Imām al-Zāhir (d. 427/1036), see *ibid.*, 105-07.

⁵⁶ The Ghaznavids, who displayed strong anti-Fāṭimid (anti-Ismā'īlī) sentiments constantly spied on the Ismā'īlīs, persecuted and massacred them a number of times. See *ibid.*, 101-02, 08-17.

⁵⁷ For example, the Ghaznavid historian, al-'Utbi (d. 427/1036 or 431/1040) reports that there were groups of people in Khurāsān that supported the teachings of the Fāṭimids during the reign of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. As it is mentioned in al-'Utbi's *Tā'rikh al-yamīnī*, there were groups of people that followed the Bāṭinī *mazhab* (*madhhab al-bāṭin*), which was that of the ruler of Egypt, in Khurāsān. *Ibid.*, 95, 98-99.

⁵⁸ al-Athīr, *Tā'rikh al-Kāmil*, 10, 180-81. See W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 251, 304–305, 316–318.

⁵⁹ M.A. Bubnova, *Istoriia Gorno-Badakhshanskoĭ Avtonomnoĭ Oblasti*, vol. 1 (Dushanbe: Paivand, 2005), 242-44.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 247.

⁶¹ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*, ed. Wheeler M. Thackston (Albany: SUNY Press, 1986), 1-2. Some scholars have argued that Nāṣir-i Khusraw had already converted to Ismā'īlism, probably from Twelver Shī'ism, prior to his departure for Egypt in 437/1046. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 206.

Ismā'īlism. He was later forced to flee to Badakhshān where he established the Fāṭimid *da'wah*.⁶² I will provide a summary of the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw below, which is a collation of the results of modern scholarship.

As mentioned above, the Ismā'īlīs of Central Asia including the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs are known as Nizārī Ismā'īlīs, adherents to the cause of Imām Nizār, the son of the Fāṭimid Imām al-Mustanṣir (d. 487/1094). It is not known whether the early Ismā'īlīs of Alamūt had any contact with the Central Asian, including the Badakhshānī, Ismā'īlīs. It seems most probable that “the Ismā'īlīs of Central Asia remained uninvolved in the Nizārī-Musta'īlī schism for quite some time.”⁶³ Regarding the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān, Farhad Daftary states, “It was much later, in the Alamūt period of Nizārī history, that the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān and adjacent regions accorded their allegiance to the Nizārī *da'wa*.”⁶⁴ In fact, he believes that Nizārī Ismā'īlism was actively propagated in the 13th century in Badakhshān.⁶⁵ Marshall Hodgson was also of the opinion that “the Ismā'īlīs of the Upper Oxus valleys ... do not seem to have been involved in the movements which took place with the Ismā'īlīs in the Saljuq lands.”⁶⁶ He also writes, “[A]t some point, although we do not know whether in the Alamūt period, the numerous Ismā'īlīs of the Upper Oxus basin were won over to the Nizārī position.”⁶⁷ Indeed, there is no strong evidence suggesting that the *da'wah* of the founder of the Nizārī state at Alamūt, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his successors had been extended to Badakhshān and other regions in Transoxania. We will return to the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān or the Upper Oxus below, but it should be noted that starting from the year 484/1091 (the year in which Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ sent his deputy Ḥusayn-i Qā'inī to Quhistān to spread the Nizārī *da'wah*), Nizārī Ismā'īlism became rooted in the eastern Persian region of Quhistān, a region that has some significance for the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān.⁶⁸

On the basis of local Badakhshānī (more precisely Shughnānī) oral traditions, according to which four preachers named Shāh Khāmūsh, Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān and Shāh Burhān came to Badakhshān from Khurāsān, modern scholars give various accounts regarding the spread of Nizārī Ismā'īlism in Badakhshān. The local Badakhshānī oral traditions, however, present nothing specific about the identity, faith and the time of arrival of these men in Badakhshān. I will examine the various local Badakhshānī narratives and academic scholars' conclusions on these accounts in Chapter Four. It is certain that at some point the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān accepted Nizārī Ismā'īlism, but we do not know for sure whether it took place during the Alamūt period, immediately after it or even much later. We know that the so-called Bāmiyānī branch (540-612/1145-1215) of the Shansabānīd family or the

⁶² On Nāṣir-i Khusraw's biography see the section below.

⁶³ Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 243.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ "The Medieval Ismā'īlīs of Iranian Lands," 43-81.

⁶⁶ Hodgson, "The Ismā'īlī State," 427-28.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 449.

⁶⁸ After the Mongol catastrophe, the Ismā'īlīs of Quhistān went to other places including Afghanistan and Badakhshān. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 318, 19, 410. See also Mu'izzī, *Ismā'īlīyyah-i Badakhshān*, 147, 48.

Ghūrīds annexed the area of Shughnān, Darvāz and Balūr (i.e. present day Nūristān and some areas in northern Pākistān) into their territory during the reign of Fakhr al-Dīn Mas‘ūd (r. 540-558/1145-1163). Fakhr al-Dīn was installed as the ruler in the eastern lands of the Ghūrīd empire by his brother ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Jahānsūz (r. 546-556/1149-1161), who according to Minhaj al-Dīn Jūzjānī (d. after 664/1265), towards the end of his life gave encouragement to “the envoys of the *malāḥidah* Alamūt ... and in every place in Ghūr they sought, secretly, to make proselytes.”⁶⁹ Given the period, the envoys referred to here must have come from the then lord of Alamūt Muḥammad ibn Buzurg-Ummīd (532-557/1138-1162). However, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn’s brother Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad (r. 556-58/1161-63) is said to have put these Nizārī Ismā‘īlī *dā‘īs* to death and “commanded to slaughter the heretics (*mulḥidkushī*) in every place where the odour of their impiety was perceived.”⁷⁰ Similarly, other members of the Shansabānid/Ghūrīd family based in Fīrūzkūh and most notably Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Muḥammad (r. 558-599/1163/1203), who sought the ‘Abbāsīd caliph’s approval for his authority took measures to extirpate all forms of “heresy.”⁷¹ As Bosworth notes, “the Ghurids were strong upholders of the orthodox Sunni form of Islam,” although before Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Muḥammad and his brother Mu‘izz al-Dīn Muḥammad (599-602/1203-1206) (based in Ghazna), who followed the Shāfi‘ī and Ḥanafī Sunnī schools of law respectively, the majority of the people of Ghūr followed the ascetic Sunnī sect of the Karrāmīya, known for its hostility toward Ismā‘īlism.⁷² Given this, it is possible that Nizārī Ismā‘īlism came to Badakhshān, which was part of the Ghūrīd territory, during ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ḥusayn’s time, but came to operate even more clandestinely after him.

There are contemporary written sources that attest to the presence of Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs in Badakhshān in the subsequent centuries. The *Alfāz-i guhar’bār*, attributed to Khudāvand Muḥammad (d. ca. 710/1310), who was an Ismā‘īlī Imām,⁷³ contains a message in which the Imām “addresses himself to the faithful scattered throughout Khurāsān, Hindūstān, Badakhshān, Turkistān, Daylam, Quhistān, Rūdbār, Āzarbāyjān, Qaznīn (sic), Qaniyat (sic) and so on, and the inhabitants of the land of

⁶⁹ Minhaj al-Dīn Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī Qandahārī, vol. 1 (Kabul: Anjuman-i Tārīkh-i Afghānistān, 1342/1963), 349, 84-85, 87. Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 100. According to ‘Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī Qandahārī, Balūr or Balūristān in the text refers to Nūristān, previously known as Kāfiristān. See Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, 1, n8. According to Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, Balūr(istān) “is bound on the east by Kāshghar and Yārkand; on the north by Badakhshān; on the west by Kābul and Lumghān; on the south by the dependencies of Kashmīr.” Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *The Tārīkh-i Rashīdī of Mīrzā Muḥammad Haidar Dūghlāt: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, trans. Denison Ross and Ney Elias (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1895), 385. The Chinese referred to Balūr(istān) as *Po-lo-lo*. According to Ney Elias Balūr(istān) includes Hunza, Nagar, possibly Tāsh-qurghān, Gilgit, Panyāl, Yāsīn, Chitrāl and probably Kāfiristān. See *ibid.*, 385 n1.

⁷⁰ Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, 1, 350-51. Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 100.

⁷¹ On Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Muḥammad’s titular as the promoter of “orthodoxy” and scourge of heretics, see Finbarr B. Flood, “Islamic Identities and Islamic Art: Inscribing the Qur’ān in Twelfth-Century Afghanistan,” in *Dialogues in Art History, from Mesopotamian to Modern: Readings for a New Century*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper (Washington: Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, 2009), 91-117. “Ghurid Monuments and Muslim Identities: Epigraphy and Exegesis in Twelfth-century Afghanistan,” *The Indian Economic and Social History Review XLII*, no. 3 (2005): 263-94. See also C. E. Bosworth, “The Early Islamic History of Ghūr,” *Central Asiatic Journal*, no. 6 (1961): 116-33.

⁷² C. E. Bosworth, “Ghūrīds,” <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ghurids> (accessed June 2015).

⁷³ According to some scholars this Imām was a Muḥammad Shāhī Imām, but Virani argues that the question of his identity must remain open. He may have been the Qāsim Shāhī Imām Islam-shāh. Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 39.

Syria, Zanzibar, Qaṣrān, the people of Egypt, Ashkivār, Punjāb and elsewhere.”⁷⁴ According to this text, Nizārī Ismā‘īlism was already present in Badakhshān in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. What is noteworthy, however, is that the list of the regions is different in some copies and Badakhshān does not appear on it.⁷⁵ Although we still have no solid historical evidence regarding the spread of Nizārī Ismā‘īlism in Badakhshān during the Alamūt or the immediate post-Alamūt period, the Ismā‘īlī poet Nizārī Quhistānī (d. 820/1330) mentions some places where the Ismā‘īlīs were apparently conducting the *da‘wah*. He notes that these areas were under the “affairs of the *awliyyā*” (*umūr-i awliyyā*). Quhistānī mentions China, Tūrān, and Amū. Based on this, Mu‘izzī concludes that this place may be Shughnān, because this region is by the Amū (daryā) and borders on China and Turkestan.⁷⁶

As mentioned above, sometime after the fall of Alamūt, Nizārī Ismā‘īlism is believed to have split into Muḥammad Shāhī and Qāsim Shāhī branches. It seems that the Muḥammad Shāhī Imāms had a large following in Badakhshān, but the Qāsim-Shāhī Imāms, who in all probability also had followers in Badakhshān, ultimately won over the allegiance of the Badakhshānīs. The decree of the Qāsim Shāhī Imām ‘Abd al-Salām sent to the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān and Kābul in the 9th/15th century (895/1490) demonstrates that the Qāsim-Shāhī Imāms attempted to invite the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān to their cause. This decree is described (by W. Ivanow) as “an epistle addressed to the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān and Kābul who followed the Imāms of the Muḥammad Shāhī line, inviting the erring people to reconsider the grounds for their allegiance and return to the fold of the right line of the Imāms, that is to say, the Qāsim Shāhī.”⁷⁷ This indicates that the Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs had already been established in Badakhshān before the 9th/15th century.

The author of the *Haft Nuktah* or *Seven Aphorisms* (9th/15th century), who is believed to be the Qāsim Shāhī Imām Islām Shāh, mentions that his adversary had influence in Badakhshān, Qilā‘, Egypt and Nahārjān. I have consulted five manuscripts of the text, which are a manuscript (MS43) from the IIS archive, three manuscripts (MSGK152, MS Folder 28, MS Folder 175) and a version in a lithograph collection of Ismā‘īlī texts (Folder 8) that are kept in the archives of KhRU-IIS.⁷⁸ The *Haft*

⁷⁴ In some manuscripts, as Virani notes, the author is identified as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rukn al-Dīn Khvurshāh. *Ibid.*, 57.

⁷⁵ Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 235-36. MS Folder 164, for example, mentions only “Hundistān, Turkistān, Daylamān, Rudbār, Qazrān, Miṣr and Ashkivār.” MS Folder 164, f. 45a (KhRU-IIS) (Undated, the year 1348/1929 written in pencil on the first page is probably not the date of its transcription.) It must have been composed before 1298/1881. The colophon on 39b shows 12-9, the third number in the year is missing. Also, Imām Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh (d. 1298/1881) is referred to as *ṣāhib-i zamān*, MS Folder 164, f. 62a. Another Badakhshānī copy of the text mentions Hundūstān, Turkistān, Daylamān, Rudbār, Qaysariyyah, Miṣr and Shukūnah. MS Folder 173, f. 22b (KhRU-IIS). Qaysariyyah may be Qaysariyyah or Caesarea, an ancient town, presently located in central Israel. However, based on its spelling it is most likely Qaysariyyah (Keysari) or Caesarea (Mazaka), a town in Central Anatolia, Turkey.

⁷⁶ See Mu‘izzī, *Ismā‘īliyyah-i Badakhshān*, 148.

⁷⁷ Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, 140.

⁷⁸ There is another text known as *Haft Nuktah*, but it is attributed to ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Its full title is *Haft Nuktah aw fuṣūl-i Amīr al-mu‘minīn ‘Alī*. MS 1959/24d, ff. 82-96, (OITAS). Baqoiev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 105. This manuscript was apparently copied in 1144/1732. The same work, titled *Haft Nuktah min fuṣūl-i Amīr al-mu‘minīn ‘Alī* is preserved in MS Folder 232

Nuktah does not indicate where Qilā' is located. Unlike MSGK152, MS Folder 175 and MS Folder 28, which mention Qilā', the lithograph edition mentions Qal'ah-i zafar. Qal'ah-i zafar or the fort of Zafar is in Badakhshān, which the Muḥammad Shāhī Imām Razī al-Dīn, as discussed below, seized for a while in the early 16th century. The lithograph edition, prepared by Quḍratullāh Bīg in 1381/1962 in Pakistan, seems to be the latest of the four manuscripts and it is possible that the word Qilā' was further specified as Qal'ah-i zafar.⁷⁹ MS Folder 28 was copied by Sulaymān Shāh valad-i Sayyid 'Alī Shāh in 1367/1948 and MSGK152 was copied by Sayyid Ḥusayn valad-i Sayyid Jalāl in Badakhshān sometime before the early 20th century (as the manuscript is very old). Beben, who in addition to MS Folder 28⁸⁰ has consulted two other copies of the text in the IIS archives in London (MS32 and MS37) also points to this fact and suggests that Qilā' possibly refers to one of several places by that name in the Quhistān region of Iran.⁸¹ My search for a place by that name in Quhistān, however, did not yield any results. It is possible that Qilā', which means "forts," may simply refer to some of the Ismā'īlī fortresses in Quhistān or elsewhere in Iranian lands.⁸² The version in MS43, however, reads as Qilā'-i miṣr or "the forts of Egypt," not as Qilā' and Egypt (*qilā' va miṣr*), which suggests that the reference is to one region and not two. For this reason, the region that is referred to by Qilā' remains unknown, but it is that Qilā' cannot refer to Qal'ah-i zafar, because Qal'ah-i zafar was known as Qal'ah-i Shāh Tivar prior to the early 16th century.⁸³

Unlike Qilā', Nahārjān, which is mentioned in the *Haft Nuktah*, is a place in Quhistān. All the manuscripts, except the lithograph edition by Quḍratullāh Bīg mention Nahārjān. It is clear that Quḍratullāh Bīg changes it to Nārjavān. Nahārjān (Nahārjānāt) is located in Bīrjand to the north of Ṭabas in Quhistān and is close to Afghanistan.⁸⁴ According to Mu'īn al-Dīn Muḥammad Isfīzārī's

(KhRU-IIS). This work is part of a collection of texts, which were copied in 10 Rabi al-Avval 1078/27 August 1667. This *Haft Nuktah* is a different work. There are other small works attached to the *Haft Nuktah*, which include an abridged version of the *Haft Arkān*, is an esoteric interpretation of the testimony of faith (*shahādāt*), purification (*tahārat*), prayer (*namāz*), the fast (*rūza*), purifying alms (*zakāt*), the pilgrimage (*hajj*) and struggle (*jihād*) that are "the signs of an Ismā'īlī" (*nishān-i Ismā'īlī*). MS 1959/24d, f. 84a, MS Folder 232, 22.

⁷⁹ Abū Ishāq Quhistānī, *Kitāb-i mustaṭāb-i Haft Bāb-i dā'ī Abū Ishāq*, ed. Quḍratullāh Bīg (Gilgit: 1381./1962), 115-24. Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 238.

⁸⁰ For some reason, the name of the scribe appears in the form of "Sulaymān Shāh walad-i 'Adāl 'Alī Shāh" in "The Legendary Biographies," 238.

⁸¹ The name is written as Qalā' in *ibid.*

⁸² On the Ismā'īlī forts in Mūd, Duruh, Ṭabas, Khūr, Khūs, Mu'minābād, Nahārjān and others in Quhistān, see Fīrūz Māhūr and Sattār Khālidiyān, "Barasī-i bāstān-shinākhī-i qilā'-i Quhistān," *Muṭāli'āt-i bāstān-shināsī* 4, no. 2 (1391HSh/2012): 142-54. See also Muḥammad Fārūq Furqānī, *Tā'rīkh-i Ismā'īlīyān-i Quhistān* (Tehran: Anjuman-i āsar va mafārikh-i farhangī, 1381HSh/2002), 347-65. (Zīrkūh) 46-47. (Dukhtar-i quhistān) 360, (Aḥmad) 217, (Dukhtar) 349, 352-356, (Dukhtar-i khūsī), 363, (Dukhtar-i qā'īn) 362, (Dukhtar-i mazār-i gunābād) 353, (Rustam) 15, 363, (Sartakht) 62, (Shūr) 361, (Shāh) 243, (Kāh) 347, (Nahārjān) 15, 35, 36, 50, 52, 56, 74, 76, 210, 214, 272, 326, 350 and other forts in Quhistān and elsewhere in Iran. A list of forty-four important forts is also provided in *ibid.*, 364-65. According to Qāzī Minhāj al-Sirāj Juzjānī, who visited Quhistān three times between 621/1224 and 623/1226, there were seventy Ismā'īlī forts in the region. Qāzī Minhāj al-Sirāj Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, vol. 2 (Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1363/1984), 182, 86.

⁸³ It was in 911/1505, when the Badakhshānīs under the head of a local chief Mubārak Shāh defeated Shaybānī Khān's forces that came to invade Badakhshān at the fort of Shāh Tivar, that the fort was named Qal'ah-i Zafar, "the fort of victory." On this, see Tamara G. Abaeva, *Ocherki istorii Badakhshana* (Tashkent: Nauka, 1964), 102-05.

⁸⁴ See *Farhang-i jughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, vol. 9 (Mashhad and Nīshāpūr: Chāpkhānah-i artish, Isfand, 1329), 429.

Rawḍat jannāt fī awṣāf madīnah Harāt, which was completed in 899/1493-94, there were Ismā‘īlīs living in Nahārjān in the 9th/15th century.⁸⁵ The Nizārī communities of Nahārjān and other districts such as Tūn and Mu‘minābād in Quhistān sent their religious contributions to their Imāms in 9th/15th century.⁸⁶ Others have also testified to the presence of Ismā‘īlīs in Nahārjān and to the fact that they were accused of heresy (*ilhād*) in relation to them.⁸⁷ At any rate, it is clear that the *Haft nuktah* refers to the presence of Ismā‘īlīs in Badakhshān and Quhistān, the two regions that had a close historical connection.

The allusion to an adversary in the *Haft nuktah* is likely to the Muḥammad Shāhī Imām.⁸⁸ The author of the *Haft nuktah*, according to the lithograph edition, also states that “the teachers of Badakhshān and in the other aforementioned places must make great efforts, especially in areas where the dervishes are virtuous.”⁸⁹ It suggests that either Qāsim Shāhī *dā‘īs* were active in Badakhshān (as well as the other regions) or some of the people of Badakhshān may have been Qāsim Shāhī Ismā‘īlīs. Interestingly, according to MSGK152 and MS Folder 28 of the text, “the teachers must make efforts to guide in the aforementioned places, especially in Badakhshān where the dervishes are loyal to the faith” (*khuṣūṣan dar mawḥẓi ‘-i Badakhshān kih darvīshān ṣādīq al-i ‘tiqādand*).⁹⁰ This version suggests that the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān may have remained loyal to Qāsim Shāhīs at this time. What is particularly intriguing is that the *Haft nuktah* mentions that the adversary’s group led “several servants in every region on the path to hell.”⁹¹ If we read one of the key sentences as *ahl-i Badakhshān ... bīshṭar bar da ‘vat-i ḥaqq būdaand* or “the majority of the people of Badakhshān have been following the true summons,” instead of *ahl-i Badakhshān ... pīshṭar bar da ‘vat-i ḥaqq būdand* or “previously the people of Badakhshān followed the true summons,” we get an entirely different outcome. MSGK152 and the lithograph edition offer the first reading, according to which the people in the regions mentioned in the work have remained loyal to the Qāsim Shāhīs, with the exception of “several servants” who were misled. That is in addition to the reference to the dervishes being virtuous and loyal. MS Folder 28, however, reads “*pīshṭar*” or “previously.” According to the following part of the sentence, as per MSGK152 and Folder 28, the people “have been drowned in the ocean of iniquity,”⁹² but, as per the lithograph edition, the people “have not drowned in the ocean of iniquity.”⁹³

⁸⁵ Mu‘īn al-Dīn Muḥammad Isfīzārī, *Rawḍat jannāt fī awṣāf madīnah Harāt*, ed. Muḥammad Kāzīm Imām (Tehran: Chāpkhānah-i Dānīshgāh, 1338/1959), 216.

⁸⁶ Jean Aubin, "Un santon Quhistānī de l'epoque Timouride," *Revue des études islamiques* 35 (1967): 185-204. See also Edmund C. Bosworth, "The Ismā‘īlīs of Quhistān and the Maliks of Nīmruz or Sīstān," in *Medieval Ismā‘īlī History and Thought*, ed. Farhad Daftary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 221-29.

⁸⁷ Isfīzārī, *Rawḍat jannāt fī awṣāf madīnah Harāt*, 216. For detailed information about Nahārjān and the Ismā‘īlīs, see Furqānī, *Tā‘rīkh-i Ismā‘īlīyān-i Quhistān*, 15, 35, 36, 50, 52, 56, 74, 76, 210, 14, 72, 326, 50. See also Khālīdiyān, "Barasī-i bāstān-shinākhtī-i qīlā‘-i Quhistān," 144.

⁸⁸ As Virani writes, “While the Muḥammad Shāhī line is never explicitly mentioned in this work, there is an allusion to rivalry in the family.” Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 38.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 87. Quhistānī, *Haft Bāb*, 123.

⁹⁰ Folder 26, 6. MSGK152, fol. 9b.

⁹¹ Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 87. Quhistānī, *Haft Bāb*, 123. Folder 26, 6. MSGK152, fol. 9b.

⁹² Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 87. Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 239. Folder 26, 6. MSGK152, fol. 9b.

In short, both branches of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism were present in Badakhshān at the time of the writing of the *Haft Nuktah*, but it is not clear which of the two had a larger following.

Some scholars, most notably, Abusaid Shokhumorov, argue that Ismāʿīlism was openly practiced in Badakhshān between the 10th and the second half of the 15th century, which, he claims, is testified to by the fact that the Shāh of Badakhshān Sulṭān Muḥammad was a poet (he had a *Dīvān*) and had many famous poets, philosophers and scholars in his court. According to Shokhumorov, one of them was Ghiyās al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Amīrān al-Iṣfahānī who was a philosopher, a scholar and a poet and composed a treatise on mathematics and poetry. Shokhumorov claims that Ghiyās al-Dīn is the author of the famous *Tuḥfat al-nāzirīn* or *Gift to the Readers* (also known as *Sī-u shish ṣahīfah* or *Thirty-Six Pages*), which he wrote in Badakhshān in 856/1452.⁹⁴ It is true that several manuscripts in Badakhshān are attributed to Ghiyās al-Dīn Iṣfahānī and in many manuscripts of *Tuḥfat al-nāzirīn*, he appears as its author. These manuscripts contain thirty-five, not thirty-six *ṣahīfahs*. Ghiyās al-Dīn is a historical figure that served the Tīmūrīds in Badakhshān in the second half of the 15th century and is indeed the author of *Danish'nāmah-i jahān*.⁹⁵ Wladimir Ivanow discussed the date of this work's composition and made no statements regarding its author's Ismāʿīlī affiliation. He only states that this work contains "many traces ... of Iṣfahānī's personal acquaintance with Badakhshān."⁹⁶ In addition to the *Tuḥfat al-nāzirīn*, the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs attribute another work on astrology to Iṣfahānī.⁹⁷ Many manuscripts of the *Tuḥfat al-nāzirīn*, however, attribute its authorship to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī Badakhshānī.⁹⁸ We will present further considerations regarding Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, as his name occurs frequently in some of the hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Whether Iṣfahānī or Sayyid Suhrāb composed the *Tuḥfat al-nāzirīn* is not known, but both figures lived in the 9th/15th century.⁹⁹

Although the *Tuḥfat al-nāzirīn* is primarily dedicated to explaining the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, it contains allusions to Nizārī works. Apart from it, we find works that contain Nizārī ideas and which were composed a little later in the 15th century in the Badakhshānī literature. We should mention the *Pandiyāt-i javān'mardī* by either Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh II (d. ca. 885/1480) or his

⁹³ Quhistānī, *Haft Bāb*, 123.

⁹⁴ Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 27.

⁹⁵ See for example L. Richter-Bernburg and H.M.Said, "Medical and Veterinary Sciences," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. 4, part II, ed. C. E. Bosworth and M. Asimov (Motilal Banarsidas, 2002), 314.

⁹⁶ Wladimir Ivanow, "The Date of the Danish-nama-i-jahan," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 59 (1927): 95-96.

⁹⁷ For example, Umedi Shohzodamuhammad who edited and published a short treatise on astrology in Tajik believes that this work is by Ghiyās al-Dīn. Ghišuddīn Alī Iṣfahānī, *Nujum*, ed. Umedi Shohzodamuhammad (Khorog: Meros, 1994). On this work also see Konstantin Vasil'tsov, "Ilm-i nudzhum v sisteme traditsionnogo znaniia gortsev Badakhshana (po materialam traktata Giias ad-dina 'Ali Isfagani Kitab-i nudzhum)," in *Radlovskii sbornik* (St. Petersburg: MAĖ, RAN, 2014), 194-210.

⁹⁸ The *Tuḥfat al-nāzirīn* is widely distributed in Badakhshān. Hājji Qudrat Allāh edited and published it in the original Persian in 1960 in Gilgit, Pakistan. A year later, it was edited by Hūshang Ujāqī in Tehran and published by the Ismaili Society. The latter edition is based on three manuscripts that come from Pakistan, from the districts of Hunza and Chitrāl. Badakhshānī, *Sī-u Shish Ṣahīfah*.

grandson Imām Gharīb Mīrzā (d. 904/1498).¹⁰⁰ The *Pandiyāt-i javān'mardī* was sent to outlying Nizārī communities, including Badakhshān during this time. Similarly, Imām Mustanṣir's son and successor Imām 'Abd al-Salām Shāh invited the Muḥammad Shāhī Nizārīs of Badakhshān and Afghanistan to transfer their allegiance to the Qāsim Shāhīs.¹⁰¹ The works of the earliest Nizārī authors of the Anjudān period, Abū Ishāq Quhistānī (d. after 904/1498) and Khayrkhvāh-i Harātī (d. after 960/1553) are highly revered in Badakhshān. There are numerous copies of Quhistānī's *Haft Bāb* or *Seven Chapters*. Although this text clearly contains Nizārī ideas, it is not known when exactly it found its way to the Badakhshānī regions. Bū Ishāq Quhistānī's *Haft Bāb* was certainly in Badakhshān before 1151/1738, which is the year of the transcription of a codex in which it appears (MS Folder 220, KhRU-IIS). Harātī refers to the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān (and Kābul) in his *Risālah* (c. 960/1553) and considers them to be the readers of this work.¹⁰² As he intended to show the legitimacy of his *hujjatship* or *pīrship* to these regions, it is certain that copies of this work were already sent there in his lifetime. Considering the pieces of evidence discussed so far, it is safe to assume that Nizārī Ismā'īlism was already present in Badakhshān by the 15th century and by Harātī's time; there was an organized Nizārī community in the region. The Qāsim Shāhī wing began to gain even more support in Badakhshān after the 16th century. Harātī's case is particularly revealing of the fact that by the first half of the 16th century direct contacts had been established between the Qāsim Shāhī Nizārī Imāms and their followers in Badakhshān. Harātī, for example, relates that the Imām (probably in Anjudān) intended to designate his father Khvājah Sulṭān Ḥusayn as the *dā'ī* of Khurāsān, Badakhshān and Kābul.¹⁰³

The Chaghatay Turko-Mongol *amīr* Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt's *Tā'rīkh-i Rashīdī* (completed in 951/1545) contains some useful information regarding the political situation of the principalities of Pamir in the 16th century. It informs us that in the early 10th/16th century a certain Raḏī al-Dīn Chirāgh-kush, who according to Muḥammad Ḥaydar was "one of the cursed *malāhidah* of Quhistān" (*yakī az malāhidah-i la'īn-i Quhistān*), appeared in Badakhshān.¹⁰⁴ Most of the people of Badakhshān, according to the *Tā'rīkh-i Rashīdī* ("all the inhabitants of Badakhshān, both far and near,

⁹⁹ Among Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn's other works are *Asrār al-Ḥurūf* (written in 870/1465-6 and dedicated to the Tīmūrid Abū Bakr son of Abū Sa'īd, who was the governor of Badakhshān), *Durrat al-Masāhat*, *Ma'ārif al-taqvīm*, *Bāz'nāmah* and *Khulāṣāt al-tanjīm va burhān al-taqvīm*.

¹⁰⁰ To date, all scholars assumed that the *Pandiyāt* is the work of Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh II (d. ca. 885/1480), but as Virani shows, there is some evidence indicating that it may be the work of Mustanṣir's grandson who bore the same name and who was also known as Gharīb Mīrzā. Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 116. Interestingly, according to Mu'izzī, in some *Zuryah'nāmahs* (list of Ismā'īlī Imāms) in Badakhshān, the *Pandiyāt-i javānmardī* appears as the name of an Imām in the form of Fandiyā Javān'mard. Mu'izzī, *Ismā'īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 205. However, the *Zuryah'nāmahs* that I examined mention Fandiyā Javān'mard as pīr. For example, in one *Zuryah'nāmah*, Fandiyā Javān'mard is the pīr during the imamate of the twenty-ninth Ismā'īlī Imām Qāsim Shāh (d. unknown). MS Folder 19 (copied in 1354/1935 by Shāh Fiṭūr) (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁰¹ The invitation by the Qāsim Shāhī Imām is reflected in at least one extant *farmān* or epistle issued in 895/1490. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 433.

¹⁰² Khayrkhvāh-i Harātī, *Taṣnīfāt-i Harātī*, ed. Wladimir Ivanow (Tehran: Ismaili Society, 1961), 36.

¹⁰³ See the autobiographical part of the *Risālah* in *ibid.*, 35ff.

openly and privately, adhered to him⁹⁷) were adherents of this sect. Muḥammad Ḥaydar further writes that Razī al-Dīn and his followers revolted against Mīrzā Khān, a local Tīmūrid ruler and later (in 915/1509) Razī al-Dīn was murdered.¹⁰⁵ This person is identified as Shāh Razī al-Dīn II, the thirtieth Imām of the Muḥammad Shāhī Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs.¹⁰⁶

The history of Ismā‘īlism in Badakhshān even after the 10th/16th century is still not well known. Up to the 13th/19th century, we only have fragmentary information. An 11th/16th century poet from Quhistān by the name of Maḥmūd refers to Badakhshān as a place of Ismā‘īlīs in his poetry. He specifically mentions the name of an Ismā‘īlī by the name of Badī‘, perhaps an Ismā‘īlī *dā‘ī*, who resided in Badakhshān. As Maḥmūd writes,

*Badī‘ ān ‘arīf-i ḥaqq-dān, kih sākin dar Badakhshān ast
Bih taḥqīq az muḥibbān ast, chih bāk az Khārijī dāram*

Badī‘, that knower of the truth, who is resident in Badakhshān
In faith he is from among the lovers, so I don’t fear the Khārijī¹⁰⁷

According to the Muḥammad Shāhī tradition, a later Imām of this line by the name of ‘Aṭīyyat Allāh, also known as Khudāybakhsh, took up residence in Badakhshān and died there in 1074/1663.¹⁰⁸ The fact that there were both Muḥammad Shāhī and Qāsim Shāhī Ismā‘īlīs in Badakhshān until at least the 11th/17th century can also be attested in a manuscript that was composed in 10 Rabi al-Avval 1078/27 August 1667 (MS Folder 232 (KhRU-IIS)), four years after Khudāybakhsh’s death, although it does not mention his name. This manuscript, however, contains invocations, one of which was composed before 1032/1622, as it ends with the Muḥammad Shāhī Imām Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar (d. 1032/1622), and the other with before 904/1498, as it ends with the Qāsim Shāhī Imām Shāh Gharīb Mīrzā (d. 904/1498).¹⁰⁹ In these invocations, both of these Imāms are described as the Imāms of the time.¹¹⁰ The inclusion of invocations mentioning the names of Imāms of both lines

¹⁰⁴ Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Ta’rīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. W.M. Thackston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 185-87, 94. *Ta’rīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Ghaffārī Fard (Tehran: 1383/2004), 346.

¹⁰⁵ *Ta’rīkh-i Rashīdī*, 346.

¹⁰⁶ Farhad Daftary, "Shāh Tāhir and the Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Disguises," in *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought*, ed. Todd Lawson (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 397-98. According to Syrian Ismā‘īlī sources, Razī al-Dīn was the first Imām to send *dā‘īs* to Badakhshān. See Mu‘izzī, *Ismā‘īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 161.

¹⁰⁷ *Ismā‘īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 210.

¹⁰⁸ Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 455. See also, ‘Arīf Tāmīr, *al-Imāma fī al-islām* (Beirut and Baghdad: n.d.), 174-76.

¹⁰⁹ MS Folder 232, 84-101 (KhRU-IIS).

¹¹⁰ In the invocation that includes the names of the Qāsim Shāhī Imāms, the contemporary Imām is called Qāim Maqām, Khudāvand-i zamān-u zamān va kirdigār-i kaw-n-u makān, āfarīdagār-i jin va insān Mawlānā Mustanṣir bi’llāh-i zamān Shāh Gharīb Mīrzā ibn Khudāvand Salām Shāh ibn Mawlānā Mustanṣir bi’llāh ibn Mawlānā Salām Shāh ibn Mawlānā Salām Shāh ibn Mawlānā Qāsim Shāh ibn Mawlānā Qāsim Shāh ibn Mawlānā Mu’min Shāh ibn Mawlānā Muḥammad ibn Mawlānā Rukn al-Dīn Khvūrshāh ibn Mawlānā ‘Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Mawlānā Zīyā al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mawlānā Ḥasan ‘alā zikri-hi-salām ibn Mawlānā Qāhir ibn Mawlānā Mahdī ibn Mawlānā Hādī ibn Mawlānā Nizār Muṣṭafā ibn Mawlānā Mustanṣir bi’llāh ibn Mawlānā Zāhir ibn Mawlānā Ḥākim ibn Mawlānā ‘Azīz ibn Mawlānā Mu‘izz ibn Mawlānā Manṣūr ibn Mawlānā Qā’im ibn Mawlānā Mahdī ibn Mawlānā Vafī Muḥammad ibn Mawlānā Razī Aḥmad ibn Mawlānā Ismā‘īl ibn Mawlānā Ja’far-i Ṣādiq ibn Mawlānā Bāqir ibn Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ibn Mawlānā Ḥusayn ibn Mawlānā ‘Alī. MS Folder 232, 89-90 (KhRU-IIS). The list of the Imāms is slightly different in MS 1959/24d, 96a-96b, (OITAS). In the invocation that includes the names of the Muḥammad Shāhī Imāms, the contemporary Imām is called the master of the time (*ṣāhib-i zamān*) and the Lord of the Resurrection (*qā’im al-qiyyamah*) Shāh Ṣadr (Naṣr)

shows that by the second half of the 11th/17th century both the Muḥammad Shāhī and Qāsim Shāhī Imāms were regarded as legitimate Imāms in Badakhshān. Apart from the invocations, this collection contains other works, including the *Nūr'nāmah*, *Maṭlūb al-mu'minīn*, *Qiṭ'ah-i mujārat*, *Ahd'nāmah* and the *Khuṭbat al-bayān*. There is another text known as the *Haft Nuktah* (*Seven Aphorisms*), which is attributed to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Its full title is *Haft Nuktah min fuṣūl-i Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī*. The same work titled *Haft Nuktah aw fuṣūl-i Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī* (dated 1144/1732) is also preserved in MS 1959/24d (Oriental Institute Archive), ff. 82-96.¹¹¹ The text emphasizes the importance of following the party of 'Alī in order to attain salvation in the hereafter.¹¹² Following the *Haft Nuktah*, the manuscript contains a small work (*qiṭ'ah*) that explains the characteristics (*nishān*) of a true Ismā'īlī. It encourages the Ismā'īlīs to help one another when in trouble, treat one another with respect, seek each other's company and avoid the company of those who are hostile to their faith.¹¹³ There is also an abridged version of the *Haft Arkān*, which is an esoteric interpretation of *shahādat* (the testimony of faith), purification (*tahārat*), prayer (*namāz*), the fast (*rūza*), purifying alms (*zakāt*), the pilgrimage (*hajj*) and Jihād (struggle) that are “the signs of an Ismā'īlī” (*nishān-i Ismā'īlī*).

In Chapter Four, I will have occasions to discuss the situation of the Ismā'īlīs in the subsequent centuries. Beginning in the 13th/19th century, some British and Russian travelers and military personnel provide us with some information on the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs, but most of them describe them simply as Shī'īs. Based on their records, we know that there were Sunnīs living side by side with the Ismā'īlīs in Badakhshān. The statement of the Dutch traveller in Pamir, Ole Olufsen who believes that Islam in the form of the Ismā'īlī Shī'a only became the religion of Ghārān and Vakhān towards the middle of the 19th century, should probably be dismissed as inaccurate. As he says, “in 1896, when the Wakhan were without a ruler, they declared themselves not to be Mussulmans.”¹¹⁴ It is possible that the Ismā'īlīs declared themselves not to be Sunnīs in the absence of Sunnī rulers.¹¹⁵ The British traveler John Wood, who visited the region in 1837, describes the people of Ghārān as

al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mawlānā Shāh Ḥaydar ibn Mawlānā Shāh Ṭāhīr ibn Mawlānā Razī ibn Mawlānā Ṭāhīr ibn Mawlānā Razī ibn Mawlānā Shāh Ṭāhīr ibn Mawlānā Mu'min Shāh ibn Mawlānā Muḥammad Shāh ibn Mawlānā Mu'min Shāh ibn Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn ibn Mawlānā Rukn al-Dīn ibn Mawlānā 'Alī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn ibn Mawlānā Ziyā al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mawlānā Muḥammad ibn Mawlānā Ḥasan ibn Mawlānā Muḥammad ibn Mawlānā Ḥasan ibn Mawlānā Hādī ibn Mawlānā Mahdī ibn Mawlānā Qāhīr ibn Mawlānā Nizār ibn Mawlānā Mustanṣīr bi'llāh ibn Mawlānā Zāhīr ibn Mawlānā Ḥākīm ibn Mawlānā 'Azīz ibn Mawlānā Mu'izz ibn Mawlānā Maṣṣūr ibn Mawlānā Mawlānā Mahdī ibn Mawlānā Vafī ibn Mawlānā Taqī ibn Mawlānā Razī ibn Mawlānā Muḥammad ibn Mawlānā Ismā'īl ibn Mawlānā Ja'far-i Ṣādiq ibn Mawlānā Bāqir ibn Zayn al-'Ābidīn ibn Mawlānā Ḥusayn ibn Mawlānā 'Alī. MS Folder 232 (KhRU-IIS), 89-90. Again, list in MS 1959/24d appears slightly differently. MS 1959/24d, 92b-95b, (OITAS). See also MS Folder 207 (which also contains *Ahd'nāmah*, *Maṭlūb al-mu'minīn*, *Faṣl dar bayān-i khums va 'ushr*, *Sharḥ-i Khuṭbat al-bayān-i Mīr Sharīf* and other works), ff. 37a-40b (KhRU-IIS). This manuscript seems to have been copied in 1310/1892 in Shidz, Rūshān.

¹¹¹ On this text, see Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 105.

¹¹² *Haft Nuktah aw fuṣūl-i Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī*, 82b.

¹¹³ *Haft Nuktah aw fuṣūl-i Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī*, 84a-85a.

¹¹⁴ Frank Bliss, *Social and Economic Change in the Pamirs (Gorno-Badakhshan, Tajikistan)* (London: Routledge, 2006), 221.

¹¹⁵ See Chapter Four.

“Rafizies, or Shiah Mohamedans.”¹¹⁶ He also states that “Wakhanis are of the Shiah belief” later in the same book.¹¹⁷ Wood also writes that in “the open valley of the Kokcha the inhabitants are Sunis (sic), though every Tajik hill-state around it is of the opposite creed [i.e. Shiahism].”¹¹⁸ Although Wood did not visit the regions of Shughnān and Rūshān personally, he says that “in Roshan and Shagnan the inhabitants are Shiahs.”¹¹⁹

Thomas George Montgomerie’s “Report of “The Mirzas”” Exploration from Caubul to Kashgar,” which was published in 1871 provides references to the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān and their Imām.¹²⁰ This report states that “[T]he inhabitants of the country between Caubul and Khulm are mostly Shia Mohammedans, looking to Agar [sic] Khan of Bombay as their spiritual guide... Agar Khan is said to be a pensioner of the British Government: he is a Persian. His influence is said to be very great between Caubul and Khulm, as also in Badakhshan, Wakhan, Chitral, Kunjut, Kashgar and Yarkund. In order to maintain his influence, he sends his agents from time to time to travel through those countries.”¹²¹ Also, a few pages later (in the original notes) one can read the following: “The inhabitants of Vakhān are generally Shia Mohammedans, looking to Agar [sic] Khan of Mombay as their spiritual guide. They are said to pay him annually one-tenth of their income.”¹²²

Many other authors describe the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs as Shī‘īs and some refer to them as the followers of the Āghā Khān. Pundit Manphul’s report on Badakhshān written in 1867 and published by Henry Yule in 1872 mentions that “the population of Badakhshān proper is composed of Tajiks, Turks, and Arabs, who are all Sunnīs, following the orthodox doctrines of the Muhammedan law, and speak Persian and Turki, whilst the people of the more mountainous tracts are Tajiks of the Shia creed, having separate provincial dialects of their own, the inhabitants of the principal places combining a knowledge of Persian.”¹²³ Fayz Bakhsh, (a member of the Mission of Forsyth of 1870) writes that the Mīr of Vakhān (Mīr Fath ‘Alī Shāh) and his Hazārah subjects profess the Shia creed.¹²⁴ Henry Yule in his comprehensive essay on the geography of the Upper Oxus regions, written in 1872, which was included in John Wood’s *A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus*, also writes that “Wakhis, Shignis, and Roshanis all profess to be Shiahs in religion.”¹²⁵ Thomas E. Gordon states, “The Sarikolis are Shiah Muhammadans.”¹²⁶ Although Gordon himself did not visit Shughnān, he and his company sent

¹¹⁶ John Wood, *A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus. New edition. With an Essay on the Geography of the Valley of the Oxus by Colonel Henry Yule* (London: John Murray, 1872), 206. Wood spent the New Year of 1838 in Jirm.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 244.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 192.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 249.

¹²⁰ T. G. Montgomerie, "Report of “The Mirza’s” Exploration from Caubul to Kashgar," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 41 (1871): 132-93.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 152-53.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 157.

¹²³ See Faiz Bukhsh, Munphool Pundit, Henry Yule, "Papers connected with the Upper Oxus Regions," *ibid.* 42 (1872): 448.

¹²⁴ Fatah Ali Khan in *ibid.*, 472.

¹²⁵ Henry Yule, “Essay on the Geography of the Valley of the Oxus,” in Wood, *A Journey*, lxxv.

¹²⁶ Thomas E. Gordon, *The Roof of the World: being a narrative of a journey over the high plateau of Tibet to the Russian frontier and the Oxus sources on Pamir* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1876), 141.

“Captain Trotter’s intelligent assistant surveyor” to Shughnān and most of what Gordon writes about Shughnān and Rūshān is based on the account of this person who apparently reached Vamār, the capital of Rūshān. Gordon again notes, as he says according to the “Shighni accounts”, Shāh Khāmūsh¹²⁷ converted the people of Shughnān and Rūshān to the Shiah form of the Muḥammadan faith. He further writes that “If this be true it is probable that proselytizing expeditions were sent into Vakhān and the neighbouring hill countries, and extended their operations even to Sirikol and Kunjut, gaining all over to the Shiah faith which they now profess.”¹²⁸ In addition to these, the Earl of Dunmore (who conducted the journey in 1892) wrote in 1893 wrote that the population of the Sarikol district belonged to “the Shia sect of Mohammedans.”¹²⁹ Ivan P. Minaev also mentions the relations of the Pāmīrīs with the “Agar Khan” (*sic*).¹³⁰ In the 19th century, it is the Anglo-Hungarian Orientalist Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner (or Gottlieb William Leitner) (1840-1899) who uses the term “Isma‘ilians” to refer to the followers of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh and considers the “*mulais*” of the northern areas of Pakistan and the Ismā‘īlīs of Pamir as such.¹³¹ Apart from Leitner, John Biddulph, who served the government of British India in the largely Ismā‘īlī populated region of Gilgit from 1877 to 1881, met with the Ismā‘īlīs in person. He simply provides information regarding the whereabouts of the Ismā‘īlīs. As he writes,

[T]he whole of the people of Hunza, Ponyal, Zebak, Shighnan, Roshan, Munjan, Kolab, and Darwaz, more than half the people of Sirikol, Wakhan, Yassin, and the greater number of the inhabitants of the Ludkho Valley in Chitral, belong to the Mulai sect. A few Mulais are said to exist in Khokand, Karategin, and Badakhshan, among the poorest of the people, and in one district near Bakh, they are known as the disciples of Syud Jaffer Khan. Some are also found in Afghanistan, where they are known as Muftadis. A few may possibly exist in Bokhara and Khurasan, but in a fanatical country they would probably pass themselves off as Shiahs.¹³²

As we can see, apart from the “Report of the “Mirzas” exploration,” Leitner’s *Dardistan*, Biddulph’s *Tribes of Hindoo Koosh*, and Minaev’s *Svedeniā*, the other sources describe the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs simply as followers of Shī‘ism. As Count A. Bobrinskoī later stated, scholars in Russia believed for a long time that the Badakhshānīs were Shī‘īs. “The inhabitants of the region are not Shiites as it had been suggested among us (*u nas*, meaning in Russia), but Ismā‘īlīs,” writes

¹²⁷ On Shāh Khāmūsh, see Chapter Four.

¹²⁸ Gordon, *The Roof of the World*, 141.

¹²⁹ The Earl of Dunmore, "Journeyings in the Pamirs and Central Asia," *The Geographical Journal* 2, no. 5 (1893): 390.

¹³⁰ Minaev clearly draws his information from British sources. For example, Minaev’s use of Mongomerie’s “Report of “The Mirzas” Exploration is obvious by the fact that he does not change the word “Agar” to “Aga” before Khan. Ivan Minaev, *Svedeniā o stranakh po verkhov’iam Amu-Dar’i* (Moscow: n.p., 1879), 42.

¹³⁰ Bobrinskoī, *Gor’isy*, 193.

¹³¹ See Appendix VII (a) “A secret religion in the Hindukush and in Lebanon” and Appendix VII (b) “The *Kalami pir* and esoteric Muhammadanism” in G.W. Leitner, "A Secret Religion in the Hindukush [The Pamir Region] and in the Lebanon," *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly* 5 (1893). "A secret religion in the Hindukush and in Lebanon; The *Kalami pir* and esoteric Muhammadanism," in *Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893: being an account of the history, religions, customs, legends, fables, and songs of Gilgit, Chilas, Kandia (Gabrial), Yasin, Chitral, Hunza, Aagyr, and other parts of the Hindukush* (New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1978).

¹³² John Biddulph, *Tribes of Hindoo Koosh* (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck, 1971), 119.

Bobrinskiĭ, who clearly meant Twelver Shī'īs by "Shiites" here.¹³³ Whereas in Russia they believed that the Badakhshānīs were Shī'īs before the dawn of the 20th century and many of the British and other authors referred to the Ismā'īlīs as followers of the Shī'a, the learned British political agent and scholar Ney Elias, in addition to providing the names of the religious leaders of Pāmīrī provinces, mentions the following in his confidential report written in 1886 in Calcutta (IOLR F111/378): "The whole of the inhabitants of these provinces [i.e. Zībāk, Vakhān, Rūshān, Shughnān, etc.], as well as a large proportion of the Darwazis, may be reckoned as Shīahs of the Ismā'īlī sect, or followers of Agha Khan of Bombay."¹³⁴

2.3 Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Scholarly Biography

As mentioned, this dissertation is not concerned with the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw, and refers to him only by comparison with the Nāṣir-i Khusraw of the hagiographical sources. However, the readers of this dissertation may be interested in the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw and may wish to know more about him and his significance in Ismā'īlism. For this reason, this section provides a brief account of the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹³⁵

Nāṣir-i Khusraw's full name is Abū Mu'īn Nāṣir b. Khusraw b. Ḥārīṣ al-Qubādiyānī al-Balkhī al-Marvazī. He was born in 394/1004 in Qubādiyān, which was a district in Balkh.¹³⁶ Qubādiyān, situated on the right bank of the Oxus River, is in modern Tajikistan. Nāṣir-i Khusraw seems to have worked as an official during the Ghaznavid period¹³⁷ and later served in the administration of the Saljūqids who came to control the area in 431/1040. He held a government post in Marv, where his brother by the name of Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Abd al-Jalīl had an important position.¹³⁸ Based on his poetry, it is clear that Nāṣir-i Khusraw had his home, relatives and friends in Balkh.¹³⁹ When he was about forty years old (in 437/1045), he resigned from his post and went on pilgrimage to Mecca. Accompanied by his brother and a servant, Nāṣir-i Khusraw traveled through many important Muslim centres, including Nīshāpūr, Tabrīz, Aleppo and Jerusalem. Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes all the places that he visited in his famous *Safar'nāmah* (*Travelogue*). His journey lasted seven years. In the *Safar'nāmah*, he explains the reasons for his journey, mentioning that he had a dream that marked a spiritual transformation in his life. Read in light of one of his poems, it becomes clear that the spiritual transformation he refers to is

¹³³ Bobrinskiĭ, "Sakta Ismailīa," 1.

¹³⁴ Ney Elias, "(Confidential) Report of a Mission to Chinese Turkistan and Badakhshān in 1885-86," in *Britain and Russia in Central Asia, 1880-1907*, ed. Martin Ewans (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 53.

¹³⁵ For a comprehensive biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw based on his own works, see Ḥasan Taqī'zādah, "Muqaddimah," in *Divān-i Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, ed. Sayyid Naṣr Allāh Taqavī (Tehran: Kitābkhānah-i Tehran, 1304-7HSh./1925-28), 21-83. See also Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*. Bertel's, *Nosiri Khosrov i Ismailizm*. Ivanow, *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailizm*.

¹³⁶ Khusraw, *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, 1. That Nāṣir-i Khusraw was from Qubādiyān is also mentioned in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's poetry, 297:23. Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions his birthdate in one of his poems. *Divān* (Taqavī), 173:9.

¹³⁷ Taqī'zādah, "Muqaddimah," 28.

¹³⁸ Khusraw, *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, 103.

¹³⁹ *Divān* (Taqavī), 254:1-5, 309:13.

in fact a conversion to the cause of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī Imām al-Mustanshir biʿllāh. Some scholars argue that Nāṣir-i Khusraw left his office because he was in search of a meaningful life, but others have argued that he was already an Ismāʿīlī before departing for Egypt.¹⁴⁰ At any rate, Nāṣir-i Khusraw arrived in Cairo in 439/1047. In his *Safar'nāmah*, he praises the prosperity in Egypt, the justice of the Fāṭimid Imām, the order of the society and the intellectual life in Cairo. He spent three years (439-441/1047-1050) in Cairo, the capital of the Fāṭimids, where he became familiar with the Ismāʿīlī tradition. He was probably attracted to Ismāʿīlism by the chief *dāʿī*, al-Muʿayyad fī-l-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. ca. 470/1078). After receiving the necessary training and instructions in Cairo, Nāṣir-i Khusraw seems to have attained a prominent rank (*hujjat*) in the Fāṭimid *daʿvah* institution. He left Cairo in 441/1050 through Mecca and eventually arrived in Balkh in 444/1052. Upon his return from Egypt, he embarked on preaching Ismāʿīlism as *hujjat*.¹⁴¹ Both Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his contemporary Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh Abū al-Maʿālī confirm he was the “master of the island of Khurāsān.”¹⁴² From Balkh, he took his *daʿvah* activities to Nīshāpūr and other cities of Khurāsān. However, he soon faced the hostility of the Sunnī *ʿulamāʿ* who condemned him as a heretic and irreligious man.¹⁴³ This situation forced him to flee to the valley of Yumgān in Badakhshān where the local ruler (*amīr*) ʿAlī b. al-Asad provided him refuge. His retreat to Yumgān took place before 453/1061, the year in which he produced his *Zād al-musāfirīn* in that region.¹⁴⁴ For the last fifteen years of his life, Nāṣir-i Khusraw produced several works in Yumgān and preached Ismāʿīlism from there.¹⁴⁵ The precise year of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s death is unknown. Most likely, he died in Yumgān of Badakhshān sometime after 462/1070. The fact that Nāṣir-i Khusraw established a community in Badakhshān is attested in the *Bayān al-adyān* of his contemporary Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh Abū al-Maʿālī who wrote, “Nāṣir-i Khusraw ... was established in Yumgān ... and his *ṭarīqat* arose there.”¹⁴⁶ Nāṣir-i Khusraw is buried in Yumgān, at a village called Ḥaẓrat-i Sayyid.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw produced a number of prose and poetic works, some of which have

¹⁴⁰ Azim Nanji, "Nāṣir-i Khusraw," in *EI2*.

¹⁴¹ Nāṣir-i Khusraw refers to himself with the title *hujjat* in his works. See Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Zād al-musāfirīn*, ed. Muḥammad Badhl al-Rahmān (Berlin: Kaviani, 1341/1923), 397. *Kitab-e Jamiʿ al-Hikmatayn: Le livre réunissant les deux sagesses, ou harmonie de la philosophie Grecque et de la théosophie Ismaélienne*, ed. Henry Corbin and Muḥammad Muʿīn (Tehran: Département d’Iranologie de l’Institut Franco-Iranien, 1953), 15, 16-17. *Dīvān* (Taḡavī), 54:16, 149:6, 238:17, 96:24, 402:19, 04:12, 20:8, 50:1, 13:4. It is noteworthy that Khurāsān, of which Nāṣir-i Khusraw claimed to be the *hujjat* in the second half of the 5th/11th century, does not appear as a *jazīrah* in al-Nuʿmān’s list. However, al-Nuʿmān’s well-informed and possibly Ismāʿīlī contemporary, Ibn Ḥawqal’s, who himself travelled through eastern Persia and Transoxania around 358/969, does mention Khurāsān as a *jazīrah* of the Fāṭimid *daʿvah* (*dāʿwāt ahl al-maghrib*), further adding that Balūchistān in eastern Persia belonged to that *jazīrah*. It is also possible that Khurāsān may have been included in the *jazīrah* of Hind. See Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 218.

¹⁴² *Dīvān* (Taḡavī), 321. Abuʿl-Maʿālī mentions that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was “the master of the island.” al-Maʿālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, 55-56.

¹⁴³ *Dīvān* (Taḡavī), 110, 217, 430. See Khusraw, *Zād al-musāfirīn*, 3, 402.

¹⁴⁴ See *ibid.*, 280.

¹⁴⁵ *Dīvān* (Taḡavī), 281:20.

¹⁴⁶ al-Maʿālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, 55-56.

survived.¹⁴⁷ Among his surviving works are the *Dīvān*, a collection of poetry that comprises more than 10,000 verses that are replete with reflections on his spiritual development, his commitment to the cause of Ismā‘īlism and a range of ethical, theological and philosophical themes.¹⁴⁸ The other work is the aforementioned *Safar'nāmah*, which is an account of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s travels that describes the places he visited during his seven-year journey.¹⁴⁹ The third work is the aforementioned *Vajh-i dīn* (*The Face of Religion*), which provides an esoteric interpretation of religious commandments such as prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, alms, etc.¹⁵⁰ The fourth work is the *Gushāyish va rahāyish* (*Unfettering and Setting Free*), which discusses key Islamic doctrines.¹⁵¹ The fifth work is the *Zād al-musāfirīn* (*Sustenance for Travellers*), which questions the teachings of the Muslim philosophers and reviews the positions of some ancient Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle. In this work, Nāṣir-i Khusraw provides responses to questions on subjects that particularly relate to the human soul and its quest for salvation.¹⁵² The fifth work is the *Khwān al-ikhwān* (*A Banquet for the Brethren*), which covers the basic principles and practices of Islam.¹⁵³ The sixth extant work is called the *Jāmi‘ al-ḥikmatayn* (*The Sum of Two Wisdoms*); it aims to harmonize the teachings of the Qur’ān with rational and philosophical sciences, described as “two wisdoms” (*ḥikmatayn*).¹⁵⁴ The seventh work is *Shish faṣl* (*Six Chapters*), also known as the *Rawshanā‘ī-nāmah* (*The Book of Enlightenment*). It provides an Ismā‘īlī interpretation of basic Islamic tenets. It is a short treatise on divine unity (*tawḥīd*), God’s word (*kalimah*), the soul (*nafs*), the Imām, reward and punishment in the hereafter and other issues.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁷ For a list of works attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, see Poonawala, *Biobibliography*.

¹⁴⁸ For information about the various lithographed and critical editions of the *Dīvān* and its partial translations in other languages, see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, 134-35.. The *Dīvān*, lithographed by Muḥammad Malik al-Kātib (Bombay, n.d. [1860?]) contains the *Savāniḥ-i ‘umrī*, a version of the *Risālat al-nadāmāh fī zād al-qiyyāmāh* that will be examined in Chapter Six; *Dīvān*, ed. Sayyid Naṣr Allāh Taqavī et al., with an introduction by Ḥasan Taqī’zādah (Tehran: Kitābkhānah-i Tehran, 1304-7Sh./1925-28), includes poetic *Rawshanā‘ī-nāmāh* and the *Sa‘ādat-nāmāh* which are attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

¹⁴⁹ This work has also been edited in its original Persian and translated into other languages. See *ibid.*, 138-39.

¹⁵⁰ See Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Vajh-i dīn*, ed. Maḥmūd Ghanīzāda and Muḥammad Qazvīnī (Berlin: Kavianī, 1343/1924). *Vajh-i dīn*, ed. Gholam Reza Aavani (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1398/1977).

¹⁵¹ This work was also edited and published in the English translation. See Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Gushāyish va rahāyish*, ed., Sa‘īd Naḥsī, Ismaili Society Series A, no. 5 (Leiden: Published for the Ismaili Society by E.J. Brill, 1950). Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Gushāyish va rahāyish*, 2nd ed., Ismaili Society Series A, no. 11 (Tehran: Ismaili Society, 1961). *Gushāyish va rahāyish* (*Knowledge and Liberation: A Treatise on Philosophical Theology*, trans. Faquir M. Hunzai (London: I.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 1998).

¹⁵² Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Zād al-musāfirīn*, ed., Muḥammad Badhl al-Raḥmān (Berlin: Kavianī, 1341/1923). Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Zād al-musāfirīn*, ed. ‘Alī Qavīm (Tehran: n.p., 1338HSh/1960). In his poetry, Nāṣir-i Khusraw refers to this work as *Zād al-musāfir*. Ismā‘īlī ‘Imādī Ḥā‘irī and Muḥammad ‘Imādī Ḥā‘irī also argue that the title should be *Zād al-musāfir*. See Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Ḥakīm Abū Mu‘īn. *Zād al-musāfir*, ed. Ismā‘īlī ‘Imādī Ḥā‘irī and Muḥammad ‘Imādī Ḥā‘irī (Tehran: Markaz-i nashr-i mīrāth-i maktūb (Miras-e Maktoob), 1384 HSh/2005), 12.

¹⁵³ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Khwān al-ikhwān*, ed. Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1359/1940). Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Khwān al-ikhwān*, ed. ‘Alī Qavīm (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kitābkhāna-yi Bārānī, 1338HSh/1959).

¹⁵⁴ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Kitāb jāmi‘ al-ḥikmatayn*, ed. Henry Corbin and Muḥammad Mu‘īn as *Kitāb-e Jami‘ al-Hikmatayn: Le livre réunissant les deux sagesse, ou harmonie de la philosophie Grecque et de la théosophie Ismaélienne*, Bibliothèque Iranienne, 3 (Tehran: Département d’Iranologie de l’Institut Franco-Iranien, 1953). Ḥakīm Abū Mu‘īn Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Jāmi‘ al-ḥikmatayn*, trans. Eric L. Ormsby, *Between Reason and Revelation: Twin Wisdoms Reconciled; An Annotated English Translation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s Kitāb-i Jāmi‘ al-Ḥikmatayn* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2012).

¹⁵⁵ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Shish faṣl, yā Rawshanā‘ī-nāmā-yi naṣr*, trans. Wladimir Ivanow (Leiden: Brill, 1949).

Conclusion

As demonstrated in this chapter, Islam may have come to Badakhshān as early as in the late 8th or the beginning of the 9th century, but the majority of its inhabitants do not yet seem to have been Muslims at this time. During the 10th and 11th centuries, both Qarmaṭī and Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *dāʿīs* were active in Central Asia. It is probable that the Ismāʿīlī *daʿvah* extended to Badakhshān from the adjacent Central Asian regions during the 10th century, but all the sources available to us remain silent on that. Ismāʿīlism was present in Badakhshān before the arrival of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the region since ʿAlī b. Asad, who provided him refuge, was an Ismāʿīlī. Following the arrival of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Yumgān, Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism began to be preached in the region. Although the fate of Ismāʿīlism in the Badakhshān in the immediate centuries after Nāṣir-i Khusraw's death towards the end of 11th century is not known very well, sources produced from the 15th century onwards attest to the presence of Ismāʿīlīs in the region. It is, therefore, clear that since the time of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who is believed to have been the first Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* associated with the spread of Ismāʿīlism in Badakhshān, Ismāʿīlism has always been present in the region.

The Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān seem to have remained outside of the Nizārī-Mustaʿlī schism, but Nizārī Ismāʿīlism came to be introduced in the region either during or after the Alamūt period. Although in the immediate post-Alamūt centuries, the Muḥammad Shāhī Imāms had a large following in Badakhshān, after the 16th century and most definitely since the beginning of the 19th century, the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs came to adhere to the Qāsim Shāhī branch of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. Teachings about the Imām remained at the heart of Ismāʿīlism. Ismāʿīlī doctrines revolve around the concept of the imamate. The Imām is the authoritative teacher, the religious and spiritual guide of the Ismāʿīlīs. The knowledge gained from the Imām is essential for attaining salvation and in the Nizārī teaching it is through the true recognition of the Imām whose reality is beyond the here-below that the Ismāʿīlī could attain salvation. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the saint of the hagiography examined in this dissertation, was a *ḥujjat* of the Fāṭimid Imām al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh or a dignitary in the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī hierarchy of religion. According to Nizārī teachings, the *ḥujjat* is the sole access to the Imām and it is only through him that the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs could recognize the Imām and attain salvation. Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the *ḥujjat* and *pīr* is certainly regarded as such in the Badakhshānī hagiography.

Unique among the various Nizārī Ismāʿīlī communities, the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs developed their own practice of deeply venerating Nāṣir-i Khusraw and continued attaching particular significance to his teachings.¹⁵⁶ They associate their tradition and the various teachings that belong to different phases of Ismāʿīlī history with the name of their founding father Nāṣir-i Khusraw. As mentioned in the Introduction, the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān use the word *panj'tanī* (“the adherents of the [holy] five”) as a self-designation. According to Baron Cherkasov who visited Badakhshān in the

early 20th century, the local people called their religion ‘*dīn-i panj’tanī*’ and “considered it a distinctive religion that is a fusion of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teachings, doctrines of “pure Islam,” teachings of Christ, Ismailism, Brahmanism, remnants of fetishism and fire-worshipping.”¹⁵⁷ In distinguishing the term *panj’tanī* from *da’vat-i Nāṣir*, Iloliev also writes, “the Panj-Tanī faith is understood as a combination of certain elements of the pre-Islamic rituals, imbued with Islamic meanings, the Fāṭimid *da’va* (Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teachings) and post-Alamut taqīyya ideas.”¹⁵⁸ The Ismā’īlīs, contrary to Cherkasov, do not consider ‘*dīn-i panj’tanī*’ “a distinctive religion.” In fact, *panj’tanī* means a partisan of the five members of the *ahl al-bayt* or the Prophet’s family (Prophet Muḥammad, Fāṭimah, ‘Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn). In other words, it simply means a Shī’ī and particularly an Ismā’īlī Shī’ī.¹⁵⁹ The Ismā’īlīs of Badakhshān used the designation of *panj’tanī* in reference to themselves.¹⁶⁰ The 15th century Shughnānī poet Shāh Zīyāyī praises Imām ‘Alī, Imām Ḥusayn, Imām Ḥasan and Fāṭimah, whom he calls the *panj tan*, in a poem (*Muḥammad-astu ‘Alī Fāṭimah Ḥusayn-u Ḥasan*) that is well known in Badakhshān. In this poem, he gives the *panj tan* cosmological significance, identifying them as “intercessors for all creatures” and “the pillars of the house of the six worlds.”¹⁶¹ Shāh Zīyāyī regards those who have faith in the *panj tan* as true believers, unlike those who only say “four four” (*chār chār*), i.e. the Sunnīs, who are known as “followers of the four friends” (*chār-yārīs*) (*agar tū mu’min-i ṣāfi-yū yakdil-u yakrav, hamishah dam zan az īn panj, chār chār magū*).¹⁶² Similarly, the word *da’vah*, which is related to *al-da’wa al-hādīya* (Arabic, “the rightly guiding mission”), refers to nothing other than the Ismā’īlī mission.¹⁶³ The *Kalām-i pīr*, one of the most sacred books in Badakhshān, begins by calling *Ismā’īliyyah* (Ismā’īlism) the *da’vat-i hādīyah*. For this reason, the terms *panj’tanī* and the *da’vat-i Nāṣir* serve as two different designations for the same (Shī’ī-Ismā’īlī) tradition.

¹⁵⁶ Corbin, “Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Iranian Ismā’īlism,” 525..

¹⁵⁷ Stanishevskii, *Ismailizm na Pamire*, 126-27.

¹⁵⁸ Iloliev, *The Ismā’īlī-Sufī Sage*, 6-8.

¹⁵⁹ As attested by a small untitled work (*qiṭ’ah*) (completed before 1078/1667) that explains the qualities of an Ismā’īlī, the Badakhshānī Ismā’īlīs seem to have used “Ismā’īliyyān” in relation to themselves from at least 11th/17th century. See the *Qiṭ’ah* in MS Folder 232, ff. 84a-85a (KhRU-IIS). “Ismā’īliyyān,” “mazhab-i Ismā’īliyyān” or “dīn-i Ismā’īliyyān” are found in the *maṣnavī* of the Ismā’īlī poet Naẓmī’s (fl. 18th century), the *Sirāj al-Mu’minīn* (*The Believers’ Lamp*): “Seek the religion of the Ismā’īlīs, Sacrifice your life for these devotees” (*ṭalab kun dīn-i ismā’īliyyān-rā, fidā kun jān mar īn qurbāniyyān-rā*). Naẓmī, *Sirāj al-Mu’minīn*, MS 1960/4ab, f. 16a. See Baqoiev, *Alfavitnyī Katalog*, 64.

¹⁶⁰ Stanishevskii, *Ismailizm na Pamire*, 126-27. On the significance of the five holy ones in Badakhshān, see Mu’izzī, *Ismā’īliyyah-i Badakhshān*, 77-83. See also Manuchihr Sutūdah, *Āṣār-i Tārīkhī-yi Varārūd va Khwārazm* (Tehran: Mawqūfāt Āfshār, 1384/2005), 90-110. Mu’izzī incorrectly equals *panj’tanīs* with the *panjabhaīs*. Mu’izzī, *Ismā’īliyyah-i Badakhshān*, 82-83.

¹⁶¹ MS 1954/24v, ff. 67a-67b. See Bertel’s and Baqoiev, *Alfavitnyī Katalog*, 70, 71. The view that the *panj tan* are the “pillars of the house” reflects the symbolic significance that Badakhshānī Ismā’īlīs attach to the five pillars of a Pāmīrī house, which has five pillars representing the *panj tan*. The Badakhshānī Ismā’īlī poet Ja’far or Ja’farī, who lived in the 13th/19th century, also praises the *panj tan* in the *Dīvān-i Ja’farī*, MS Folder 169, f. 87a (undated, but a very old manuscript), KhRU-IIS). The *Dīvān-i Ja’farī* is also available in the library of OITAS in the Bertel’s and Baqoiev’s collection with the accession number of 1962/15. According to Bertel’s and Baqoiev, Ja’far (or Ja’farī) or Sayyid Ja’far son of Sayyid Shāh Timūr lived in the 19th century, in the village of Khāsa in Pārshinīv. The *Dīvān-i Ja’farī* in the Bertel’s and Baqoiev’s collection was copied in 1270/1854. On the *Dīvān*, see Bertel’s and Baqoiev, *Alfavitnyī Katalog*, 46. On Ja’far (or Ja’farī), see Davlatbekov, *Ruzgor va osori shoironi Badakhshon*, 44-49.

¹⁶² MS 1954/24v, f. 67b.

¹⁶³ Daftary, *The Ismā’īlīs*, 2.

Chapter 3

Social and Political History of Badakhshān

This chapter provides a brief survey of the socio-political history of Badakhshān from the late 15th century to the late 1980s, the period that the hagiographical sources examined in this study belong to. An account of the socio-political history will help the reader appreciate some of the historical and cultural dynamics that had affected the hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. As mentioned in the Introduction, the portrayals of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's sainthood in the hagiographies have changed over time and the presentations of and responses to his stories reflect the concerns of differing intentions and historical contexts. To appreciate the meanings of those images for the community, as well as the various ideological, polemical, apologetic, pedagogic, moral, didactic and other concerns of the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs, it is important to consider the changing historical contexts that have shaped the ways in which those concerns have been expressed.

This chapter, concentrated on history, comprises three sections. The first section provides an overview of the socio-political history of Badakhshān from the 15th century to the first quarter of the 20th century. The second section discusses the role of the local religious leaders (*pīrs*) prior to the first quarter of the 20th century. The third and final section is focused on the history of Badakhshān during Soviet times. These periods, marked by different socio-political contexts, had a direct influence on the ways the Ismā'īlīs presented Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the hagiographical sources. The ways in which the hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw were written mirror the differing concerns of the Ismā'īlīs of these periods. While the hagiographical sources are introduced and analyzed in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, the following paragraphs will introduce major socio-political factors that shaped their narratives.

The history of the people of Badakhshān is linked closely with the history of the neighbouring countries in Central Asia. Despite its relative isolation and remoteness from major centers, Badakhshān was still drawn into the vortex of the historical events that took place in Central Asia between the 15th and mid-19th century. Although Badakhshān was generally independent until the mid-19th century, it certainly was a bone of contention for several external dynasties and fell into various degrees of dependence on its Sunnī neighbouring rulers prior to the early 20th century. As Aleksandr N. Boldyrev notes, "Escaping the fate of other Central Asian areas for a number of reasons, Badakhshān experienced numerous incursions of conquerors and destructions associated with them, remained independent for a long time, but if it was part of the other, more powerful states and state associations, it was so for a short while, and often only nominally."¹ The Ismā'īlī populated areas such

¹ Aleksandr N. Boldyrev, "Introduction," in Sang Muḥammad Badakhshī and Faḏl 'Alī Bek Surkhafsar, *Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān*, ed. A.N. Boldyrev and S.E. Grigor'ev (Moscow: Izdate'l'skaia firma "Vostochnaia literatura", 1997), 8.

as Shughnān, Rūshān, Vakhān and others were either directly controlled by or remained semi-independent from the more powerful Sunnī rulers of Badakhshān and other Central Asian kingdoms.

As shown in the first section on the history of Badakhshān, many foreign Central Asian Sunnī dynasties conquered Badakhshān during this period. The Tīmūrīds (9th/15th century), the Jānīds/Ashtarkhānīds (997-1200/1598–1785), the Manghīts (1167-1339/1753-1920), the Shaybānīds (10th/16th century), the Qattaghān Uzbeks (the chieftain Maḥmūd Bī Aṭāliq (d. 1126/1714)), the governor of Qunduz Qubād Khān (18th century), the Yārids of Badakhshān (1068-1290/1657-1873) and their representatives annexed Badakhshān and meddled in its politics. Most of these powers saw the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān as “unbelievers” and “heretics” and in this way justified their conquest of the region, and the persecution, plundering, enslavement and killing of the Ismā‘īlīs. Some rulers even attempted to uproot Ismā‘īlism from the region and replace it with Sunnism. During this period, these rulers controlled the small Pāmīrī principalities in Shughnān, Vakhān, Rūshān and other areas. They subjugated these principalities and the local *mīrs* of the areas, who were turned into their vassals and paid tribute to them. Like the other dynasties, the Qunduzid rulers and the later Yārids brought about significant devastation to the region. Together with the local *mīrs*, who (or most of whom) were also Sunnīs, the Yārids and the Qunduzid rulers continued selling the Ismā‘īlīs into slavery, plundered and massacred them on a number of occasions. In the second half of the 13th/19th century, the Afghans and the Bukhārāns fought over Badakhshān and eventually divided the region into their territories by choosing the Panj river as a border. At this time, the British and the Russian empires, which were behind the Afghans and the Bukhārāns respectively, pushed Kābul and Bukhārā to bring the areas of Badakhshān under their control. The frontiers of Badakhshān were finally delimited between Afghanistan and Bukhārā under Russian protectorate in 1895. The Ismā‘īlīs on both sides of the Oxus River continued to be discriminated against by the Sunnī rulers. Like the rulers before the mid-18th century, the Afghans and the Manghīts of Bukhārā regarded the Ismā‘īlīs as “heretics” and attempted to sunnicize them.

While the general hostility towards the Ismā‘īlīs was a generally accepted norm during the first phase of the history examined in this chapter, there were times in which Badakhshān was ruled by less aggressive rulers. The period of Mīr Yār Bīk (1068-1118/1657-1706) is usually described as one of prosperity and relative peace in the region. In the second half of the 11th/17th century, the Ismā‘īlīs seem to have established closer contacts with their Imāms, who, as demonstrated were generally practicing pious circumspection under Twelver Shī‘ism. Still later, in the second half of the 12th/18th century, other, more significant, socio-political developments in Ismā‘īlism and in Badakhshān took place, making this period different from the immediate preceding centuries. First, the power of later Yārids, who were clearly anti-Ismā‘īlī, weakened due to internecine wars and the constant struggles with other external dynasties. Second, the Ismā‘īlī imamate in Iran and subsequently in India came to

operate openly, which seems to have encouraged the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān to follow suit and carry out their religious activities more publicly. Although we find references to the contact of the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs with their Imāms in previous centuries, we now notice the visit of a major *pīr* to the residence of the Ismāʿīlī Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg, who as demonstrated in Chapter Two, was actively engaged in politics in Iran. The Imām authorized the *pīr* to establish the Ismāʿīlī *daʿvah* in Badakhshān. From the mid-18th century until the time of the composition of the *Silk-i guharʿrīz* (completed in the 1830s) and until the beginning of the 20th century the Ismāʿīlī *daʿvah* operated actively in Badakhshān.² The other major development was brought about by the arrival of the Russians in Badakhshān towards in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Russians introduced significant positive measures, including abolishment of slavery and the banning of religious persecution. They supported the Ismāʿīlīs, criticized and finally resisted the oppression and cruelty of the Sunnī rulers. In such an environment, the Ismāʿīlīs, who had suffered from age long harassment and persecution, enjoyed the freedom to practice their faith, and to write and copy religious works. Because of these significant transformations, the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs produced hagiographical sources about Nāṣir-i Khusraw that openly express his Ismāʿīlī affiliation and views.

An understanding of the role of the local religious leaders or *pīrs* in the lives of the Ismāʿīlīs is central for reading and interpreting the hagiographical sources produced in pre-Soviet times. Some of the sources (e.g. the *Silk-i guharʿrīz*, the *Siyāḥatʿnāmah-i Nāṣir*) were composed by figures that belonged to the families of *pīrs*. Much of what they relate concerns the authority, status, genealogy and activities of the *pīrs*. Because of this, the second section of this chapter provides some information about the Ismāʿīlī *pīrs*, who were active in Badakhshān from the mid-18th to the early 20th centuries. It points to their immense popularity and authority among the Ismāʿīlīs in pre-Soviet times.

The third and final section of this chapter, which focuses on the Soviet period, demonstrates that the Soviet-led expedition to Badakhshān in the 1920s put an end to the centuries of intervention by Sunnī rulers. From the moment the Soviet authority was fully established in Badakhshān in the 1920s until the end of the Soviet era in the 1980s, the attitude of the Soviets towards the Ismāʿīlīs was ambivalent. While they were initially tolerant, they adopted severe anti-religious policies, especially in the 1960s. Although the religious activities of the Ismāʿīlīs were often controlled, in this period they could still practice and learn about their faith covertly, through practices like *Charāghʿrawshan* (literally, “lamp lighting”). For the most part, until the end of the Soviet Union, the Ismāʿīlīs had to practice their faith in secret. In Soviet times, the *pīrs* lost their control over the Ismāʿīlīs and were marginalized, tried for conspiracy against the state and even executed. For most of the period, from the early 1920s to the end of the 1980s, religious teachings were seen as a serious threat to the Soviet policy of secularization in public life. The Soviet Union controlled the religious affairs of the

² Elʿchibekov, *Ierarkhiā*, 269.

Ismā‘īlīs, appointing official *khalīfahs* who generally served the regime’s purposes. With its dogmatic atheist ideology and its distrust towards the Ismā‘īlī Imām Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, seen as an agent of the British in the context of the “Great Game,” the Soviet Union took every measure to vilify the Imām and Islam and to present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a progressive thinker and a figure acceptable figure for Soviet ideology. This had a bearing on the attitude of scholars who wrote about Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life and teachings, which, in turn influenced the Ismā‘īlī hagiographical writing of him in this period.

3.1 Badakhshān Between the 15th and Early 20th Centuries

The independent rule of the hereditary indigenous kings in Badakhshān³ came to an end in the 15th century with the subjugation of the region by the Tīmūrīds.⁴ It was during the reign of the Tīmūrīd ruler Abū Sa‘īd (1424-1469) that the last ruler (*mīr*) of Badakhshān, Sulṭān Muḥammad, was executed in 1467.⁵ The Tīmūrīds had already conquered parts of Badakhshān at the time of Tīmūr (1370-1405), the founder of their empire.⁶ It appears that rulers in Badakhshān were Tīmūr’s vassals and participated in his conquests. In one of his battles, Tīmūr ordered the rulers from the land of Qandahār to the border of Khutan to send him troops.⁷ After Tīmūr’s death in 1405, his descendants engaged in frequent conflicts with one another and Badakhshān was nominally subordinated to them. It was not until the Badakhshānīs under their ruler Baḥā’ al-Dīn revolted against the Tīmūrīds that Abū Sa‘īd subjugated most of the region.⁸ The Tīmūrīds ruled the area until the newly established Sunnī Uzbek Shaybānīd dynasty came to challenge them in the early 16th century.⁹ Also, after conquering Kābul in the early 16th century and later founding the Mughal Empire in India, the Tīmūrīd ruler of Farghāna ‘Umar Shaykh Bābur and his followers who were driven out by the Uzbeks did not give up their claim to their old homeland and all the land lying in between, including Badakhshān, which they continuously attempted to reclaim for almost one hundred and fifty years. It was only in 1057/1647 that Bābur’s descendant, the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān (1038-1069/1628-1658), finally ceased his attacks, and, consequently, all of the land on the far side of the Hindu Kush fell to the Uzbeks.¹⁰

During the 16th century, Badakhshān periodically regained its independence from the foreign invaders, but instead of uniting all local forces against the foreign forces, the Badakhshānīs fell victim

³ Marco Polo who visited the region mentions local rulers. The local dynasty was already in existence towards the end of the 13th century. This is testified by the coins struck by the dynasty, which also shows their independent sovereignty. The rulers of the dynasty traced their ancestry back to Alexander the Great. Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁵ Baḥodur Iskandarov, *Soṣial’no-ekonomicheskie i politicheskie aspekty istorii pamirskikh kniazhestv* (Dushanbe: Donish, 1983), 45.

⁶ Abusaid Shokhumorov, “Mongolskoe zavoevanie i Timuridi: XIII-XIV vv.,” in *Istoriia Gorno-Badakhshanskoĭ Avtonomnoĭ Oblasti*, ed. Bubnova, 259.

⁷ A.A. Romaskevich and S.L. Volin, *Sbornik materialov, odnoshashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoĭ ordy: Izvlecheniia iz persidskikh sochinenii* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, 1941), 136.

⁸ Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 100.

⁹ Iskandarov, *Soṣial’no*, 45. Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 100.

¹⁰ H.S. Pirumshoev, “The Pamirs and Badakhshan,” in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, ed. Chahryar Adle and Irfan Habib (UNESCO, 2003), 232. Bliss, *Social and Economic Change in the Pamirs*, 61.

to internal dynastic bickering and internecine conflicts.¹¹ Apart from the Shaybānids and the Tīmūrīds, there were other neighbouring rulers, such as those of Qāshghar, who were involved in disputes over the Ismā‘īlī populated area.¹² When the Tīmūrīds were largely unsuccessful in their attempts to drive the Uzbeks away from Badakhshān, the region came under the control of the Uzbek Ashtarkhānid (Jānid) dynasty of Bukhārā (997-1200/1598–1785), which established itself after the Shaybānids.¹³ The Ashtarkhānids usually appointed the governors of Balkh to rule over areas that included Badakhshān. Thus, for example, the Ashtarkhānid Subhān Qulī Khān (1091-1114/1680-1702) granted the governor of Balkh Maḥmūd Bī Aṭāliq direct control over Qunduz and Badakhshān in the 17th century. Under Maḥmūd Bī, the Uzbek Qattaghān tribes of Qunduz launched frequent onslaughts in Badakhshān, plundering the region on many occasions.¹⁴ Numerous conflicts with the local population in Badakhshān are recorded for this period.¹⁵ The rulers in Badakhshān, including the Ismā‘īlī populated areas, lacked sufficient military means to counter the Uzbeks.¹⁶

The most important dynasty in Badakhshān is the Sunnī Yārid dynasty that ruled the area roughly from 1068/1657 to 1290/1873.¹⁷ The dynasty was founded by Mīr Yār Bīk (a native of Samarqand, d. 1118/1706-7), who was previously recognized by the Ashtarkhānid Subhān Qulī Khān as an independent ruler of Badakhshān.¹⁸ Mīr Yār Bīk, who enjoyed the support of Badakhshānīs, opposed the aforementioned Maḥmūd Bī. Although the Qattaghānīs after Maḥmūd Bī made several attempts to gain control over Badakhshān, their interference was curbed mainly by the Yārids, whose seat was in Fayzābād. The Yārids either ruled over the Ismā‘īlī populated areas of Badakhshān directly or exercised indirect control over the Pāmīrī principalities on the right side of the Upper Oxus River, which paid them tribute.¹⁹ Thus, for example, during the reign of Mīr Yār Bīk (1068/1657-1118/1706), his sons ruled various regions of Badakhshān and one of them, Mīrzā Qand, was the ruler of the Ismā‘īlī areas of Munjān and Kurān (also spelled Kirān) during his father’s reign.²⁰

Until the first quarter of the 19th century, Shughnān, Ishkāshim, Vakhān and Rūshān had their own local dynasties ruled by *mīrs* that were periodically vassals of the supreme ruler of Badakhshān. I

¹¹ See Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 102-05. See also Vladimir Barthold, *Sochineniia*, vol. 2 (Moscow: 1964), 545.

¹² Dūghlāt, *Tā’rikh-i Rashīdī: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 135, 353-5, 87-89. Pirumshoev, "The Pamirs and Badakhshan," 231.

¹³ Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 105-06.

¹⁴ Burhān al-Dīn Kushkakī, *Rāh’namāh-i Qattaghān va Badakhshān* (Kābul: 1925). Burhān al-Dīn Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, trans. et al. P.P. Vvedenskii (Tashkent: 1926), 9-10.

¹⁵ Jan-Heeren Grevenmeyer, *Herrschaft, Raub und Gegenseitigkeit: Die politische Geschichte Badakhshans 1500–1883* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982), 21-22.

¹⁶ Wolfgang Holzwarth, "Segmentation und Staatsbildung in Afghanistan: Traditionelle sozio-politische Organisation in Badakhshan, Wakhan und Shegnan," in *Revolution in Iran und Afghanistan*, ed. Kurt Greussing and Jan-Heeren Grevenmeyer (Frankfurt: Syndikat, 1980), 189.

¹⁷ Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 106.

¹⁸ Surkhafsar, *Tā’rikh-i Badakhshān*, 5b.

¹⁹ Burhān al-Dīn Kushkakī, *Rāh’namāh-i Qattaghān va Badakhshān* (Kābul, 1925). The names of the rulers from approximately 1750 are differently given in Kushkakī and Badakhshī and Surkhafsar. Badakhshī and Faḍl ‘Alī Bek Surkhafsar’s *Tā’rikh-i Badakhshān* was recently published with minor corrections in Tajik. Sangmuhammad Badakhshī and Fazlalibek Surkhafsar, *Tā’rikh-i Badakhshon*, ed. Gholib Ghoibov and Mahmudjon Kholov (Dushanbe: Donish, 2007).

will have more to say about the local *mīrs* below, but, at this point, it is important to consider several examples that demonstrate the degree of control that the Yārids exercised over the Ismā‘īlī populated areas. The third Yārid *mīr* Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān (1125-1130/1713-1717), for example, fought disobedient chieftains in Badakhshān and having launched military campaigns subdued parts of Badakhshān, including the Ismā‘īlī area of Ishkāshim.²¹ Similarly, in 1165/1751-52, the Yārid *mīr* Sulṭān Shāh I attempted to expand his influence in eastern Badakhshān including Shughnān and Vakhān, where the population was mostly Ismā‘īlī.

Apart from the Yārids, other external powers invaded the territories of Badakhshān in the 18th century. For example, the Persian conqueror Nādir Shāh (1148-1160/1736-1747) brought Badakhshān under his dominion after his son Rizā Qulī defeated the Badakhshānī ruler in 1150/1737-8. After Nādir Shāh’s assassination in 1160/1747, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (1159-1186/1747-1772) founded the Afghan Empire (Durrānī dynasty) and subsequently, in 1178/1765 (or 1181/1768-69), the left side of the Panj river of Badakhshān was integrated into Afghan domains when Aḥmad Shāh dispatched an army to the region.²² Apart from these, during the reign of the Yārid Sulṭān Shāh (1160-1179//1747-1765), Badakhshān was attacked by the Khvājagān dynasty of Yārquand and defeated by the Badakhshānī *mīr*.²³ According to the *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, the three thousand-man army of the Khvājagān dynasty passed through Shughnān and Pamir (Vakhān) to get to Badakhshān.²⁴ In general, the second half of the 18th century is characterized as a struggle for Badakhshān between the Durrānī dynasty and the then governor of Qunduz, Qubād Khān. First, Aḥmad Shāh formed an alliance with Qubād Khān against the Badakhshānī rulers. After only a few years, all parts of the country up to the Panj River were violently subjugated. The Afghans clearly took advantage of a period of extreme weakness in the Emirate of Bukhārā, which had interfered in the politics of Badakhshān for a long period of time. In 1181/1768, their advance enabled them to carry out an official transfer of present-day Afghan Badakhshān from Bukhārā to Afghanistan.²⁵ Qubād Khān attacked Badakhshān killing the Yārid Sulṭān Shāh in 1181-82/1767-68 and taking approximately twelve thousand families to Qunduz as prisoners.²⁶ In the following years, the *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān* records the reign of Qubād Khān’s representatives in Badakhshān, the fights of the Yārids including Sulṭān Shāh’s son Mīr Muḥammad Shāh for the throne. Badakhshān seems to have been so weak that the ruler of Shughnān, Shāh Vanjī Khān, decided to invade it and a certain Aqsaqāl Bahādūr took over Jurm, Bahārak, Fayzābād and other places on his behalf.²⁷

²⁰ Surkhafsar, *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 7b. Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 32.

²¹ Ibid., 13b. Surkhafsar, *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 13b. Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 97.

²² Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 111.

²³ Surkhafsar, *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 37a-37b.

²⁴ Ibid., 34b.

²⁵ Grevemeyer, *Herrschaft*, 64.

²⁶ Surkhafsar, *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 60a-62b.

²⁷ Ibid., 65b-66a.

Despite the foreign interference, later Yārids continued to rule Badakhshān. For example, in 1207/1792, Mīr Muḥammad Shāh ascended the Badakhshānī throne and ruled for thirty years.²⁸ This *mīr* also fought and defeated the *mīr* of Shughnān, Shāh Vanjī Khān, and returned from Shughnān with much wealth.²⁹ During his reign, Mīr Muḥammad Shāh made his son Sulṭān Shāh II (Mīrzā-yi Kalān) the ruler of areas including the Ismāʿīlī areas of Bahārak, Zībāk, Ishkāshim, Vakhān and Shughnān.³⁰ Towards the end of the 18th century, although the Afghan state had greatly weakened, the Qattaghānīs continued to hold Badakhshān.³¹

The various rulers who invaded and interfered in the politics of Badakhshān considered the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān “heretics,” which, in fact, was one of the main reasons for the justification of their assaults. As we saw in the previous chapter, Muḥammad Dūghlāt called Razī al-Dīn and his followers “heretics” (*malāḥidah*) in the early 16th century.³² In the 17th century, the Shaybānids attacked Shīʿīs (in Harāt and “its neighbouring lands of infidels”), specifically because of their, from the latter’s point of view, ‘heretical’ belief.³³ The official pretext for taking new lands in Shughnān and Vakhān by the Yārid *mīr* Sulṭān Shāh I in 1165/1751-52 was a struggle against the “heretic” Ismāʿīlīs. It was a question of “exterminating and subjugating the shameful and false heresy of Ismāʿīlīs, who lived in those regions of Badakhshān and Chitrāl.”³⁴ After launching campaigns to the Ismāʿīlī area of Chitrāl in 1165/1751-2, the Yārid Sulṭān Shāh is said to have personally acquired about three thousand slaves. His army acquired more than fifteen thousand slaves, but many others brought slaves secretly from Chitrāl and those remained uncounted.³⁵ The *Taʾrīkh-i Badakhshān* of Sang Muḥammad and Surkhafsar notes that the army of Sulṭān Shāh in pursued the Ismāʿīlīs in many places like Shughut, Lāhū (in north Chitrāl, commonly known as Luthā and Lutkūh), Durāsh (also Durash, in south of Chitrāl), Tūr-i Kūp (a tributary of the river Chitrāl known as Yārkhūn, locally known as Turī in Upper Chitrāl), Mūr-i Kūp (locally known as Mūrihā, in north Chitrāl), Mastuj Jins (located on the river Yārkhūn and its tributary Mastūj), the capital Chitrāl who were helpless “like fish with no hands and feet and like a lost herd of sheep ... caught inside the net of fortune and the fence of glory.”³⁶ Those who escaped were found hidden in “corners and mountains ... of every single village.”³⁷

This dynasties hostile attitude to the Ismāʿīlīs went hand in hand with a tolerant attitude to

²⁸ Ibid., 71a, 83a.

²⁹ Ibid., 76b-78b.

³⁰ On Sulṭān Shāh II ruled from (1235/1819-1267/1850) and his successors, see *ibid.*, b-88a, 91a-97a

³¹ Pirumshoev, "The Pamirs and Badakhshan," 233.

³² Dūghlāt, *Tāʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Ghaffārī Fard, 346.

³³ See Russian translation of the (Ḥanafī) Sunnī jurists edict (*fatvah*) regarding declaring holy war on Shīʿīs in Harāt and its surrounding areas in M. A. Salakhedinov, "Neizvestnyĭ dokument, sostavlennyy v svyazi s pokhodom sheĭbanida Abdullakhana II na Gerat v 1578 g.," in *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XXII godichnaia nauchnaia sessiia LO IV AN SSSR (doklady i soobshcheniia)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1989), 173-75. The *fatvah* is found in Ḥāfiz Tanīsh b. Mīr Muḥammad al-Bukhārī's *Sharaf-namāh-i shāhī*, Ms. D88, ff. 493a-493b (IOMRAS).

³⁴ Surkhafsar, *Taʾrīkh-i Badakhshān*, 43b-44a.

³⁵ Ibid., 45a.

³⁶ Surkhafsar, *Taʾrīkh-i Badakhshān*, 45a. On the places, see *Taʾrīkh-i Badakhshon*, ed. Ghoibov, 83, 148-140 nn. 199-204.

³⁷ Surkhafsar, *Taʾrīkh-i Badakhshān*, 45a. *Taʾrīkh-i Badakhshon*, ed. Ghoibov, 83.

Şūfīs, who were appointed to prestigious positions, serving as counselors, spiritual guides and political mediators to the rulers.³⁸ I will return to the question of Şūfism in Badakhshān in Chapter Four. Naturally, during this period, the Sunnī rulers had conflicts with the Shī‘īs and campaigns were launched for uprooting Ismā‘īlism and establishing Sunnism in some areas. Daniel Beben provides a valuable quotation from Maḥmūd Valī Balkhī’s *Baḥr al-asrār* (composed in 1050/1640) in this regard. The *Baḥr al-asrār* holds that the ruler of Balkh, Nādir Muḥammad Khān launched several campaigns in areas to the east of Balkh and in 1044/1635 he eradicated Shī‘ism in Shākh’darah and Rūshān and established Sunnism in its place.³⁹ As we shall see below, this Ashtarkhānid ruler of Balkh (who later became an Ashtarkhānid *amīr*) issued a *vaṣīqah* in 1029/1619, which exempts the lands surrounding the shrine of Nāṣir-i Khusraw from tax.⁴⁰ In short, in the period from the 15th to the late 18th centuries, not only were the Ismā‘īlīs labeled “heretics” and were harassed, exterminated and sold as slaves, but they were also forcefully converted to Sunnism. The ways in which the Ismā‘īlīs presented Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the hagiography naturally reflected this hostile environment.

Similar to the previous centuries, the late 18th and the 19th centuries witnessed the rule of predominantly Sunnī dynasties over the Ismā‘īlīs in Badakhshān. In the main, the Yārids continued to rule the region, but the Qunduz rulers continued their frequent onslaughts in Badakhshān. During the reign of the Yārid Muḥammad Shāh (1234-1264/1819-1848), Shughnān, Vakhān, Zībāk, Ishkāshim, Bahārak and other areas were directly controlled by the Yārid Muḥammad Shāh’s son Sulṭān Shāh Mīrzā Kalān (1237/1821-1263/1846).⁴¹ Similarly, in the 19th century, Shughnān, Vakhān, Rūshān, Munjān, and other Ismā‘īlī populated areas were controlled of the Yārid Jahāndār Shāh.⁴² As for the rulers of Qunduz, the name of one ruler called Murād Bīg is frequently mentioned in the chronicles on Badakhshān about the early 19th century. One aim of this man’s accession to power in Qunduz in 1230/1815 is said to have been the definitive subjugation of Badakhshān. At the beginning of the 19th century, he conquered Badakhshān and the vassals of the region, Vakhān, Ishkāshim, Ghārān, Shughnān and Rūshān, the Ismā‘īlī areas on the left side of the Upper Oxus River.⁴³ Murād Bīg launched campaigns to conquer Rūshān and Shughnān,⁴⁴ and even executed the ruler of Vakhān, Muḥammad Raḥīm.⁴⁵ At the time of the visit of the British agent John Wood to Vakhān in the 1830s,

³⁸ On the political and social ascension of the Naqshbandīs as well as the influence of the Kubravīs and the Yasavī orders (*silsilahs*) in Central Asia from the beginning of the Shaybānid rule to the mid-19th century see Thierry Zarcone, "The Sufi Orders in Northern Central Asia," in *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, ed. Chahryar Adle and Irfān Habib (UNESCO, 2003), 771-80.

³⁹ Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 351-54.

⁴⁰ Khalīlullāh Khalīlī, "Yumgān va vaṣā’iq-i ta’rīkhī dar bāra-yi Nāṣir-i Khusraw," *Yaghmā* 20 (1346/1967): 442-72.

⁴¹ Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 32.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 38. Minaev mentions Shughnān, Ishkāshim, Vakhān, Zībāk and Munjān under the control of the Badakhshānī *mīr* Jahāndār Shāh. Minaev, *Svedeniia*, 42.

⁴³ Bobrinskoī, *Gortsy*, 56. Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 113.

⁴⁴ Pirumshoev et al., "Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.," in *Istoriia Gorno-Badakhshanskoī Avtonomnoī Oblasti*, ed. Bubnova, 295.

⁴⁵ Wood describes the killing of the ruler of Vakhān, Muḥammad Raḥīm in Qunduz. Wood, *A Journey*, 257.

this region as well as Shughnān and Rūshān paid tribute to this Qunduz ruler. The ruler of Qunduz, Murād Bīg, is said to have “swept away a large part of the inhabitants, whom he sold into slavery, or set down to perish of fever in the swampy plains of Kunduz.”⁴⁶ According to the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, the *mīrs* of Shughnān and Shākh’darah personally went to Qunduz to pay tribute to the ruler at this time.⁴⁷ Murād Bīg relocated many Badakhshānīs to Qunduz, which brought about the devastation of the region. By 1248/1832, only 6,000 of the people of Badakhshān survived out of approximately 100,000.⁴⁸ According to Wood, before the onslaught of Murād Bīg, the population of Shughnān was approximately 1000 households, but after 1245/1829, only 300 remained.⁴⁹

Murād Bīg controlled Badakhshān to such an extent that he forced the Badakhshānī *mīr* to bring him slaves every year. He finally removed the Yārid Mīrzā Sulaymān from the Badakhshānī throne in 1254/1838.⁵⁰ After the death of Murād Bīg, however, his successors lost control of Badakhshān, which regained its independence.⁵¹ This independence was lost following confrontations with the Afghan Barakzay dynasty of Dūst Muḥammad (d. 1280/1863), who annexed the region in 1276/1859. By this time Badakhshān entered the orbit of British and Russian interests. The Bukhārā Emirate, which had previously supported its former vassals in Qunduz and other *khānates* on the left side of the Oxus River and now was occupied with wars against the *khānates* of Quqand (1121-1293/1709-1876) and Khīvah (917-1339/1511-1920), did not have the opportunity to do so during this time. The rulers of Badakhshān, including Zamān al-Dīn (1260-1281/1844-1864), allied with the rulers of Kūlāb and Qataghān against the Afghans in 1275/1858, but were defeated at the battle of Ṭalāqan.⁵² Badakhshān, however, was not entirely subjugated yet. With the intervention of the *amīr* of Bukhārā, the Afghans withdrew their army and in 1276/1859 made a contract that chose the Oxus River as a border between the two powers.⁵³ Both the Afghans and the Bukhārāns began to intensify their control in their respective domains. The Afghans established “friendly” relations with the rulers of Badakhshān, who paid them tribute. Jahāndār Shāh who succeeded his father Mīr Shāh (Zamān al-

⁴⁶ Yule, “Introduction,” in *ibid.*, xxxvii. See also Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 114. N. Pirumshoev, “Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.,” 295.

⁴⁷ Qurbān Muḥammad’zādah and Muḥabbat Shāh’zādah, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, ed. Bahodur Iskandarov (Moscow: Glavnaia Redaktsiia Vostochnoi Literatury, 1973), 98. According to the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, the visit of the *mīrs* to Qunduz to pay tribute to the ruler took place in 1229/1813. However, Murād Bīg came to power in 1815. Iskandarov mentions 1839 (as the year of the *mīrs*’ visit), but provides no source for this information. Iskandarov, *Sotsial’no*, 82.

⁴⁸ By 1840 the population had been reduced to about a third of its former size. Wolfgang Holzwarth, *Vom Fürstentum zur afghanischen Provinz. Badakhshan 1880–1935* (Berlin 1996). Hermann Kreutzmann, “Ethnizität im Entwicklungsprozess. Die Wakhi in Hochasien,” (Berlin: Reimer, 1996), 80. Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 114.

⁴⁹ *Ocherki*, 114.

⁵⁰ Mīrzā Sulaymān is most probably the Mīrzā Kalān II mentioned in Kushkakī and Sulṭān Shāh or Mīrzā-yi Kalān mentioned in the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*. See notes 78 and 80.

⁵¹ In Murād Bīg’s lifetime, according to, he gave the eastern to Qunduz territories to his son Murād Khān, also known as Aṭāliq Khān. Murād Bīg’s territory is said to have stretched from Sariqūl to Balkh. From Shughnān, he took 500 ‘yamoos,’ or ingots of silver, from Chitrāl he received “beautiful” slaves, which he distributed or sent to Bukhārā. Alexander Burnes, *Cabool: A Personal Narrative of a Journey to, and Residence in that City, in the Years 1836, 7, and 8* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1843), 62.

⁵² Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 119.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 120.

Dīn)⁵⁴ began to attack Qunduz and appointed his nephew as the governor there. Together with his brothers, Mīr Shujā‘at and Mīr Shāh‘zādah Ḥasan, they subjugated Shughnān, Vakhān, Chitrāl, Sariqūl and other areas.⁵⁵ Jahāndār Shāh even approached the *amīr* of Bukhārā, Muẓaffar Khān (r. 1277-1303/1860-1885), to take all of Badakhshān under the protection of Bukhārā. Like Afghanistan after the death of Dūst Muḥammad in 1280/1863, Bukhārā Emirate also went through internecine wars. However, later, the ruler of Qunduz defeated Jahāndār Shāh and replaced him with his supporter Mizrāb Shāh.⁵⁶ Jahāndār Shāh took the throne for a brief period from Mizrāb Shāh, but the new Afghan ruler Shīr ‘Alī Khān in 1286/1869 deposed and replaced him with Mizrāb Shāh’s nephew Maḥmūd Shāh in 1286/1869.⁵⁷

The British Empire, which was behind the division of the border, ensured that the left side of the Panj Daryā in Badakhshān became part of Afghanistan. They considered Fayzābād as “the key” to the Indian border and saw the presence of Russian troops in Kokcha as a “serious threat” to their interests in India.⁵⁸ However, despite the 1872-1873 agreement, the *amīrs* of Afghanistan gradually took Badakhshān under their control. Similarly, the Russians considered Badakhshān and Vakhān part of Russian Turkestan, and did not want them to be integrated into Afghanistan. Both the British and Russian empires pushed Kābul and Bukhārā to bring the areas of Badakhshān under their control.⁵⁹ The Afghan *amīrs* continued to depose and install rulers in Badakhshān in the 19th century. During the second half of the century, the local Badakhshānī rulers intermittently fought against the Afghans and the Bukhārāns. Some of these rulers sought better relations with Russia, while others preferred the British.⁶⁰ Both the Bukhārā Emirate and the Afghans continuously sought to control the regions of Badakhshān by supporting rulers who were on more friendly terms with them. For this reason, many local rulers fought against one another in Badakhshān and the region lacked a centralized government.⁶¹ As mentioned, Jahāndār Shāh had to contend for his throne with another ruler of the Yārid dynasty, Maḥmūd Shāh from 1284/1867 onwards.⁶² In 1290/1873, the Afghan government

⁵⁴ According to Kushkakī, Zamān al-Dīn was succeeded by his son Mīr Shāh and the latter was in turn succeeded by his son Jahāndār Shāh. Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 98.

⁵⁵ Mīr Shujā‘at is said to have invaded Shughnān before Jahāndār Shāh’s reign and was the ruler of that region for some time. He was later executed by his father’s (Mīr Shāh) order after he killed his uncle Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān. *Ibid.*, 98-99.

⁵⁶ Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 123. Kushkakī mentions that the *amīr* of Afghanistan, Shīr ‘Alī Khān dispatched Muḥammad ‘Ālim Khān to subdue Badakhshān. Jahāndār Shāh escaped to Samarqand and Muḥammad ‘Ālim Khān made Shāh‘zādah Ḥasan the ruler of Badakhshān who remained so till the death of Shīr ‘Alī Khān. Shāh‘zādah Ḥasan was later replaced with Mīr Bābā Khān (Naṣr Allāh Khān’s son) by the new *amīr* of Afghanistan, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān. Still later, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān replaced Mīr Bābā Khān with Mīr Muḥammad Umar Khān. Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 99-100.

⁵⁷ Kushkakī mentions different figures from the family of the Yārids who ruled various places in Badakhshān during this period. *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 100-01. Abaeva, *Ocherki*, 123.

⁵⁸ *Ocherki*, 122.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 128-31.

⁶¹ Baḥodur Iskandarov, *Vostochnāia Bukhara i Pamir vo vtoroi polovine XIX v.* (Stalinabad: Akademiia nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR, 1960), 99.

⁶² Vladimir Barthold, "Badakhshan," in *EII*, 574-76.

deposed Maḥmūd Shāh. He was sent to Kābul, where he remained until his death.⁶³ In 1295/1878, Jahāndār Shāh himself was assassinated under mysterious circumstances in the Russian controlled area.⁶⁴

The Russians were interested in Badakhshān before their penetration into the region in 1293/1876.⁶⁵ After an exchange of notes between the British and the Russians, the frontiers of Badakhshān were finally delimited between Afghanistan and the principality of Bukhārā, a Russian protectorate in 1313/1895. Shughnān, Rūshān, Vakhān, Ishkāshim and Ghārān on the left side of the Upper Oxus River were left in the hands of the rulers of Afghanistan, while the territories of Badakhshān lying on the right side of the river returned to Bukhārā.⁶⁶ The Afghans during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān (r. 1298-1318/1880-1901), supported by the British, dispatched large armies to the Ismā‘īlī areas and kept these under their control, keeping a watchful eye on the areas on the right side of the Panj River.⁶⁷ During the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān, the people of Shughnān, Rūshān, Ishkāshim, Ghārān and Vakhān suffered tremendously under the Afghan armies who plundered and killed them on many occasions.⁶⁸ There were numerous riots against the Afghans that even the local authoritative religious leaders (*pīrs*) could not prevent.⁶⁹ The numerous atrocities, havoc, and killings committed by Afghan representatives during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān are too many to list here.⁷⁰ The period between 1301/1883 and 1313/1895 is considered as the “most tragic period of the history of the region.”⁷¹ In 1338/1919, during the rule of Amān Allāh, Afghanistan gained its independence from the British, but the situation of the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān on the Afghan side did not improve until 1344/1925. As Emadi shows, the situation of the Ismā‘īlīs improved to a certain extent in the post-independence period. Although the state did not suppress the Ismā‘īlīs, the Sunnī majority continued to discriminate against them. Ismā‘īlī *pīrs* did not have any role in the political

⁶³ Badakhshān was placed under the administration of the Afghan governor Muḥammad ‘Ālim Khān. Christine Noelle, *State and Tribe in Nineteenth-Century Afghanistan: The Reign of Amir Dost Muḥammad Khan (1826-1863)* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997), 101.

⁶⁴ Barthold, "Badakhshan," 574-76. According to the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, he was killed by his own son Shīrdil Khān in 1295/1878. Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 97b.

⁶⁵ Barthold, "Badakhshan," 574-76.

⁶⁶ Ibid. Only one fourth of the territory of Vakhān was annexed to the territory of Bukhārā. This area is below the river Pamir, but further up the river both the right and the left sides became part of Afghanistan. Bobrinskoī, *Gor̄tsy*, 4.

⁶⁷ Pirumshoev et al., "Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.," 332.

⁶⁸ On the plight of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs and the confrontations between the first Russians and Afghans in Rūshān, Shughnān, Shākh’darah and Vakhān, see the work of the Russian orientalist and traveller Boris Leonidovich (Rustam Bek) Tageev, *Pamirskie pokhody 1892-1895 gg. Desiatiletie prisoedineniia Pamira k Rossii, Tipografiia gubernskogo pravleniia* (Warsaw: Tipografiia gubernskogo pravleniia, 1902), 92-140.

⁶⁹ Pirumshoev et al., "Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.," 334.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 334-340. "Only the list of acts of despotism, violence, robbery, theft of slavery, cruel and inhumane abuse, blamed for the army and the people of the Pamirs bureaucratic apparatus of the Emir of Afghanistan, which led to an unprecedented edge of ruin and misery, can be hundreds of pages." Ibid., 403. V.L. Grombchevskii describes some of the killings and displacement of the people in the Pamirs. See V.L. Grombchevskii, "Report on the Situation in Afghanistan and the Pamirs," in *Britain and Russia in Central Asia, 1880-1907*, ed. Martin Ewans (London: Routledge, 2008), 268-85.

⁷¹ Pirumshoev et al., "Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.," 355. Under Gulzār Khān who was placed after Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān (d. 1883), the resentment of the people of Shughnān against the Afghans was high. Shāh’zādah, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 141-43.

decision-making process within the state bureaucracy. Their role was restricted to local politics, in which they commonly acted as intermediaries between the community and government officials.⁷² The increase of taxes and conscription, introduced by government, as well as the appointment of non-Ismā'īlīs in important posts provoked mass civil unrest in the area, which led to a revolt in 1344/1925.⁷³

The terrible condition of the Ismā'īlīs on the right side of the Upper Amu River during the period of 1301-1313/1883-1895 made them seek the support of the Russians against the Afghans.⁷⁴ Thus, in 1313/1895, Russia recognized the rule of the Bukhārā Emirate, its protectorate, in the regions of Shughnān, Rūshān, Vakhān, Ishkāshim and Ghārān. Even though the situation of the Pāmīrī principalities slightly improved after the Afghans lost control for a short period, the Manghit representatives of Bukhārā caused severe damage to the already deteriorated economic condition of the local people.⁷⁵ The Manghīts of Bukhārā controlled the right side of Shughnān, Rūshān, Vakhān, Ishkāshim and Ghārān from 1313/1895 to 1323/1905 (in 1337/1918 the Russian revolution abolished the Emirate). During this period, however, the Russians in Badakhshān supported the local people and brought a range of positive political, economic, and social changes in the region.

The Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān continued to be seen as “heretics” by the Sunnīs throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. They also continued to be sold as slaves. As Elias, who was in Shughnān towards the end of the 19th century, writes, “... subservient Kazis easily reconciled the sale of their fellow-countrymen with the “Shara” or Mohamadān law, on the ground that it was no sin for an orthodox king to sell heretical subjects.”⁷⁶ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān also pronounced the Shī'īs *kāfīrs* (unbelievers) and declared “holy war” (*jihād*) on them.⁷⁷ Ismā'īlīs under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān were seen as “heretics” and subjected to all kinds of contempt.⁷⁸ This Afghan king forced the Ismā'īlīs and other Shī'īs to attend the Sunnī mosques and abandon their religious orientation.⁷⁹ Similarly, the Bukhārān *bīgs* on the right side of the Panj River saw the local population as “heretics” and attempted to sunnicize them on several occasions.⁸⁰ We know, for example, that the Ismā'īlīs resisted this attempt of the *bīgs* by writing petitions to the Russian Turkestan authority to remove the *bīgs* who had

⁷² Hafizullah Emadi, “The End of Taqiyya: Reaffirming the Religious Identity of Ismailis in Shughnan, Badakhshān” – Political Implications for Afghanistan,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 34, no. 3 (1998): 110.

⁷³ Vladimir Boyko, “On the Margins of Amanullah Era in Afghanistan: The Shughnan Rebellion of 1925,” *International Journal of Central Asian Studies*, no. 7 (2002): 78-85.

⁷⁴ Pirumshoev et al., “Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.,” 357.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁷⁶ Elias, “Report of a Mission,” 48.

⁷⁷ Hafizullah Emadi, “Praxis of taqiyya: perseverance of Pashaye Ismaili enclave, Nangarhar, Afghanistan,” *Central Asian Survey* 19 (2) (2000): 254.

⁷⁸ Stanishhevskii, *Izmailizm na Pamire*, 28. Ēlbon Hōjibekov, *Ocherkho oidi ta"rikhi Badakhshon: majmuai maqolaḥo, qismi I* (Dushanbe: 2013), 106.

⁷⁹ Hasan K. Kakar, *Government and Society in Afghanistan: The Reign of Amir ‘Abd al- Rahman Khan* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 160.

⁸⁰ Stanishhevskii, *Izmailizm na Pamire*, 20.

impoverished the people of Shughnān, Rūshān and Vakhān.⁸¹ As Khariūkov rightly observes, “... the Sunnī rulers of Afghanistan and Bukhārā subjected the Ismā‘īlīs to cruel oppression, persecution and even genocide.”⁸² They even forced the people to give their sons and daughters.⁸³ Not only the external rulers, but also the local Sunnī *mīrs* of the Pāmīrī principalities seem to have regarded their subjects as “heretics” as well.⁸⁴ The Badakhshānī Yārid *mīrs* kept Jurm (Yumgān, Vardūj, including Bahārak and Zībāk) in constant turmoil.⁸⁵ Similarly, Dmitriī Putiāta, who was in Vakhān in 1883, speaks of villages destroyed by these *mīrs* and the abandonment of the villages for other regions.⁸⁶ Ishkāshim experienced the same fate.⁸⁷ Because of the constant internecine wars and the incursions of foreign rulers, the Ismā‘īlīs of places like Zībāk, Zardīf (Zardīv), Sarghulām and Munjān moved to Vakhān, and those in Vakhān and Shughnān moved to either Chitrāl or Sariqūl.⁸⁸

It is likely that the foreign conquests, those of the Tīmurids, the Shaybānīds, the Yārids, the Qataghānīs and the other Sunnī dynasties that we have briefly examined created a decisive turning point for the inhabitants of Badakhshān. These conquests drove the Ismā‘īlīs further up into the mountain valleys.⁸⁹ The despotic rule and insecurity in the country might have offered people greater safety in the higher mountain valleys. The migration from the lowlands of Badakhshān to the high mountains continued till the end of the 19th century.⁹⁰ As the mainlands of Badakhshān came to be dominated by the Sunnīs, the Ismā‘īlīs were driven further up into the mountain valleys.

The members of the Yārid dynasty, the central rulers who usually carried the title of *shāh*, *mīr*, *amīr* or *mīr-i shāh* ruled from 1068/1657 until 1290/1873 and were recognized as rulers of all of Badakhshān, but their actual authority was mostly limited to central Badakhshān with their capital in Fayzābād. Other members of the Yārid dynasty controlled the fertile regions of Badakhshān such as Kishm, Rustāq, Rāgh and Jurm.⁹¹ Rulers over Ishkāshim, Zībāk, Vakhān, Shughnān and other predominantly Ismā‘īlī populated areas were appointed only with the consent of the *amīr* of Fayzābād.

⁸¹ Ibid., 32-33.

⁸² Khariūkov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 101-02.

⁸³ For instance, in 1903, two Bukhārā officials demanded from the people of Zāng in Vakhān to give them a ten-year-old boy and to find a beautiful girl in the village. The local people became enraged and punished the two men by beating them severely. N.A. Khalfīn, *Rossiia i Bukharskiĭ ėmirat na Zapadnom Pamire: (konets XIX-nachalo XX v.)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1975), 78.

⁸⁴ D.L. Ivanow, who was in Shughnān towards the end of the 19th century, wrote about the terrible attitude of the Sunnī *mīrs* towards the Ismā‘īlīs. “The Mohammadan regarded the Shi‘ites as “heretics” and as people with no rights that are worthy of punishment.” D.L. Ivanow, “Shugnan – Afganskie Ocherki,” *Vestnik Evrope* 3/6 (1885): 640. The British agent “Mīrzā” who was in Vakhān in the second half of the 19th century writes the following about the *mīr* of Vakhān: “His revenue is derived partly from land-tax and customs duties, but mostly from a tax on the slave trade, and on actual slave dealing on his own account.” Also, “the inhabitants of Wakhan ... complain very much of their own chief’s oppression.” Montgomerie, “Report of “The Mirza’s” Exploration,” 156-57.

⁸⁵ Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 120.

⁸⁶ Iskandarov, *Sotsial’no*, 80.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 81.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 91.

⁸⁹ Friedrich Kussmaul, *Bergvölker im Hindukusch* (Stuttgart: 1972), 16.

⁹⁰ Pirumshoev et al., “Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.,” 301.

⁹¹ Noelle, *State and Tribe*, 110.

They also carried the title *mīr* (short for *amīr*, commander, prince) or *shāh* (Persian, king).⁹² The history of the Pāmīrī principalities of Shughnān-Rūshān, Vakhān, Ishkāshim and other Ismā‘īlī areas of Badakhshān (Ghārān, Munjān, Darvāz and other places), which were ruled by *shāhs* and *mīrs* up until the Afghan occupation towards the late 19th century, still remains little explored. Perhaps the most powerful principalities among them were Shughnān and Vakhān on whom the other principalities (Shākh‘darah, Ishkāshim, Rūshān) depended. The principalities were divided into small units (*sadah*) and controlled by relatives, usually sons, of the *mīrs* or other sub-regional overseers or village elders such as the *aqsaqāls* (village elders, also administrators of sub-districts) and the *arbābs* (village headmen below *aqsaqāl*).⁹³

As Appendix I shows, the history of the *mīrs* of Shughnān is very complex as the sources provide differing accounts of the names of the rulers. It is, therefore, difficult to trace back their history with certainty. As we will see, even though the available information about the earlier rulers is confusing and is even more complicated by various studies,⁹⁴ somewhat more concrete details emerge since the 18th century. However, as some of the rulers have the same name (e.g. Shāh Vanjī, Qubād Khān, Amīr Bīk) and no specific chronology is provided, the task of identifying specific rulers and their time of reign becomes more difficult. What most of the sources agree on is that the dynasty of the Shughnānī *mīrs* was either founded by Shāh Khāmūsh, or one of his descendants. The time in which the dynasty was established is either variously given or not provided at all. The earliest *mīr* who clearly emerges from all the available sources is Shāh Vanjī or Shāh Vanjī Khān who ruled towards the end of the 18th century. The *Ta`rīkh-i Mulk-i Shughnān* specifies that he ruled from 1202/1787 to 1214/1799. The stone inscriptions in Shughnān recorded by Elias also testify to this.⁹⁵ As most of the sources indicate, he was a descendant of a certain Shāh Amīr Bīk (who is called Shāh Mīr in Elias, Shamur Bek in Petrovskii, and perhaps, the Khudādād mentioned in the *Ta`rīkh-i Badakhshān*), but nothing specific is mentioned about this person, except in the *Ta`rīkh-i Mulk-i Shughnān* which states that he came to power in 1193/1779. Most of the sources, however, agree that Qubād Khān (who is called Kulian Khan in Elias, Qubat Khan in Iskandarov), Shāh Vanjī’s son, succeeded him after his

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ The small units or sub-districts were mainly known as *sadas* (from the Persian word *sad*, hundred). Shākh‘darah had two *sadas*, Shughnān seven and Rūshān ten. Vakhān had four *sadas* or *sads* (Sad-i-Sipanjah, Sad-i-Khandūd, Sad-i-Ishtragh, and Sad-i-Sarhad.) Iskandarov, *Sotsial’no*, 128. Smaller units were known as *daha* (from Persian *dah*, ten) and *panja* (from Persian *panj*, five). The *aqsaqāl* (in Turkic languages the word *aqsaqāl*, which literally means ‘white beard’ refers to male elders) and *arbāb* (Arabic, ‘masters, lords’) were below the level of *mīr* or *shāh* in the local administration. The *aqsaqāls* were the administrators of the sub-districts. Holzwarth, "Segmentation und Staatsbildung," 212. Andreev, *Tadzhiki doliny Khuf*, 1, 37. There were also *qāzīs* (Arabic *qāḍīs*, ‘judges’) below the level of *aqsaqāl* who were responsible for trying petty crimes and who gave sentences for fines or beatings. Ole Olufsen, *Through the Unknown Pamir* (London: W. Heinemann, 1904), 144.

⁹⁴ See Appendix A.

⁹⁵ Note that the year on one of the stone inscriptions it is recorded that Shāh Vanjī built a canal in the year of 1204 or 1789/1790. Elias converts the year to 1786, which is obviously mistaken. The Persian inscription, which shows that Shāh Vanjī built a canal (*jūybār*) in Khūst in 1204/1789-1790, is also given in Aleksandr Semēnov, "Istoriā Shughnana (Sayyid Haydar Shāh’s Ta`rīkh-i Shughnān)," *Protokoly Turkestanского kruzha ljubitelei arkhologii* 2 (1917): 7.

death and ruled most probably until around 1260/1844 or possibly later.⁹⁶ Qubād Khān in turn was succeeded by his son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān (r. ca. 1260-1261/1844-1845) and then by his second son ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān (r. ca. 1261-1284/1845-1867). ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān was succeeded by his sons Muḥabbat Khān (Muḥammad Khān in the *Ta’rīkh-i Mulk-i Shughnān*, and Mīr Shīr Muḥammad Khān in *Kushkakī*) (r. ca. 1284-1285/1867-1868), and finally by Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān (1286-1290/1869-1873).⁹⁷

Of the Pāmīrī principalities, Shughnān was perhaps the most powerful as at times in the late 18th century the Shughnānī *mīr* Shāh Vanjī not only controlled Vakhān, but also a territory that stretched from Badakhshān to Chitrāl.⁹⁸ In the 19th century, according to A.P. Fedchenko, the region of Taghārma in Sariqūl was under the sphere of influence of the *mīr* of Shughnān.⁹⁹ The last ruler of Shughnān is said to have controlled the major part of Pamir, which included the territory near the Qaraqūl lake, and those along the rivers of Murghāb, Alichūr, Khargūsh as well as Shughnān and Rūshān on both sides of the Panj Daryā.¹⁰⁰ Elias noted that during his travels in 1885-86 the Kirghiz at Rangqūl considered themselves to be “subjects of the rulers of Shighnan [i.e. Shughnān] ... and their country a portion of the Roshan [i.e. Rūshān] province.”¹⁰¹

As mentioned above, most, if not all of the *mīrs* of Shughnān were Sunnīs.¹⁰² Shokhumorov argues that at a certain point (after Shāh Vanjī) the rulers of Shughnān, who were related to the Yārids of Badakhshān, became Sunnīs.¹⁰³ According to him, Shāh Vanjī and his son and successor Jalāl al-Dīn were Ismā‘īlīs and the last *mīrs* of the Shāh Khāmūsh descent, but Qubād Khān who was not Shāh Vanjī’s son, but an Uzbek, after killing Shāh Jalāl al-Dīn, declared himself or was appointed (by the *amīr* of Badakhshān) as the Shāh of Shughnān establishing a new Sunnī dynasty that ruled till 1290/1883.¹⁰⁴ The *mīrs* of Badakhshān, as the sources demonstrate, often interfered in the politics of Shughnān by removing and installing *mīrs*.¹⁰⁵ It may be possible that Qubād Khān was also installed

⁹⁶ Although the *Ta’rīkh Badakhshān*, based on the *Shajarah* (tree of genealogy), mentions Sayyid Shāh Mīrbīk as the son of Shāh Vanjī and the father of Qubād Khān, in the actual text Jalāl al-Dīn is the son of Shāh Vanjī and the father of Qubād Khān. According to it, the *mīr* of Badakhshān, Mīr-i Kalān (r. 1268/1851-1272/1855) fled to Shughnān, to Qubād Khān. Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 86b-87a.

⁹⁷ The *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* and *Ta’rīkh-i Mulk-i Shughnān* mention Sayyid Akbar Khān (Sayyid Shāh Akbar Khān in the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, Muḥammad Akbar Khān in *Ta’rīkh-i Mulk-i Shughnān*), a descendant of the *mīrs* of Shughnān (according to the *Ta’rīkh-i Mulk-i Shughnān*), but he was more of a representative (Sayyid Akbar Khān Bi) of the *amīr* of Bukhārā (after 1885) than the Shāh or *mīr* of Shughnān. He was replaced with Ishān Qulī Bīg after two years. Semēnov, "Istoriia Shugnana," 16. Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*., 115a In the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* of Shāh Fiṭūr, Sayyid Akbar and his brothers, Tīmūr Khān and Maṣṣūr Khān (who came from Darvāz) rebelled against the Afghan representatives. Sayyid Akbar is said to have been asked to rule Shughnān and Rūshān by the *pīrs* of the regions and when he accepted that the people of Shughnān rejoiced. Shāh’zādah, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 143-48.

⁹⁸ *Kushkakī*, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 181. Shughnān was a richer principality than Vakhān and other regions in Badakhshān. Mīnaev, *Svedeniia*, 49.

⁹⁹ Iskandarov, "Introduction," Shāh’zādah, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*., 11

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰¹ Elias, "Report of a Mission," 26, 42, 43.

¹⁰² Mu‘izzī, *Ismā‘īliyyah-i Badakhshān*, 179-80. The family of the *mīrs* were known as *shana*. Lolo Davlatbekov, *Ruzgor va osori shoironi Badakhshon* (Dushanbe: 2014), 19.

¹⁰³ As can be seen in the Appendix, the *mīr* of Badakhshān was married to ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān’s daughter.

¹⁰⁴ Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 33.

¹⁰⁵ For example, the *amīr* of Badakhshān (Jahāndār Shāh in *Ta’rīkh-i Mulk-i Shughnān*, Mīr Shāh in *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* of Shāh Fiṭūr) subdued Shughnān entirely and replaced ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān with ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān (Jahāndār Shāh’s

by a Badakhshānī *mīr*, but it is not clear if Shāh Vanjī or his son Jalāl al-Dīn Shāh were Ismā‘īlīs. According to the *Ta’rīkh-i Mulk-i Shughnān*, for example, Shāh Vanjī was not an Ismā‘īlī.¹⁰⁶ However, this source mentions that he forced non-Ismā‘īlīs out of his dominion, but seems to have been tolerant of the Ismā‘īlīs.¹⁰⁷ Shāh Vanjī’s son, Qubād Khān is said to have “acted against the teachings of the Ismā‘īlīs and hated them [i.e. the teachings]”¹⁰⁸ The last two *mīrs* were also Sunnīs.¹⁰⁹ In fact, as we will see in the next chapter, the *mīrs* claimed that their ancestor Shāh Khāmūsh was a Sunnī.¹¹⁰

‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān (r. ca. 1261-1284/1845-1867) is remembered as a cruel tyrant in the history of Shughnān. He appointed his sons as his representatives in Shākh’darah and Rūshān. His sons fought among themselves for power. One of his sons, Muḥabbat Khān (r. ca. 1284-1285/1867-1868) even went so far as to poison his father and take the throne of Shughnān.¹¹¹ Muḥabbat Khān was as cruel as his father and sold his Ismā‘īlī subjects into slavery. He launched numerous campaigns in places like Ghund and Shākh’darah killing many people. Muḥabbat Khān was finally killed by the agent of his brother Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān (1286-1290/1869-1873). Upon murdering his brother, Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān took his place.¹¹² He, too, continued oppressing his subjects and sold many into slavery.¹¹³ Kushkakī mentions that Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān “regarded the property, life, good name and honour of the people of Shughnān as his property, freely killed people, plundered their property, sold their wives, sons and daughters or gave them as gifts to notable people ...”¹¹⁴ We are told that the Ismā‘īlīs under their *pīr* Sayyid Farrukh Shāh rose against him.¹¹⁵ It is noteworthy that in 1290/1883 this *pīr* and other *khalīfahs* wrote a letter to the Afghan ruler ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān, urging him to depose Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān. The latter was taken to Kābul at the order of the governor of Badakhshān Sardār Khān and executed there in the same year.¹¹⁶ In place of Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān, the governor of Badakhshān installed Gulzār Khān, an Afghan from Qandahār.¹¹⁷ The cruelty of the Sunnī rulers of Shughnān to their

brother-in-law in *Ta’rīkh-i Mulk-i Shughnān*, Mīr Shāh’s father-in-law in the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*). Both ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān and ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān were grandsons of Shāh Vanjī and succeeded their father Qubād Khān respectively. Shāh’zādah, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 92-93 Semēnov, "Istoriā Shugnana," 11-12.

¹⁰⁶ "Istoriā Shugnana," 8.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Abd al-Ghiyās Khān, the youngest son of Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān, in an interview with Mikhail Andreev confirmed that the Shāhs of Shughnān were Sunnīs. Andreev, *Tadzhiki doliny Khuf*, 1, 29.

¹¹⁰ Elias, "Report of a Mission," 47.

¹¹¹ Pirumshoev has Muḥammad Khān instead of Muḥabbat Khān. In this he follows the version of the *Ta’rīkh-i Mulk-i Shughnān*. Pirumshoev et al., "Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.," 307.

¹¹² Pirumshoev mentions the time of his reign as 1871-1883. Ibid., 308. According to Gordon, Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān took power in 1869. Gordon, *The Roof of the World*, 147..

¹¹³ Hōjibekov, *Ocherkhō*, 106.

¹¹⁴ Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 181.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 203.

¹¹⁶ Shāh’zādah, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 131. Pirumshoev et al., "Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.," 332-333. Prior to this, the people of Shughnān revolted against Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān. Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 182.

¹¹⁷ Shāh’zādah, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 141-43. According to the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, prior to Gulzār Khān’s appointment (in 1303/1885), *mīr* Manzar Shāh of Rūshān together with *pīr* Sayyid Farrukh Shāh rose against the Afghans in Shughnān. Manzar Shāh took the Afghans in captivity. According to this source, Hājī Khān son of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān was the ruler of

Ismā‘īlī subjects has been recorded in a number of sources.¹¹⁸ Kushkakī mentions a certain Dārāb Shāh Khān, who enjoying the support of the Shughnānīs rose against Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān, as a *mīr* of Shughnān.¹¹⁹ According to Iskandarov, a certain Dārāb Shāh, who was about 30 years old, returned to Shughnān as a representative of the Ismā‘īlī Imām after having lived in India. It is reported that Dārāb Shāh claimed not only to have been appointed as the spiritual leader, but also as *mīr* of Shughnān.¹²⁰ In the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* of Shāh Fiṭūr, he is depicted as a rebel leader who controlled the areas from Pārshinīv to Sūchān in Shughnān.¹²¹

The region of Rūshān was traditionally governed by relatives of the Shāh of Shughnān, while in Shākh’darah, as oral tradition confirms, a dependent, autochthonous family had power.¹²² Very little information is available about Ishkāshim and Ghārān. In the second half of the 19th century a certain Kata Bīk was the ruler of these regions.¹²³ While Ishkāshim was either part of Shughnān or Vakhān, according to Trotter, towards the end of the third quarter of the 19th century “the small state of Ishkashim forms together with Zebak one of the numerous petty feudal states, tributary to

Shughnān in Bar Panja and Manzar Shāh in Rūshān for eight months. Ibid., 132-42.

¹¹⁸ The late 18th century *mīr* of Shughnān, Shāh Vanjī “is credited with being the founder of the slave trade – the first Mir of Shighnan who sold his subjects into foreign countries; and his three lineal descendants have shown themselves to be worthy successors, by keeping up the practice for nearly a hundred years.” “All three generations since Shah Wanji have been slave traders, and there is no sign in the country, that I can discern, of their having been anything else: the results of their slave-dealing – a broken people and a half-ruined country – are the only monuments left standing to their memory.” “There was no trade except the slave trade, and when a trader visited the country it was to barter his wares, with the Mir against slaves. Clothing, saddlery, tea, whatever was brought by the trader, was taken to the Mirs as the one merchant in the country, who paid for what he bought in the only coin he possessed.” Elias, “(Confidential) Report,” 46-47, 48. Qurbān Shāh Zuhūr Bīk’zādah and Gharīb Muḥammad Qāzī’zādah, *Qaydhā-yi Ta’rīkhī*, MS 183 (1a-5a). The *Qaydhā-yi Ta’rīkhī* briefly describes the terrible condition of the people under ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān (r. 1845-1867), his sons Muḥabbat Khān (r. 1867-1868) and Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān (1869-1873), the rulers of Shughnān and Rūshān. It records the abuses, outright extortion, slave trade and heavy tax system under these rulers as well as the Afghans up to 1920. The *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* of Shāh Fiṭūr also provides information about the heavy tax (e.g. *bar-i Shāh*) system under ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān. As the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* has it “every year between 100 and 150 boys and girls were taken from Rūshān, Khūf, Bajū, Bartang and Shughnān and sold in Badakhshān, Yārqand and Qāshghar. They were exchanged with horses and other expensive materials that were given to the Shāhs.” Ibid., 95-96. Although those who belonged to the family of *sayyids* were not sold and given lands, they were still not exempt from paying tax. Ibid., 97. In the year 1229/1813, the Shāh of Shughnān took 100 boys and girls for the *mīr* of Qunduz (who is probably Murād Bīg). Ibid., 98. On the abuses and killings of Muḥabbat Khān (r. 1867-1868), see *ibid.*, 112-16. According to Iskandarov, Muḥabbat Khān sent slaves as gifts to the *amīr* of Bukhārā. Iskandarov, *Soṣial’no*, 71. Similarly, Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān presented the *mīr* of Badakhshān Maḥmūd Shāh with eighty boys and girls. On his tyranny and slave trade see *ibid.*, 119-21. Kushkakī provides very interesting information according to which Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān sent Shughnānī slaves to Badakhshān to the governor of Badakhshān Muḥammad Ālam Khān, but the latter refused to accept the slaves saying they were Muslims and Muslims should not be sold as slaves. Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 181.

¹¹⁹ *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 186.

¹²⁰ Iskandarov, *Soṣial’no*, 74.

¹²¹ Dārāb Shāh son of Nūr Allāh Bīk. Shāh’zādah, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 125-27.

¹²² Holzwarth, “Segmentation und Staatsbildung,” 203. Elias, “(Confidential) Report,” 45. According to the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, the *mīr* of Shākh’darah Qurbān Khān (in the beginning of 19th century) mentioned that seventy generations of his family were the Shāhs of Shākh’darah (*haftād pusht-i man dar mamlakat-i khvūd shāhī mī-kardand*) to the *mīr* of Qunduz. Ibid., 98. Qurbān Khān and his son Ātam Bīk, however, were murdered and the *mīr* of Shākh’darah became Ibrāhīm Bīk by the order of the *mīr* of Shughnān ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān. After Ibrāhīm Bīk was murdered, the Shāh of Shughnān made his son Amīr Bīk, the *ḥākim* of Shākh’darah. Ibid., 101-05. See also, Iskandarov, *Soṣial’no*, 82-84. A descendant of the *mīrs* of Shākh’darah, ‘Azīz Khān in his interview with Bobrinskoī mentioned that he ancestors ruled Shākh’darah for 200 years. Their dynasty begins with the arrival of four brothers from Khurāsān. Each of these brothers went Kanjut, Vakhān, Shākh’darah and Darvāz. ‘Azīz Khān does not mention that one of the brothers Shāh Khāmūsh became the ruler of Shughnān. Apparently, he did not wish to consider the relations between the rulers of Shākh’darah and Shughnān. Pirumshoev et al., “Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.,” 287.

Badakhshān. The present ruler of both these small districts is Shah Abdul Rahim, a Syad of Khorossan who was placed in power by Muhammad Alum-Khan the present governor of Balkh.”¹²⁴ According to Trotter, the hereditary ruler of Ishkāshim, Mīr Ḥaqq Naẓār “was ejected in order to make room for Abdul Rahim.”¹²⁵ Most of the time, the regions of Ishkāshim as well as Ghārān, eastern Pamir including the area of the Sarḥad Daryā belonged to the principality of Vakhān.¹²⁶ As for Vakhān, its *mīrs*, who were usually based in Qal‘ah-i Panjah, always considered themselves subservient to and vassals of the *mīrs* of Badakhshān.¹²⁷ The relatives of the *mīrs* of Vakhān ruled the different areas in the region.¹²⁸ Mention has been made of the Vakhānī *mīr*, Muḥammad Raḥīm Bīg who was killed by Murād Bīg in the first half of the 19th century. Kushkakī mentions Mīr Jān Khān, Muḥammad Raḥīm Bīg’s father, who ruled over Vakhān before him.¹²⁹ After Muḥammad Raḥīm, Vakhān was ruled for a short period by his cousin who was then overthrown by Muḥammad Raḥīm’s younger brother Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh (d. 1292/1875).¹³⁰ As mentioned, at times, Vakhān was ruled by the *mīrs* of Shughnān.¹³¹ Thus, for example, the *mīr* of Badakhshān, Mīr Shāh (Zamān al-Dīn) installed Shāh Amīr Bīg, a brother of the Shughnānī *mīr* Muḥabbat Khān (whose sister was Mīr Shāh’s wife) in place of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh. Mīr Shāh’s son and successor Jahāndār Shāh and the people of Vakhān, however, re-installed Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh back in his place.¹³² When Vakhān was included in the territory of Badakhshān, the Afghan *amīr* left Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh in his place. After his death he was succeeded by his son ‘Alī Mardān.¹³³ When the Afghan *amīr* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān established his domination over Vakhān in 1311/1893, he appointed Ghaffūr Khān Qirghiz as the governor of Vakhān instead of ‘Alī Mardān.¹³⁴

All the principalities of Pamir had about the same level of social development, which was dominated by the feudal-patriarchal relations. The mini-states of Vakhān, and Shughnān had economic, political, religious and other relations and created a unique socio-cultural complex.¹³⁵ As Bobrinskoī remarks, political and dynastic transitions and the onslaughts of people from other faiths

¹²³ Iskandarov, *Soṣīal’no*, 89.

¹²⁴ Henry Trotter, "On the Geographical Results of the Mission to Kashghar, under Sir T. Douglas Forsyth in 1873-74," in *The Royal Geographical Society of London* (London: John Murray, 1878), 210. Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm was the *pīr* of Zībāk who according to G.W. Leitner “was (and perhaps is) the greatest Pir in Central Asia.” Leitner, *Dardistan*, 5. More will be said about Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm in the section on *Pīrs* below.

¹²⁵ “Khan Mazar” in Iskandarov, *Soṣīal’no*, 81.

¹²⁶ Iskandarov, “Introduction,” Shāh’zādah, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 11-12.

¹²⁷ Bobrinskoī, *Gorīsy*, 10-11, 61. “Wakhan has always been a dependency of Badakhshan.” Gordon, *The Roof of the World*, 133.

¹²⁸ Bobrinskoī, *Gorīsy*, 10-11, 65.

¹²⁹ Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 169. Iskandarov mentions Shāh Jahān. Iskandarov, *Soṣīal’no*, 89. The name of this *mīr* of Vakhān appears as Jahān Khān in the Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 88b.

¹³⁰ Gordon, *The Roof of the World*, 132.

¹³¹ Minaev, *Svedeniā*, 51.

¹³² Bobrinskoī, *Gorīsy*, 58.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 59. Gordon has 1875 the year of ‘Alī Mardān’s coming to power. Gordon, *The Roof of the World*, 129-134, 171. According to Iskandarov, ‘Alī Mardān Shāh was the son of Shāh Mīr Bīg and came to power in 1877 and ruled until 1883. Unfortunately, no source is provided for this information. Iskandarov, *Soṣīal’no*, 89.

¹³⁴ Mīr Munshī Sulṭān Maḥomed Khān, ed. *The Life of Abdur Rahman Khan Amīr of Afghanistan* (London: John Murray, 1900), 145. Reprinted (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1980), 145.

¹³⁵ Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 88.

drove the Ismā'īlīs to settle in the Pamirs.¹³⁶ Vasilii Zaitsev, a Russian official who visited Pamir in 1311/1893, also mentions that the people escaped to the mountains from “the path of death and persecution” as well as “the religious persecution of conquerors and slave trade.”¹³⁷ Sources relate of the people’s poor economic condition in the Pāmīrī principalities prior to the early 20th century.¹³⁸ Like the *mīrs* of Badakhshān, the majority of the local *mīrs* of Shughnān were cruel to their subjects, treated them as infidels, sold them as slaves, killed them and built “towers from their skulls” (*kallamanār*).¹³⁹

The Ismā'īlī poet from Shughnān, Nazmī lived far from home, most probably in Balkh, in the 12th/18th century. As Ĥabibov shows, Nazmī was not a poet who wrote poetry in praise of others, but as an Ismā'īlī, praised only ‘Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib in the poetic style of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹⁴⁰ In fact, Nazmī lauds the Qāsim Shāhī Ismā'īlī Imāms in a long didactic *maṣnavī* titled *Sirāj al-Mu'minīn* (*The Believers' Lamp*) (completed sometime before 1206/1792)¹⁴¹ and a *munājāt* in praise of Imām Shāh Khalīl Allāh III (d. 1232/1817).¹⁴² Part of Nazmī’s being in exile (*ghurba*) was because of those whom he calls “the enviers in [my] homeland” (*ḥusūdān-i vaṭan*) and the oppression of the rulers (*zulm-i ḥākimān*). Nazmī addresses the Imām and complains of the situation of his time in one of his *qaṣīdahs*:

Tā kay az bandagān nufūr kunī
Vaqt-i ān shud kih zuhūr kunī
Jawr-u zulm az miyān dūr kunī
Chashm-i dajjāl-i vaqt kūr kunī
Fīl-rā hamrikāb-i mūr kunī
Zulmat-i dahr pur zi nūr kunī

How long will you shun your servants?
 It is the time for you to manifest yourself
 [And] remove the tyranny and oppression
 [And] blind the eye of the Antichrist of the Age
 [And] make an elephant an ant’s stirrup-fellow
 [And] fill the darkness of the world with light¹⁴³

Addressing Imām Shāh Khalīl Allāh (most likely Shāh Khalīl Allāh III who died in 1232/1817), Nazmī complains of the hardship that “the turning of events” (*inqilāb-i ḥavādis*) and the “injustice” (*jawr*) had caused the “unfortunate ones” (*siyāh'bakhtān*).¹⁴⁴ Almost a century later, the

¹³⁶ Bobrinskoĭ, *Gor̄sy*, 41-42.

¹³⁷ V. N. Zaitsev, *Pamirskaiā starana – t̄sentr' Turkestana, Istoriko-geograficheskii ocherk'* (Novyi Margelan: Tipografiā Ferganskogo Oblastnogo Pravleniia, 1903), 6.

¹³⁸ Kushkakī mentions this in the sections on Vakhān, Shughnān, Zībāk, Ishkāshim and so on. See also *ibid.*, 1-50.

¹³⁹ Mīrzā, who visited Vakhān in 1869, notes that the inhabitants of Vakhān, who are “Shia Mohammedans” and followers of Āghā Khān complain very much of their own chief’s (Fath ‘Alī Shāh) oppression. “His revenue is derived partly from land-tax and customs duties, but mostly from a tax on the slave trade, and on actual slave dealing on his own account.” Montgomerie, “Report,” 156-157. The *mīrs* of Vakhān (Jān Khān and his son, Fath ‘Alī Khan) presented the *mīr* of Kanjut and others with slaves. Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 169. Shāh'zādah, *Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 90. Zaitsev (who was in Badakhshān in 1883) wrote about the cruel Sunnī persecutions of the Ismā'īlīs before the arrival of Russians in Rūshān and Shughnān. He also noted the centre of the “shameful trafficking of humans” was Zībāk where a certain Mīr Valī kept a slave-trading caravan in which each merchant had 100 slaves with him. Zaitsev, *Pamirskaiā starana*, 56.

¹⁴⁰ Ĥabibov, *Az ta'rīkhi ravobiti adabii Badakhshon bo Hinduston*, 140-42. According to Ĥabibov, Nazmī mentions the year 1214/1800 in one of his *qaṣīdahs*. *Ibid.*, 138. See also MS1960/4, which contains Nazmī’s poetry (*ghayr-i madḥ-i 'Alī namīkhānam*), OITAS.

¹⁴¹ Nazmī mentions the name of the Imām of his time Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī (d. 1206/1792). Nazmī, *Sirāj al-Mu'minīn*, MS 1960/4ab, f. 48b. See Bertel's and Baqoev, *Alfavitmyi Katalog*, 64.

¹⁴² Nazmī’s *munājāt* in which he addresses and praises Imām Shāh Khalīl Allāh (d. 1232/1817) is in MS Folder (*Papka*) 22 (KIH).

¹⁴³ Ĥabibov, *Az ta'rīkhi ravobiti adabii Badakhshon bo Hinduston*, 140-42.

¹⁴⁴ *Hāza munājāt-i Nazmī*, MS Folder (*Papka*) 22 (KIH).

Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī poet Mullā Khishāl also describes the “tyranny and oppression” of the Afghans in Shughnān and Rūshān during the reign of ‘Abd al-Rahmān Khān (r. 1298-1318/1880-1901):

*Az tolei badi mo, afghoniën rasida
Az javru zulmi afghon, otash ba jon rasida
In gardishi zamona az nokason rasida
In davri charkhi gardun az osmon rasida
Bingar chi betamizī dar in zamon rasida ...
Ēī zolimi sitamgar, ēī podshohi bedod
Az javru zulmati tu khalq omada ba farēd*¹⁴⁵

Because of our bad luck, Afghans have arrived
Because of their tyranny and oppression
The heart has become filled with grief
This adverse fortune, this motion of the heavens
Are because of the ignoble ones ...
O cruel tyrant, o iniquitous king
Because of your tyranny and oppression, the people now
lament and call out for justice

The attitude towards the period expressed in Nazmī and Mullā Khishāl’s poems reflects the condition of the period in which the Ismā‘īlīs found themselves.¹⁴⁶ Both the Badakhshānī *mīrs* in Fayzābād and the local *mīrs*, most of whom were Sunnīs, were cruel to the Ismā‘īlīs in Badakhshān. All of them considered the Ismā‘īlīs “infidels” because of their faith.

It was in 1323/1905 that the Tsarist Russia established direct control over the areas of present-day Gorno-Badakhshan. As mentioned above, the Ismā‘īlīs themselves sought the support of the Russians in the face of the constant threats and persecutions at the hands of the Bukhārāns.¹⁴⁷ Although primarily their own geopolitical interests motivated the Russian colonial authorities, they nonetheless introduced a number of positive measures. The abolition of the slave trade, the ban of religious persecution and the removal of the burden of the heavy tax that the Ismā‘īlīs had pay to their former rulers were some of the most significant changes brought by the Russians.¹⁴⁸ After 1323/1905, with the removal of the Bukhārān administration, the Ismā‘īlīs could begin to freely discuss their religious affairs and an Ismā‘īlī prayer house (*jamā‘at-khānah*) was opened in Khorog where the community came to pray and discuss matters related to faith.¹⁴⁹ These steps led to the stabilization of political and economic conditions and the return of many refugees driven away by the Afghan and Bukhārān repressions.¹⁵⁰ With Khorog emerging as its centre, considerable changes took place in the region. As the level of literacy before the beginning of the 20th century was very low (97% illiterate), the Russians began opening schools in 1327/1909.¹⁵¹ Within a short period of time, the level of

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in Davlatbekov, *Ruzgor va osori shoironi Badakhshon*, 13.

¹⁴⁶ In the same period, another Ismā‘īlī poet, Qudrat-i Shughnānī (1239-1332/1824-1914), who lived away from his home (Khorog in Shughnān) for sometime during the Afghan onslaught in 1883 and 1884, complains of his difficult situation in this period. *Ibid.*, 55-59. On Qudrat-i Shughnānī, also see Tillo Pulodī, *Shoironi khalqī Badakhshon* (Dushanbe: Sharqi ozod, 1999), 13-14, 78, 85, 92.

¹⁴⁷ Paul Bergne, *The Birth of Tajikistan: National Identity and the Origins of the Republic* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 34.

¹⁴⁸ Pirumshoev et al., “Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.,” 378. The Afghans also abolished slave trade. Elias, “Report of a Mission,” 48. Gordon, *The Roof of the World*, 147.

¹⁴⁹ Stanishevskii, *Ismailizm na Pamire*, 32.

¹⁵⁰ Pirumshoev et al., “Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.,” 381. On the introduction of Russian rule in Badakhshān, see Khalḫān, *Rossiia i Bukharskii emirat*.

¹⁵¹ There were very few religious schools in the West Pamir. Pirumshoev et al., “Pamir v pervoi polovine XIX - nachale XX vv.,” 394. The schools where basic knowledge (primarily religious), calligraphy and rhetoric were taught were mostly in private homes of the more educated people. The youth went to study abroad, in places like Kābul, Bukhārā and even India. Iskandarov, “Foreword,” *Shāh’zādah, Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 5-6. According to some scholars, the first Soviet school was

literacy increased dramatically in Badakhshan.¹⁵²

Shoh' Futur (1286-1378/1869-1959) (Shāh Fiṭūr, one of the authors of the *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*) was one of the first local people who taught at the schools established by the Russians in Khorog. He expressed his joy at the arrival of the Russians and the disappearance of the Afghan yoke in the following verses, which he wrote before the October Revolution in 1917:

<i>Muzhdai nek ba in mardumi Shughnon omad</i>	Glad tidings have come to the people of Shughnān
<i>Dar tani murdai mo bori digar jon omad</i>	Our dead bodies have become alive again
<i>Amri Yazdon, ki on zulmi jafopesha biburd</i>	By God's command, the tyranny-practicing injustice has been uprooted
<i>Savti ruhulqudus az ravzai rizvon omad</i>	The voice of the Holy Spirit has come from the garden of heaven
<i>Raft on ruz saru mu' hamekand zi dard</i>	Bygone are the days when the mothers tore out their hair
<i>Modarone, ki shunidand, ki afghon omad</i>	Upon hearing of the Afghans' arrival
<i>Ruzi nek ast, Khudo ruzii mo gardonda</i>	It is an auspicious day; God has blessed us with good fortune
<i>Shoh' Futurro khabari bakht ba Shughnon omad</i> ¹⁵³	Shoh' Futur, good news has come to Shughnān

Shoh' Futur wrote most of his religious poems (e.g. in praise of God, the Prophet, the Prophet's family, about the recognition of the Imām of the time, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, etc.) during this period. An example of his poems is the following:

<i>Bishnav e' āhli khirad, in nazmi khubi dilkusho</i>	Listen to this good composition of the heart's ease
<i>Az sari ikhlos kun monandi zar dar gush'ho</i>	Adorn yourself with it like [the earrings of] gold on ears
<i>Gar bimonā tu dar in dunē hazoron sol'ho</i>	Even if you remain in this world for thousands of years
<i>Chand boshī zinda okhir marg boshad dar qafō</i>	You will not remain alive for there is death at the end
<i>Pas turo lozim buvad donistani on peshvo</i>	Thus, it is necessary for you to recognize that leader
<i>Nest juz Sulton Muḥammad dar du olam rahnamo</i> ¹⁵⁴	There's no guide but Sulṭān Muḥammad in both worlds

As mentioned, before the arrival of Russians in Badakhshān, other major socio-political transformations had occurred in Ismā'īlism and in Badakhshān after mid-18th century.¹⁵⁵ The Ismā'īlī Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg was operating openly as an Ismā'īlī Imām, unlike the previous Imāms who (with the exception of the short period of the Anjudān revival) practiced *taqiyyah* under Twelver Shī'ism in the Ṣafavid period. Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg formed an alliance with the Afshārid leader Nādir Shāh and assisted him in his conquest of Iṣfahān. The collapse of the Ṣafavids, who were largely hostile to the Ismā'īlī Imāms, and the formation of an alliance with Nādir Shāh, "laid the grounds for

opened in 1922. Toḥir Qalandarov, *Shughnant'sy (istoriko-ētnograficheskoe issledovanie)* (Moscow: Izd-vo Leningradskogo universiteta, 2004), 97.

¹⁵² *Shughnant'sy*, 98.

¹⁵³ Shoh' Futur Muḥabbatshoh'zoda, "Sarguzashtnoma," *Ma'rifat, Kommunisti Shughnon* 3 (1991): 7. Davlatbekov, *Ruzgor va osori shoironi Badakhshon*, 65.

¹⁵⁴ *Ruzgor va osori shoironi Badakhshon*, 113-14. Shāh Fuṭūr includes his religious poems in MS Folder 19 (KhRU-IIS), which he wrote in 1354/1935. One of his poems is about Imām Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh. It begins with "Ay dil 'ajab tū ghāfīlī, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh 'Alī" – "O heart, how ignorant you are, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh [is] 'Alī." His *mukhammas* (beginning with "Ma-rā hamīshah bih dil mihr-i shāh-i zū-l-minan ast..." – "I always have love for the beneficent king in my heart") composed in the style of the 10th/16th century Shughnānī poet Shāh Ziyāyī and in praise of the family of the Prophet is also found in the same manuscript. On Shāh Ziyāyī see chapter four.

the public emergence of the Ismā‘īlī imamate in the 18th century Iran.”¹⁵⁶ This is coupled with the rise in the economic fortunes of the Indian Ismā‘īlīs, which strengthened the influence of the imamate in Iran.¹⁵⁷ The transition of the seat of imamate from Kahak to Bābak in Kirmān, which was closer to routes from India, increased the flow of tribute. The public emergence of the Ismā‘īlī imamate in the mid-18th century is explained in the context of other socio-political developments. The Ismā‘īlī Imām Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī (d. 1206/1792) also had a close relationship with the Zands who appointed him as governor of Kirmān province. Later the same Imām supported the Qājārs during their conflict with the Zands towards the end of the 18th century and this alliance proved to be a “profitable relationship between the Nizārī imamate and the Qājār dynasty for the next half century.”¹⁵⁸ In the 19th century the Ismā‘īlī Imāms established even closer contacts with their followers in Badakhshān.

Khvājah Ahrār, the author of the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, the early 19th century hagiographical work examined in Chapter Seven, mentions that his grandfather Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ visited Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg.¹⁵⁹ Khvājah Ahrār was sixty years old when he wrote the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* (“My dear age has reached sixty, The weight of sin has broken my back”) and was born around 1183/1770.¹⁶⁰ He must have been closely familiar with events in the history of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī community in the second half of the 12th/18th century. According to him, after Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ became the *pīr* (*masnadrishīn*, *ṣāḥib-i masnad*), the *dervishes* (i.e. Ismā‘īlīs in Badakhshān) flocked together under his authority and became united (*va dar īn jāmah ijtimā‘-i darvīshān bisyār shud*).¹⁶¹ The Ismā‘īlī *da‘vah* became very active in Badakhshān under the *pīr*. He appointed his deputies (*khalīfahs*) in Zībāk (Luṭfī Sayyid Ḥasan), Ishkāshim (Mīr Manṣūr, Shāh Ibrāhīm and Khvājah ‘Alī), Vakhān (Khvājah Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn), Shākh’darah and Ghārān (Khvājah Badal), Shughnān (Khvājah Salmān), Chitrāl (Sayyid Shāh Navā).¹⁶² According to Khvājah Ahrār, it is during this time when “the *mazhab* became manifest, *khalīfahs* began to teach in every place” (*bidān kih īn mazhab kih āshkār shud, har kadām khalīfah bih har jā ta ‘īm kardand*).¹⁶³ In other words, it is in the second half of the 18th century that the Ismā‘īlī *da‘vah* “became manifest” and the *khalīfahs* began to openly teach in Badakhshān.

It seems that while the *da‘vah* “became manifest” in the second half of the 18th century, it was certainly functioning, but most likely clandestinely, before this period in Badakhshān. I have already

¹⁵⁵ Daniel Beben provides an excellent survey of the major socio-political transformations and developments that occurred in Ismā‘īlism after mid-18th century. Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” 255-69.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 262.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 269.

¹⁵⁹ Ēl’chibekov, *Ierarkhūā*, 269.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Umr-i ‘azīzam chū rasīdah bih shaṣt, bār-i gunāh qāmat-i mā-rā shikast, Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 47, Ēl’chibekov, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 33. The work was composed around 1244/1828-29. See Chapter Five.

¹⁶¹ Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 147-148. “and in this place, the *dervishes* flocked together and united” (*va dar īn jā ijtimā‘-i darvīshān bisyār shud*) in Ēl’chibekov, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 107-108.

¹⁶² Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 147-148, Ēl’chibekov, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 107-108.

¹⁶³ Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 155. For some unknown reason, Ēl’chibekov changes this important sentence to “*bidān kih īn manṣab kih āshkār shud, har kadām khalīfah bih har jā ta ‘īm kardand*,” which is “know that when the post became known, *khalīfahs* were appointed in every place.” Ēl’chibekov, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 113.

referred to the case of *Alfāz-i guhar'bar* (attributed to Khudāvand Muḥammad (d. ca. 710/1310), a poem by Nizārī Quhistānī (d. 820/1330), the decree of the Qāsim Shāhī Imām 'Abd al-Salām sent to the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān in the 9th/15th century (895/1490), the *Haft Nuktah* (9th/15th century), the *Pandiyāt-i javān'mardī* (completed in early 10th/late 15th century), the *Risālah* of Khayrkhvāh-i Harātī (completed in the 10th/16th century), the *Tā'rīkh-i Rashīdī* (completed in the 10th/16th century), the 11th/16th century poet Quhistānī poet Maḥmūd, the Muḥammad Shāhī Imām 'Aṭīyyat Allāh (or Khudāybaksh) taking residence in Badakhshān in the 11th/17th century and the *du'ā* in MS Folder 232 (completed in 11th/17th century), all of which testify to the presence and activities of Ismā'īlīs in Badakhshān prior to the second half of the 18th century. Khvājah Aḥrār tells us that a certain Khvājah Malik 'Alī, who was the *rāhī* of *pīr* Sayyid Salmān b. Sayyid 'Alī, visited the Muḥammad-Shāhī Imām Mawlānā Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḥaydar (d. 1032/1622) seven times.¹⁶⁴ He was followed by the *rāhī* Khvājah 'Abd al-Ma'sūm who visited Imām Zū'l-Faqār 'Alī (d. 1043/1634) and other Imāms before him.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, during Imām Nūr al-Dahr (Nūr al-Dīn) 'Alī's (d. 1082/1671) time, the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs sent *rāhīs* through Kābul for the deliverance of religious dues and for accepting decrees from the Imām. It seems that up until the second half of the 11th/17th century, the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān followed both the Qāsim Shāhī and Muḥammad Shāhī Imāms who controlled the *da'vah* activities in the region through *rāhīs*. It is only during the *pīrship* of Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ that the Ismā'īlīs in Badakhshān entirely came to the fold of the Qāsim Shāhī branch of Nizārī Ismā'īlism. It is perhaps for this reason that Khvājah Aḥrār notes that the community “flocked together and became united” and the *mazhab* came to function openly in Badakhshān. In short, while the Qāsim Shāhī and Muḥammad Shāhī *da'vahs* were functioning with caution before the imamate of Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg, during the imamate of this Imām and that of his successors (Imām Abū al-Ḥasan (d. 1206/1792), Imām Shāh Khalīl Allāh (d. 1232/1817) and Shāh al-Dīn Ḥasan (Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh Āghā Khān I (d. 1298/1881)), the Ismā'īlī *pīrs* and *khalīfahs*, controlled by one Imām, began to operate publicly.

During the *pīrship* of Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* mentions the name of Shāh Vanjī several times and suggests that he was part of the Ismā'īlī *da'vah*. In one place, it reads: “Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ appointed Khvājah Salmān as the *khalīfah* of Shughnān and of Shāh Vanjī.”¹⁶⁶ Èl'chibekov and Gulzār Khān, however, suggest that it should read “Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ appointed Khvājah Salmān as the *khalīfah* of Shughnān and Shāh Vanjī [as the *khalīfah* of Darvāz].”¹⁶⁷ The other sentence where the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* mentions Shāh Vanjī also shows that Shāh Vanjī and the Shāh of Darvāz might have pledged fealty to Khvājah Salmān, the *khalīfah* of Khvājah

¹⁶⁴ Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, 134-136. Pages 97 and 98 are missing in Èl'chibekov.

¹⁶⁵ According to the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Khvājah 'Abd al-Ma'sūm visited the Imāms from Shāh Gharīb (i.e. Imām Gharīb Mīrzā (d. 904/1498) to Imām Zū'l-Faqār 'Alī (d. 1043/1634) seven times (*haft bār*). Unless 'Abd al-Ma'sūm lived more than one hundred years, this cannot be possible for chronological reasons. *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, 136, Èl'chibekov, 99.

¹⁶⁶ Beben also reads it like this. See Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 287.

¹⁶⁷ Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, 147-148, Èl'chibekov, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, 107.

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ.¹⁶⁸ It mentions that the twelve thousand valleys of Darvāz should be subordinate to Khvājah Salmān, as his authority should be established in greater islands (*jazīrah'hā*).¹⁶⁹ Later, when the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* mentions that “the *maḏhab* became manifest” and Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ appointed his *khalīfahs* in different places, the name of Shāh Vanjī-i Shughnī along with a certain Qāzī Khanjar from Shughnān are mentioned again. Here, however, it is not clear if Shāh Vanjī became a *khalīfah* of Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ or a follower of Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ’s *khalīfah* Khvājah Salmān in Shughnān.¹⁷⁰ It is perhaps because of this ambiguity that Ēl’chibekov and Gulzār Khān mention that Shāh Vanjī was a *khalīfah*. However, even here, Shāh Vanjī is in Shughnān, not in Darvāz. In another place, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* mentions that before Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ passed away he sent three decrees (*farmāns*) to Khvājah Salmān, Khvājah Badal and Shāh Navā. He also sent a fourth decree to Shāh Vanjī, Shāh-i Darvāz and a certain Maqṣūd Shāh¹⁷¹ whose names he had recorded in the treasury of the Imām of the time (*nām-i īshān-rā dar daftar'khānah-i Imām-i zamān sabt kardam*). In this decree, Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ appointed *khalīfahs* in Shughnān (Sayyid Shāh Fāzil), Rūshān (Mullā Khanjarī) and Darvāz (Sayyid Sharīf).¹⁷²

Based on these references, it is clear that Shāh Vanjī was not a *khalīfah*. Although the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* does not describe him as the ruler of Shughnān, other sources (see Appendix I) clearly mention that Shāh Vanjī was a ruler of Shughnān. As mentioned before, according to the *Ta'rīkh-i Shughnān*, although Shāh Vanjī was not an Ismā'īlī, he was tolerant of the Ismā'īlīs in Shughnān. One important fact that has been ignored by scholars studying the history of Badakhshān is that according to the *Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān* of Ākhūnd Sulaymān Qurbān'zādah (d. 1373/1953) and Sayyid Shāh Fiṭūr Muḥabbat Shāh'zādah (d. 1379/1959), there were two rulers of Shughnān by the name of Shāh Vanjī (the grandfather Shāh Vanjī son of Khudādād and the grandson Shāh Vanjī son of Qubād Khān). It is possible that the second Shāh Vanjī, following his father Qubād Khān (who, as mentioned, “hated the Ismā'īlīs”), was a Sunnī, but his grandfather, as Shokhumorov argues, was an Ismā'īlī.¹⁷³ For this reason, it also seems possible that later historians conflated the two. At any rate, the first Shāh Vanjī who ruled in the second half of the 18th century was either an Ismā'īlī or a Sunnī sympathetic to the Ismā'īlīs. It is during his rule that the *maḏhab* (i.e. Ismā'īlism) became “manifest” and the Ismā'īlī *khalīfahs* headed by Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ actively taught their followers.

As mentioned before, Shāh Vanjī was one of the most powerful Shughnī rulers and controlled many areas beyond Shughnān. However, his occupation of areas like Sarghilān, Zardīv, Vardūj, Bahārak and other areas in Badakhshān with the help of Aqsaqāl Bahādur (a *qarluq* from Qattaghān)

¹⁶⁸ Ēl’chibekov, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, 107. Beben also reads it like this. See Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 287.

¹⁶⁹ The *Silk-i guhar'rīz* refers to Shughnān, Darvāz, Vakhān and other regions as “islands” (*jazīrah'hā*). Gulzār Khān, 169, Ēl’chibekov, 122.

¹⁷⁰ Ēl’chibekov, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, 113. This portion is missing in Gulzār Khān.

¹⁷¹ Perhaps Shāh Maqṣūd ibn Shāh Gadā, see below.

¹⁷² Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, 169-70, Ēl’chibekov, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, 123.

during the reign of the Badakhshānī *mīr* Muḥammad ibn Sulṭān Shāh seems to have been short-lived, perhaps lasting three years only, as the Badakhshānī *mīr* was in exile for three years.¹⁷⁴ According to the *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān* of Sang Muḥammad and Surkhafsar, Shāh Vanjī left the occupied areas after hearing of an imminent threat to Shughnān from the Shāh of Darvāz whose name was Shāh Turk Khān.¹⁷⁵ Also, Shāh Vanjī's son Jalāl al-Dīn rose against him and sought the help of Muḥammad ibn Sulṭān Shāh. The latter dispatched his son Sulṭān Shāh ibn Muḥammad to Shughnān who defeated Shāh Vanjī. We are told that while Muḥammad ibn Sulṭān Shāh did not punish Shāh Vanjī (who gave him much of his wealth) and the people of Shughnān, he appointed his representatives (*aqsaqālī va sarkardagī*) there.¹⁷⁶ During the period of his troubles with Shāh Vanjī, Muḥammad ibn Sulṭān Shāh sought the help of the *shāh* of Darvāz, which is identified as Shāh Manṣūr Khān.¹⁷⁷ Apart from Shāh Turkhān and Shāh Manṣūr Khān, the *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān* indicates that there were other *shāhs* in Darvāz in the second half of the 18th century;¹⁷⁸ and it is, therefore, unclear who the Shāh-i Darvāz, described to have been either an Ismā'īlī or sympathetic to them in the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, was. Also, the *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān* does not mention the religious affiliation of the *shāhs* of Darvāz, but it seems that they were Sunnīs.¹⁷⁹ According to this source, previously in 1162/1748, the *shāhs* of Darvāz, identified as Tughma Shāh, Manṣūr Khān, 'Azīz Khān, Shāhrukh Mīrzā, Sa'ādat Shāh and Sulṭān Maḥmūd¹⁸⁰ had come to Shughnān and engaged in a battle with the army of the Badakhshānī *mīr* Sulṭān Shāh in Ghārjvīn.¹⁸¹ Sulṭān Shāh, as mentioned before, was famous for his anti-Ismā'īlī campaigns. Notably, the *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān* mentions another *shāh* of Darvāz by the name of Shāh-i Darvāz who rose against Sulṭān Shāh in the same year.¹⁸² It is possible that this Shāh-i Darvāz (who became the *shāh* of Darvāz in 1192/1778) may be the Shāh-i Darvāz of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*.¹⁸³ At any rate, it seems that Shāh Vanjī and Shāh-i Darvāz, who (according to the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*) were

¹⁷³ Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 33.

¹⁷⁴ Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikhi Badakhshon*, ed. Ghoibov and Kholov, 110. Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 84b.

¹⁷⁵ Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikhi Badakhshon*, ed. Ghoibov and Kholov, 97, 110. Shāh Turk ruled from 1212/1797 to 1217/1802. Ĥāidarsho Pirumshoev, *Ta'rikh-i Darvāz: az qadim to muosir* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 2008), 61.

¹⁷⁶ Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikhi Badakhshon*, ed. Ghoibov and Kholov, 106. Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 79a.

¹⁷⁷ Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikhi Badakhshon*, ed. Ghoibov and Kholov, 98.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 74. Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 29b-30a.

¹⁷⁹ The Sunnī author of the *Ta'rikhi Badakhshān*, who criticizes the Ismā'īlīs for having a “false” faith, speaks highly of the Darvāzīs. Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikhi Badakhshon*, ed. Ghoibov and Kholov, 74. Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 30b. He also mentions that a certain Sunnī scholar (*mufīṭ*) Ā'zam Ākhun who was sent to Khum (i.e. Qal'ah-i Khum) by the Badakhshānī *mīr* Sulṭān Shāh held a long religious debate with the *shāhs* of Darvāz. He apparently proved his views and they accepted the validity of his position. Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshon*, ed. Ghoibov and Kholov, 75. Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 31b.

¹⁸⁰ Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikhi Badakhshon*, ed. Ghoibov and Kholov, 74. Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 29b-30a.

¹⁸¹ In his comprehensive *Ta'rikh-i Darvāz*, Pirumshoev provides a list of the *shāhs* of Darvāz from the dynasty of Shāh Qirghiz (r. 1047-1078/1638-1668). According to this list, the rulers of Darvāz in the second half of the 18th century were Muḥammad Khān Shāh (r. 1147-1175/1734-1761), Mizrāb Shāh (r. 1176-1191/1762/1778), Shāh-i Darvāz (r. 1192-1202/1788-1788), Manṣūr Khān (1203-1211/1788-1797) and Shāh Turk (r. 1212-1217/1797-1802). Pirumshoev, *Ta'rikh-i Darvāz: az qadim to muosir*, 61.

¹⁸² Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikhi Badakhshon*, ed. Ghoibov and Kholov, 74. Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 29b-30a.

¹⁸³ Historically, two rulers of Darvāz are known as Shāh-i Darvāz. Shāh-i Darvāz I ruled from 1192/1778 to 1202/1788 and Shāh-i Darvāz II a century later from 1281/1864 to 1285-1868. Pirumshoev, *Ta'rikh-i Darvāz: az qadim to muosir*, 61.

sympathetic to the Ismā‘īlīs in their dominions, were not on good terms with the *mīrs* of Badakhshān. During their reign in the second half of the 18th century, these rulers could challenge the *mīrs* of Badakhshān. Whether Shāh Vanjī (r. 1202-1214/1787-1799) and Shāh-i Darvāz (r. ca. 1192-1202/1778-1788) were Ismā‘īlīs or not is not clear, but they seem to have allowed the Ismā‘īlīs to freely carry out their *da‘vah* activities in Shughnān and Darvāz.

Khvājah Ahrār also mentions that after Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ’s death, Shāh ‘Abd al-Nabī became the *pīr* of Badakhshān.¹⁸⁴ During his *pīrship*, a *rāhī* (literally, “a traveller” and an assistant of the *pīr* who delivered the religious dues to the Imām and as such was a connecting figure between the Imām and the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī community) by the name of Khvājah Ghulām Shāh took the religious dues (*māl-i mu‘minān*) to Ṭabas where a man named Shāh ‘Alī Qulī Bīk received them. According to Khvājah Ahrār, this man was the brother of Ya‘qūb Shāh b. Ṣūfī Bīk and the son of Muḥammad Ṣūfī Bīk b. Bābā Sāqī, who was a *ḥujjat*.¹⁸⁵ The Persian Ismā‘īlī Ṣūfī’s poetry shows that he was a contemporary of Imām Zū‘l-Faqār ‘Alī (Khalīl Allāh I) (d. 1043/1634).¹⁸⁶ Maḥmūd, an 11th/17th Quhistānī Ismā‘īlī poet, also identifies Ṣūfī as a *ḥujjat*, but mentions his father’s name as Ṣādiq, in his poetry.¹⁸⁷ Ya‘qūb Shāh b. Ṣūfī seems to have lived during the imamate of four Imāms from the time of Imām Zū‘l-Faqār ‘Alī (Khalīl Allāh I) (d. 1043/1634) to the imamate of Shāh Nizār (d. 1134/1722).¹⁸⁸ Although it seems unlikely, it is possible that Shāh ‘Alī Qulī Bīk lived long enough to serve Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg, who succeeded his father Imām Sayyid ‘Alī in 1167/1754. In one of his poems found in a Badakhshānī *bayāz*, Ṣūfī mentions the year 1053/1643 as the year of its composition.¹⁸⁹ In this poem, he encourages people to obey the Imām of the time (*tā‘at-i šāhib-i zamān*), Imām Nūr al-Dahr ‘Alī (d. 1082/1671). An unknown Nizārī Ismā‘īlī poet by the name of Yā‘sī apparently lived during the imamate of Imām Shāh Nizār (d. 1134/1722). In one of his poems on the Ismā‘īlī religious hierarchy (*ḥudūd*) that is included in a Badakhshānī manuscript (which begins with “Saḥar bih gūsh-i dilam...”), he refers to “Shāh Nizār’s era of manifestation (*dawr-i kashf-i Shāh*

¹⁸⁴ Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar‘rīz*, 170, Ēl‘chibekov, *Silk-i guhar‘rīz*, 123.

¹⁸⁵ Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar‘rīz*, 170-71, Ēl‘chibekov, *Silk-i guhar‘rīz*, 123.

¹⁸⁶ Ṣūfī’s *qaṣīdah* (48 distiches), which explains the meaning of the seven pillars of *sharī‘ah*, is found in MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS). In this *qaṣīdah* (which begins with “Ay dil ṭarīq-i bandagī kun shi‘ār” – “O heart make the path of servitude your custom”), Ṣūfī mentions Imām Zū‘l-Faqār ‘Alī, who he calls “our *qiblah*” and “the face of God.” The same manuscript contains another poem by Ṣūfī who calls the Imām “Mahdī-yi ākhirzamān” (the Mahdī of the last age) who emerged in the seventh cycle (*dawr-i haftum*). The poem begins with “Dūsh īn nidā-yi dawlatam az āsmān rasīd” (“Last night a call of felicity has come to me from heaven”). Although Ṣūfī’s name appears in the text, the poem ends with a line containing what seems to be a pen name, which is Karīmī. MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS). MS Folder 23 (KhRU-IIS) also contains Ṣūfī’s *qaṣīdah* (90 distiches) titled *Haft arkān-i sharī‘at*. This work is unavailable to me. On this prominent Quhistānī Ismā‘īlī family, particularly the more famous Ismā‘īlī author Ḥusayn b. Ya‘qūb Shāh b. Ṣūfī, see Maryam Mu‘izzī, “Risālah-i Ḥusayn b. Ya‘qūb Shāh,” *Faṣl-nāmah-i muṭālī‘āt-i tā‘rīkhī* 11 and 12 (1370): 403-25.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 405-06. Khākī Khurāsānī (d. 11/17th century) calls Ṣūfī a “teacher” (*mu‘allim*). See verse #1329 in Imām Qulī Khākī Khurāsānī, *Muntakhab-i Dīvān-i Khākī Khurāsānī*, ed. Wladimir Ivanow (Bombay: 1932). See also Mu‘izzī, “Risālah-i Ḥusayn b. Ya‘qūb Shāh,” 406.

¹⁸⁸ “Risālah-i Ḥusayn b. Ya‘qūb Shāh,” 406.

¹⁸⁹ The poem begins with “Ay dil biyā kih rūy bih dār al-makān kunīm” – “O heart, let us turn our face to the abode.” MS Folder 13, ff. 36b-40a (copied in 1394/1974 by Gulzār Khān) (KhRU-IIS).

Nizār)” and points out that the name of the Imām’s *hujjat* was Şūfī.¹⁹⁰ This indicates that Şūfī may have still been alive during the imamate of Imām Nūr al-Dahr ‘Alī and also that of Imām Shāh Nizār who became Imām in 1090/1680.¹⁹¹ Şūfī’s son Shāh ‘Alī Qulī Bīk then seems to have served the two succeeding Imāms, Imām Sayyid ‘Alī and Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg. Nevertheless, Khvājah Ghulām Shāh is said to have taken Shāh Gadā, the son of the *khalīfah* Khvājah Salmān with him on his seventh journey to Ṭabas. Later, Shāh Gadā went to see Imām Shāh al-Dīn Ḥasan (Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg) himself.¹⁹² Still later, other individuals (Sayyid Ḥasan, Khvājah Mullā, Shāh Naşīr, Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, Shāh Abū Ṭālib and others) visited Imām Abū al-Ḥasan (d. 1206/1792). Although it seems unlikely, Khvājah Aḥrār may have also visited Imām Abū al-Ḥasan himself, as he mentions Khvājah-i Kūchak was in the company of those who went to see the Imām. According to Khvājah Aḥrār, Imām Abū al-Ḥasan ruled in Qā’in and Kirmān at that time.¹⁹³ This is historically accurate, because, as mentioned before, Imām Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī was the governor of Kirmān during the Zand period (1163-1209/1750-1794).¹⁹⁴

Khvājah Aḥrār notes that Imām Abū al-Ḥasan was succeeded by Mawlānā Shāh Khalīl Allāh (d. 1232/1817), who gave up his political rule (*pādshāhī*), adopted the dervish garment and returned to the place of his ancestors and then to Yazd.¹⁹⁵ This information is also historically accurate, because, as mentioned before, Imām Khalīl Allāh ‘Alī, also known as Shāh Khalīl Allāh moved the seat of the Ismā‘īlī Imamate to Kahak in 1219/1804 and then to Yazd in 1230/1815. The *Silk-i guhar’rīz* mentions that Shāh Maqşūd ibn Shāh Gadā visited Imām Khalīl Allāh ‘Alī. Imām Khalīl Allāh ‘Alī, Khvājah Aḥrār writes, was succeeded by Mawlānā Shāh al-Dīn Ḥasan (Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh Āghā Khān I (d. 1298/1881)). During his imamate, Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs such as Shāh Gadā b. Sayyid Shāh Maqşūd b. Shāh Gadā, Lashkar Shāh, Yāqūt Shāh, Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, Faqīr Shāh and others went to his court for beatific vision. The Imām, we are told, appointed Shāh Gadā as *pīr* over Sayyid Suhrābīs (i.e. the descendants of Sayyid Suhrāb and those who followed them), Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm over the *sayyids* of Zībāk and Ishkāshim and Faqīr Shāh over the Bābā ‘Umarīs (the descendants of Bābā ‘Umar and those who followed them).¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁰ MS Folder 12, f. 143 (KhRU-IIS). Yā’sī’s works have not yet been studied. He is the author of the *Alif’nāmah* (*The Book of Alif*), a poetic composition in praise Imām ‘Alī. It begins with “Avval sukhan az madḥ-i ‘Alī inshā kun” – “First begin your word with the praise of ‘Alī.” Yā’sī also mentions Shāh Nizār in a line in the *Alif’nāmah*. A copy of the *Alif’nāmah* can be found in MS Folder 12, ff. 178-80 (KhRU-IIS). His poetry is also found in MS 1962/10 (OITAS). See Baqoev, *Alfavimiy Katalog*, 34.

¹⁹¹ Şūfī must have been a very old man at this time. His son Ya’qūb Shāh who wrote an elegy on the death of Imām Khalīl Allāh II ‘Alī (d. 1090/1680) mentions Şūfī’s name. Ya’qūb Shāh himself complains of his old age in 1090/1680. See Mu’izzī, “Risālah-i Ḥusayn b. Ya’qūb Shāh,” 406.

¹⁹² Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 171, Ēl’chibekov, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 123-124.

¹⁹³ Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 184, Ēl’chibekov, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 131.

¹⁹⁴ Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 459.

¹⁹⁵ Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 185.

¹⁹⁶ Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 185, Ēl’chibekov, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 131.

Mawlānā Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh Āghā Khān I reigned for over sixty years (from 1232/1817 to 1298/1881) and established even closer contact with the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. This is testified by his decrees (*farmāns*) and documents confirming receipts of religious dues that are preserved by the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. The University of Tokyo’s Department of Islamic Studies Areas collected 164 historical documents from the private collections of the Ismā‘īlīs of Langār, Zāng (in Ishkāshim), Barvāz, Tavdīm and Khidārjīv (in Rāsht’qal’ah), Khorog, Rīvāk and Sūchān (in Shughnān) and Barrūshān (in Rūshān) in 2009 and 2011.¹⁹⁷ These documents include Imām Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh’s decrees and receipts.¹⁹⁸ For instance, they include a decree of Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh Āghā Khān I, which was collected in Zāng (present day Ishkāshim) and is dated 1266/1850. This decree is addressed to a certain Ḥājī Muḥammad and confirms that a person named Mullā Shanba had appealed to the court in the name of the local people and Yāqūt Shāh (who is also mentioned in the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*). The first decree, which was sent through Mullā Shanba to Badakhshān, orders the faithful to “not turn away from the Imāms and treat one another with love and sincerity in order to attain salvation.”¹⁹⁹ The second decree, dated 1273/1856, is addressed to the Ismā‘īlīs of Rūshān. This decree, collected from Barrūshān, mentions the death of Shāh Gadā (also mentioned in the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*) and appoints his son Mīrzā Badal ‘Alī as his successor.²⁰⁰ The third decree, which was collected in Zāng and is dated 1277/1860, is addressed to the Ismā‘īlī community of Badakhshān. It enjoins on the community to seek knowledge of the Imām and avoid hypocrisy and discord in the community.²⁰¹ The fourth decree, dated 1281/1864 and collected in Sūchān, is addressed to the Ismā‘īlī communities of Shughnān, Rūshān, Chitrāl and Bartang who were the followers of Khvājah Ghulām Shāh. The decree appoints Khvājah Ghulām Shāh’s son Mīrzā Ashraf as his successor.²⁰²

Similarly, there are more than thirteen receipts of religious dues that Imām Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh sent to Badakhshān. They are dated 1266/1849 (confirming that the religious dues were submitted by Muḥammad Niyāz at the court of the Imām), 1273/1856 (confirming receipt of the religious dues), 1277/1860 (confirming that Fayz Allāh had delivered 100 rupees to the court), 1280/1864 (confirming that Shāh Najaf had delivered the religious dues), 1283/1867 (addressed to Mīrzā Band ‘Alī confirming that the religious dues consisting of 20 gold coins had been received at the court), 1283/1867 (addressed to Mīrzā Band ‘Alī, confirming that 40 pieces of gold sent with Fūlād Bīk and Fayz Allāh had reached the court), 1287/1870 (informing that the religious dues in gold pieces, silver

¹⁹⁷ Kawahara Yayoi and Umed Mamadsherzodshoev, *Documents from Private Archives in Right-Bank Badakhshan (Facsimiles)*, TIAS Central Eurasian Research Series 8 (Tokyo: Department of Islamic Area Studies, Center for Evolving Humanities, Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, University of Tokyo, 2013).

¹⁹⁸ Digitized copies of some of these documents are in Folder 230 and Folder 231 (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁹⁹ Kawahara Yayoi and Umed Mamadsherzodshoev, *Documents from Private Archives in Right-Bank Badakhshan (Introduction)*, TIAS Central Eurasian Research Series 10 (Tokyo: Department of Islamic Area Studies, Center for Evolving Humanities, Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, University of Tokyo, 2015), 20.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 21.

²⁰² Ibid., 22.

bars, rupees, etc. had been delivered to the court), 1287/1871 (confirming receipt of the religious dues sent with Nūr ‘Alī Shāh had been successfully delivered to the court), 1287/1971 (confirming receipt of the religious dues sent with Rajab Bīk), 1288/1871 (confirming receipt of the religious dues sent with Hājji Fūlād Bīk), 1289/1872 (confirming receipt of the religious dues sent with Nūr ‘Alī Shāh), 1293/1876 (confirming receipt of the religious dues sent with Fūlād Bīk), 1293/1876 (confirming receipt of the religious dues sent with Mīrzā Muḥammad Qāsim), 1293/1876 (confirming receipt of the religious dues delivered by Mullā Band ‘Alī) and other undated receipts.²⁰³ All of these receipts (collected in Zāng, Barrūshān and Sūchān) advise the believers to remain steadfast in the practice of their faith, treat one another with respect and duly submit their religious dues (*māl-i sarkār*).

The earliest of all these documents is dated 1266/1849, which means that the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān had to travel to India to the court of the Imām who settled there in 1262/1846. According to Daftary, “during his brief imamate, Āqā ‘Alī Shāh [the next Imām] increased his contacts with the Nizārī communities outside the Indian subcontinent, showing particular interest in his followers in Central Asia, Burma and East Africa.”²⁰⁴ The scholars who collected the documents from Badakhshān have not found any decrees or receipts issued by Imām Āqā ‘Alī Shāh Āghā Khān II (d. 1302/1885). However, they collected many decrees and receipts of the religious dues issued by Imām Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Āghā Khān III (d. 1376/1957). Their collection, for example, includes twelve of his decrees dated between 1325/1908 and 1355/1936 from Pārshinīv, Khidārjīv and other places.²⁰⁵ It also includes fourteen receipts issued between 1311/1894 and 1348/1930.²⁰⁶ Like Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh advises his followers to sincerely practice their faith, recognize God and the Imām of the time, remain united in the face of difficulties and continue paying their religious dues accordingly. Thus, the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* and all the other documents point to the fact that the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān began to practice their faith more openly from the mid-18th century onward. The Ismā‘īlī Imāms and their Badakhshānī followers established closer contacts during this time and continued to maintain it up to the first quarter of the 20th century.

In the 19th century, an outsider like Riḏā Qulī Khān Hidāyat could observe that “Shī‘ah-i Ismā‘īliyyah” was present in Badakhshān and that it was taken there by Ismā‘īlī *dā‘īs* like Nāṣir-i Khusraw.²⁰⁷ Others like the Ni‘matullāhī master, Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Shīrvānī pointed to the presence of many Ismā‘īlīs in Badakhshān.²⁰⁸ As mentioned before, travellers to Badakhshān in the 19th century pointed to the relationship between the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs and their Imāms. Hence, in the period concerned, we encounter both persecution of the Ismā‘īlīs and their more open expressions of

²⁰³ Ibid., 30-40.

²⁰⁴ Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 477.

²⁰⁵ Mamadsherzodshoev, *Documents from Private Archives*, 23-31.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 40-47.

²⁰⁷ Riḏā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *Rawḏat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, ed. Jamshīd Kiyānfar, vol. 9 (Tehran: Asātir, 2001), 276.

²⁰⁸ Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Shīrvānī, *Riyāḏ al-siyāḥah*, ed. Agamira Kulieva, vol. 2 (Moscow: 1974), 25.

allegiance to their Imāms. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of texts with Ismā‘īlī content was copied and produced in Badakhshān after the mid-18th century that.²⁰⁹ During this period, the Badakhshānī hagiographical sources about Nāṣir-i Khusraw express his Ismā‘īlī affiliation openly. The very brief account in the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, composed sometime in the second half of the 11th/17th century, associates Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Ismā‘īlism and the Ismā‘īlī Imām. As I will show in Chapter Six, although this work is titled *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, it is not a hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. However, elements from this work reappear in later Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The earliest poetry that describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw saintly qualities is produced between the second half of the 17th and the early 18th centuries. Similarly, the hagiographical narratives that associate Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the Ismā‘īlī Imām and focus on his saintly qualities begin to be produced from the second half of the 18th to the early 20th centuries. The two features of contemporaneous setting, i.e. the harassment of the Sunnīs and more open expression of their Ismā‘īlī identity and ideas, shaped the ways in which the hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw were composed in the period from the second half of the 18th century to the early 20th century. I will examine these sources in detail in Chapter Seven.

3.2 The Pīrs of the Ismā‘īlī areas

Apart from the local rulers, the *mīrs*, there were local religious leaders, the *pīrs* and their representatives, the *khalīfahs*, who controlled the religious and other socio-economic affairs of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs. To date, their history also remains largely unexplored.²¹⁰ Their origins in Badakhshān are connected with Nāṣir-i Khusraw and other preachers.²¹¹ As noted previously, Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself is referred to as *Pīr Shāh Nāṣir* in Badakhshān. Local tradition associates the institution of *pīrship* with him and his religious mission.²¹² The earliest account of the *pīrs* is in the 19th century *Silk-i guhar'rīz*. I will discuss this work in Chapter Seven, but here it should be mentioned that it represents the tradition of one clan (known as *khūjās* in Vakhān and *shāhs* in Shughnān) that traces its ancestry to a certain Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, who, according to this source, was appointed as a religious guide by Nāṣir-i Khusraw.²¹³ This source also provides a list of names of other religious

²⁰⁹ Most of the manuscripts described in the catalogues are copied during this period. See Baqoev, *Alfavitnyi Katalog*.

²¹⁰ Ēlbon Ĥojibekov studies the role of the Ismā‘īlī *pīrs* in the political and cultural life of Shughnān with focus on the period between the second half of the 18th and the 1930s. Ēlbon Ĥojibekov, "Ismailitskie dukhovnye nastavniki (pīry) i ikh rol' v obshchestvenno-politicheskoi i kul'turnoi zhizni Shughnana : Vtoraia polovina XIX - 30-e gody XX vv. " (PhD diss., Pamirskii Filial Instituta Gumanitarnykh Nauk, Akademiia Nauk Respubliki Tadjikistan, 2002). On the genealogies of some selected *pīrs* see S. Grigoriev, "K voprosu o rodoslovnoy ismailitskikh pirov Afganistana," *Strani i narodi vostoka XXX* (1998): 242-51. On their role in regional politics, especially during the 19th century Anglo-Russian 'Great Game,' see Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*. See also Otambek Mastibekov, "The Leadership and Authority of Ismailis: A Case Study of the Badakhshani Ismaili Community in Tajikistan" (PhD Diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, 2009).

²¹¹ *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 106.

²¹² On this also see Abdulmamad Iloliev, "Pīrship in Badakhshan: The Role and Significance of the Institute of the Religious Masters (Pīrs) in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Wakhan and Shughnan," *Journal of Shi'a Islamic Studies* 6, no. 2 (2013): 157.

²¹³ Iloliev, *The Ismā‘īlī-Sufi Sage*, 33.

guides who succeeded Sayyid Suhrāb Valī. As mentioned above, it features a story about an eleventh-generation descendant of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī named Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, who visited the Qāsim-Shāhī Ismā‘īlī Imām Shāh-i Dīn Ḥasan ibn Sayyid ‘Alī who was Imām from around the mid-18th century.²¹⁴ This *pīr* is reported to have brought the Imām’s *pīrship* appointment decrees to some individuals (Khvājah Salmān, Khvājah Navā and Khvājah Badal).²¹⁵

As mentioned, the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* indicates that, prior to Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, two *rāhīs*, Khvājah Malik ‘Alī and Khvājah ‘Abd al-Ma‘šūm visited the Muḥammad-Shāhī Imām Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḥaydar (d. 1032/1622) and Imām Zu‘l-Faqār ‘Alī (d. 1043/1634), respectively. Other Badakhshānī *pīrs*, including Shāh Zayd b. Sayyid Suhrāb Valī (who is said to have visited Mawlānā Ḥasan ‘alā’ *dhikrihi’l-salām* (d. 561/1166) and served him for seven years)²¹⁶ and Sayyid Khvājah ‘Alī b. Shāh Zayd (who is said to have visited Imām Rukn al-Dīn Khvūrshāh (d. 655/1257) seven times) visited the Ismā‘īlī Imāms who confirmed their status as *pīrs*.²¹⁷ Although this information is difficult to ascertain historically, it points to the fact that to the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs, these individuals were appointed by the Ismā‘īlī Imāms to this position. Khvājah Aḥrār’s accounts beginning with his grandfather Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ are more or less historically accurate, because, as mentioned, certain elements in them may be corroborated with accounts in other sources.²¹⁸ However, his accounts about his remote ancestors, particularly those about Shāh Zayd b. Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Sayyid Khvājah ‘Alī b. Shāh Zayd visiting the Imāms in the past cannot be verified. The *Silk-i guhar’rīz* mentions nothing about their activities in Badakhshān.

As indicated above, in the mid-18th century Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, a highly influential *pīr* in Badakhshān, visited the Ismā‘īlī Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg, who authorized him to establish the Ismā‘īlī *da‘vah* in the region. During his *pīrship*, the *da‘vah* functioned actively in Badakhshān. We know that after his period of activity, the Imām Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh (d. 1298/1881) had direct contact with the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān and received religious dues from them.²¹⁹ During the imamate of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh (1885-1957), even closer contact between the Imām and his followers was established. The Imāms appointed the *pīrs* as their representatives in Badakhshān and as such they enjoyed tremendous authority in their isolated region.²²⁰

According to other local traditions, examined in the following chapter, especially those

²¹⁴ Ēl’chibekov, *Ierarkhiā*, 205.

²¹⁵ Iloliev, *The Ismā‘īlī-Sufi Sage*, 40. Iloliev, “*Pīrship* in Badakhshān,” 157.

²¹⁶ Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, 131-132, Ēl’chibekov, 95-96.

²¹⁷ This part is missing in Gulzār Khān. Ēl’chibekov, 96.

²¹⁸ Also, the accounts about Nādir Shāh’s campaigns and the involvement of Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg in his campaigns are also found in Muḥammad b. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Fidā‘ī Khurāsānī, *Kitāb bih hidāyat al-mu‘minīn al-ṭālibīn*, ed. Aleksandr Semēnov (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Vostochnoī Literatūry, 1959), 167-168. On this, see Ēl’chibekov, *Ierarkhiā*, 87.

²¹⁹ On this, also see Āqā Khān Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh Maḥallāfī, *Ta’rīkh-i ‘ibrat-afzā*, ed. Ḥusayn Kūhī Kirmānī (Tehran: Rūznāmāh-i Nasīm Ṣabā, 1325HSh/1946), 24-25. A copy of the text can be found in MS USBk59 (dated 1278/1861?), f. 54ff (KhRU-IIS).

²²⁰ Emadi, “The End of Taqiyya,” 109. Iloliev, *The Ismā‘īlī-Sufi Sage*, 42.

preserved by the religious clan known as the *sayyids*, the *pīrs* are descended from *qalandars* (Shāh Malang and others) who arrived in Badakhshān from Iran. Some of the *pīrs* of Shughnān claimed descent from Shāh Malang. In an interview with the Russian scholar Bobrinskoī, the Shughnānī *pīr* Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh (d. 1350/1931) mentioned that his ancestor Shāh Malang came from Shughnān twelve generations earlier.²²¹ According to Bobrinskoī, there were fifteen *pīrs* operating in greater Badakhshān in 1902: three in Sariqūl, three in Chitrāl, two in Vakhān (one of them was Sayyid Karam ‘Alī Shāh), one in each of Yārqaṇd, Shākh’darah (Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh), Sūchān (Sayyid Mursal), Pārshinīv (Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh), Barrūshān (Sayyid Shāh Gadā), Kūlāb and Varf in Afghān Darvāz.²²² It is believed that upon leaving Iran, their forefathers lived either in Munjān or Zībāk for a long time and subsequently moved to Vakhān, Ishkāshim, Shughnān, Rūshān and Shākh’darah. Elias mentions the names of four *pīrs* in the late 19th century: Mīrzā Sharaf of Sūchān for Ghund and the neighbouring areas, Shāh’zādah Ḥasan of Dihrūshān for nearly the whole of Rūshān and parts of Shughnān and Darvāz, Mīrzā Shāh, called the Shāh-i Munjān for Darmārakht, Ghārān and other places, Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm for Zībāk and its neighbouring areas.²²³ As noted by John Biddulph, the British colonel who visited the Pamirs in 1874, the latter, whose father Yāqūt Shāh and son Shāh’zādah Layṣ were influential *pīrs* as well, was “next in rank to the Agha Khan himself.”²²⁴ As mentioned above, according to Trotter, this *pīr* was the ruler of Ishkāshim and Zībāk.

Claiming descent from the Prophet and acting as representatives of the Imām, the *pīrs* enjoyed tremendous authority among their people. John Biddulph writes:

“The respect paid to the Pirs by their disciples is unbounded; nothing is refused to them... One of them once said... ‘if I ordered a father to kill his own son, he dare not refuse.’ Whenever they move about, they are attended by a large number of followers, who are fed and maintained out of their superfluities, and they live entirely on the offering of their disciples. Presents of horses, cattle and the best of everything is given to the *pīr*.”²²⁵

Sources show that every action of the *murīd* was subjected to religious control and the *pīrs* enjoyed unlimited authority in respect to their followers. Snasarev, for instance, writes the following concerning the *pīrs* of Shughnān: “The *pīrs* are the main force in the life of this people. This person is idolized, given immense attention and respect. His stirrup is kissed while he is mounted.”²²⁶ As Iloliev remarks in the same vein, “the pirs were venerated as sources of divine knowledge and blessing, as the

²²¹ Bobrinskoī, "Sakta Ismail'ia," 4.

²²² Ibid., 7.

²²³ Elias, "Report of a Mission," 53. The names of three of the *pīrs* are also found in the *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, but they are described as *mukīs*: Mukī Mīrzā Ashraf of Sūchān, Mukī Shāh’zādah Ḥasan of Rūshān and Mukī ‘Abd al-Raḥīm of Zībāk. It also mentions the famous Shughnānī *pīr* Sayyid Farrukh Shāh, who is the father of Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh interviewed by Bobrinskoī. Shāh’zādah, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 138.

²²⁴ Biddulph, *Tribes of Hindoo Koosh*, 119.

²²⁵ Ibid. See also Zaīitsev, *Pamirskaiā starana*, 54.

²²⁶ A.E. Snasarev, *Afganistan* (Moscow: 1921), 115.

only way to understand and reach the Imām – and, consequently, God.”²²⁷ It was the religious obligation of the Ismā‘īlīs to obey their *pīrs* unconditionally. As Bobrinskoï observes, “the role of the *pīrs* in the life of the sectarians is significant. The *pīr* is the absolute master over the soul and body of his subordinates.”²²⁸ Kushkakī also describes the extraordinary respect that the Ismā‘īlīs of Munjān showed for their *pīrs*.²²⁹

Unlike the *mīrs*, who ruled over particular territories, the *pīrs* could have followers in various territories in Badakhshān. The distribution of their constituency was not limited to one village or principality.²³⁰ Thus, for example, the *pīr* of Pārshinīv, Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh had following of four hundred households in Shughnān, five households in Yārqand in western China, twenty households in Osh and two hundred households in Darvāz.²³¹ The *pīr* of Zībāk Shāh ‘Abd al-Ma‘ānī (d. 1355/1936) had followers in Shākh‘darah, Ghund and Bartang valleys. Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm of Zībāk’s followers were scattered, in addition to the Upper Oxus River areas, in Sariqūl, Hunza, Badakhshān and Yāsīn.²³² Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh from Shākh‘darah had followers in Shākh‘darah and Ishkāshim of Tajikistan, Tajik and Afghan Vakhān, and even Chitrāl in the northern areas of present day Pakistan. The *pīrs*, as heads of the Ismā‘īlī community in Badakhshān, were the ones who taught faith to their followers.²³³

The *pīrs* sometimes competed for power and were at times opposed to one another. For example, in the first quarter of the 20th century, after the death of Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh, both his brother Sayyid Maḥmūd Shāh and his son Sayyid Khvājah Badal claimed to be rightful *pīrs*. Also, when Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh opposed the Bukhāran administration, the *pīrs* of Sūchān and Shākh‘darah, Sayyid Mursal and Maḥmūd Shāh, refrained from supporting him.²³⁴ They were also powerful enough to challenge the authority of the local and external rulers. For example, Sayyid Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh actively opposed the Bukhārā administration in 1903-1904.²³⁵ His father, Sayyid Farrukh Shāh also opposed the ruler of Shughnān Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān and supported the local rebellion against the Afghans.²³⁶ It should also be mentioned that most of the *pīrs* had established relations not only among themselves through intermarriage,²³⁷ but also with the families of *mīrs*. The British and the Russians who used the *pīrs* for their own purposes towards the late 19th and early 20th century were aware of this interrelationship.²³⁸ The *pīrs* themselves were actively involved in politics, supporting either the

²²⁷ Iloliev, "Pirship in Badakhshan," 159.

²²⁸ Bobrinskoï, "Sakta Ismail'ia," 2.

²²⁹ Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 136.

²³⁰ Iloliev, "Pirship in Badakhshan," 158.

²³¹ Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe sopernichestvo*, 110.

²³² G.W. Leitner, "A Secret Religion in the Hindukush [The Pamir Region] and in the Lebanon," *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly* 5 (1893), 417-434. He is described as Mukī ‘Abd al-Raḥīm in Shāh‘zādah, *Ta’rikh-i Badakhshān*, 137.

²³³ Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 107.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ Iloliev, "Pirship in Badakhshan," 158-159.

²³⁸ Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 116-20.

Russians or the British.²³⁹ As we will see below, in the 1930s, when the Soviets began implementing anti-religious policies, most of the *pīrs* on the right side of the Panj River fled to Afghanistan.²⁴⁰ Some *pīrs* were arrested and poisoned in prison.²⁴¹ In Afghanistan, too, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, the *pīr* of Zībāk, fled to Chitrāl in 1301/1883 and his son Shāh’zādah Layṣ became the *pīr* of the area.

The office of *pīrship* was hereditary in Badakhshān. However, starting from at least the late 19th century (1890s), the *pīrs*’ succession had to be confirmed by the Imām Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh. After the *pīrs* left Tajik Badakhshān due to the hostile climate shaped by the Soviet anti-religious policies, the *khalīfahs* became the main spiritual authorities in the area. Since the mid-1950s, due to the pressure of the Soviet authorities in Tajik Badakhshān, the *khalīfahs*, whose position, traditionally, was hereditary as well, became elected by the people or appointed by the state. They remained in charge of religious affairs, mostly relating to wedding and funeral ceremonies and were strictly accountable to the government.²⁴² I will return to the role of the *khalīfahs* in the Soviet period below, but for those in Afghanistan, the traditional hierarchy and system of *pīrs* and *khalīfahs* was maintained.²⁴³

3.3 Badakhshān During Soviet Rule (1920s-1980s)

With the fall of Tsarist Russia in 1917, the Soviets took over in Badakhshān in 1918. From 1921 to 1924, Tajik Badakhshān was part of the Soviet Turkestan Republic. In January 1925, it became part of the newly established Tajik Autonomous Republic. The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic was established in 1929. With the establishment of Soviet authority in the region, the socio-political and economic situation of the Ismā‘īlīs on the right side of the Panj river continued to improve dramatically. The aforementioned Shoḥ Futur’s poems composed in the 1920s reflect the attitude of the Ismā‘īlīs to the Soviet Union:

Pesh az in bud ruzi mo shabi tor
Giriāyu nola bud laīlu naḥor
Qism dar ranju qism dar ishrat
Qism dar khobu qism dar mehnat
Na kase dodras budī moro
Ashk farēdras budī moro ...
Nogahon inqilob az olam
Kand bekhī tamomi fitnayu gham
Hon, doro az on ḥaroson shud
Khunkhur az bimi jon gurezon shud
Shud jahoni kuḥan zi nav obod

Before this our day was a dark night
 There were weeping and lamenting day and night
 Some lived in suffering, while some in pleasure
 Some were sleeping, while some were toiling
 Nobody administered justice for us
 Tears were the response to our cry for redress ...
 Suddenly, the revolution uprooted
 The roots of all affliction and sadness in the world
 Truly, it terrified the rich
 Those who lust for blood have become fugitives
 The old world has been cultivated anew

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 135.

²⁴¹ Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 76-77.

²⁴² Ioliev, "Pirship in Badakhshan," 168, 70.

²⁴³ New religious education and management were introduced to *pīrship* in Afghanistan and the institute of *khalīfah* in Tajikistan. Currently, only four *pīrs* in Badakhshān symbolically preserve their titles. Ibid., 169. Emadi mentions 6 *pīrs* in Shughnān (in 1996) whose influence has largely been eroded by modern education and increased contact with the outside world. Emadi, "The End of Taqiyya," 112.

*Shud asiri kuhan zi nav ozod
 To ki gardid zolimī bekor
 Ba"d az in shud aēn asror
 Aīshi zolim kujo Khudo dodast
 Non bad-ū zumrai gado dodast
 Ganj dar dasti muflison aftid
 Shoĥ Futuri kuhan javon gardid²⁴⁴*

The past prisoners have been freed again
 Injustice has become null and void
 Thereafter the secrets have become known
 God didn't give the wrongdoer the delight
 It is the poor that provided him with bread
 Treasure has fallen into the hands of paupers
 The old Shoĥ Futur has become young

Initially, the Soviets were less hostile towards the religious beliefs of the mountain dwellers, cooperated with the local *pīrs*, and even allowed them to send tithes (*māl-i sarkār*) to the Ismā'īlī Imām, Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, in India.²⁴⁵ From 1918, the Soviet authority declared that the beliefs and the customs of Muslims, their national and cultural institutions would remain untouched.²⁴⁶ In the beginning of the 1920s, the Soviets demonstrated tolerance towards the Ismā'īlīs whom they did not see as a threat to Soviet authority.²⁴⁷ For these reasons, someone like Shoĥ Futur could invoke God or include religious elements in his poetry. Documents dating to the 1920s and preserved in the archives of the Soviets demonstrate that the new regime was generally tolerant of Ismā'īlism.²⁴⁸ In the mid-1920s, the Soviet party conference in Gorno-Badakhshan concluded that the attitude of the population of the region to the Soviet authority was positive. In 1922, the Soviet Executive Committee and Sayyid Munīr, a representative of the Imām Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, even collaborated on establishing schools meant to eradicate illiteracy completely.²⁴⁹

By 1927, however, the antireligious tendency of the Soviets and their atheistic propaganda were on the rise.²⁵⁰ In this year, the regional Communist Party forbade the clergy from participating in the election of Soviet councils.²⁵¹ Consequently, the authorities took a harsher stance against the religious activities of the community and its religious leaders.²⁵² In 1936, the border along the river Panj was closed off entirely in order to put an end to contacts with the Ismā'īlīs living across the border and to prevent delegations carrying the annual tithes to the Imām, a religious obligation fulfilled by the Ismā'īlīs up to this point. Prominent religious authorities or *pīrs*, who still exercised

²⁴⁴ Quoted in Davlatbekov, *Ruzgor va osori shoironi Badakhshon*, 78. For Shoĥ Futur's other poems in praise of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union and lambasting of the former rulers and judges, see *ibid.*, 77-81. Other poets like Abdulvosei Abdurasulzodai Shidzī and Mullo Davlatshohi Shughnī, who composed poems in the 1920s and 1930s, also praised Lenin and the Russian as well as Soviet soldiers for freeing them from the yoke of the oppressors. On them see Amirbek Ĥabibov, *Chand shoiri noma"lumi Badakhshon, Pomirshinosī* (Dushanbe: Donish, 1989), 135-39. See also Davlatbekov, *Ruzgor va osori shoironi Badakhshon*, 85-87.

²⁴⁵ Although the Soviets tried to abolish this practice by mid-1930s, the Ismailis of Badakhshan continued to send the *māl-i sarkār* clandestinely until the beginning of 1940s. Tohir Qalandarov, "Religiā v zhizni pamirtsev XX veka," in *Pamirskaia ēkspeditsiia (stat'i i materialy polevykh ēkspeditsiī)*, ed. N.M. Emel'ianova (Moscow: Institut vostokovedeniā RAN, 2006), 41.

²⁴⁶ *Pravda*, 22/11/1917.

²⁴⁷ This is testified by an official document accepted by the Central Executive Committee of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in Tashkent in 1922. *GARF. F. CIK Turkrespubliki*. F. 19. 71-80.

²⁴⁸ Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 87.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 88-89.

²⁵⁰ Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 140.

²⁵¹ M.N. Nazarshoev, *Istoricheskiī opit KPSS po rukovodstvu sotsialisticheskim stroitel'stvom v Gorno-Badakhshanskoī oblasti Tadzhikskoī SSR* (Dushanbe: 1982), 98.

²⁵² Qalandarov, "Religiā v zhizni pamirtsev XX veka," 37.

some influence over the community, either fled to Afghanistan, were imprisoned or were exiled.²⁵³ The influential *pīr* of Shughnān, Sayyid Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh, was imprisoned by the Soviet authorities and died under mysterious circumstances.²⁵⁴

The sealing of the Soviet-Afghan border isolated the Ismā‘īlīs of Gorno-Badakhshan from their co-religionists on the left side of the Panj River. The separation led to the severance of historical ties between individuals, affecting the continuity of the common Ismā‘īlī traditions within the community. One such major change was in the institution of the *pīr*. The relationship between the *pīrs* and *murīds* or followers, a backbone of the tradition, began losing its prominence, as many *pīrs* were unable to maintain contact with their former followers, who as a result of the new political divisions now resided in new countries. The administrative and cultural systems were transformed, replacing the traditional rule of *mīrs* and other ruling groups in the localities with elected organizations of peasants and farmers. The authority of the *pīrs* and the wealthy landlords was undermined by the revolutionary reforms of the Soviets. The other more important change was the severance of the relationship between the Ismā‘īlīs of Gorno-Badakhshan and their Imām.

Although this may be an exaggeration, according to Majidov, by 1939, every fourth person in Shughnān was a member of the Union of Godless Warriors or Union of Militant Atheists (*Soiuz voinstvuiushchikh bezbozhnikov*).²⁵⁵ The purpose of this organization was to limit religious practices such as visiting sacred places (*mazār*), which was one of the most common religious practices in Badakhshān. Although atheist organizations such as the Union of Godless Warriors (Militant Atheists) existed in Badakhshān, as Qalandarov mentions correctly, the majority of Ismā‘īlīs do not seem to have supported its mission.²⁵⁶ The antireligious propaganda of the Union and its collaboration with the regime compelled ordinary Ismā‘īlīs to conceal their faith and discontinue many of their religious practices for fear of persecution.²⁵⁷ In short, the Ismā‘īlīs resorted to *taqiyyah* once again.

The Badakhshānī poet Ghulomjon Shoḥ Soleḥ (d. 1364/1945), who composed poems during this time, praised the Soviet government for improving the quality of people’s life. In one of his poems, he writes:

Hukumat gar nazar bar zahr sozad, ū shakkar gardad
Hukumat gar nazar bar mis kunad, mis hamchu zar gardad
Hukumat gar nazar bar rubah sozad, sheri nar gardad
Hukumat gar nazar bar po kunad, po hamchu sar gardad
*ĪAqin medon, ki in tafsiru tasvir az Ghulomjon ast*²⁵⁸

²⁵³ M.N. Nazarshoev, *Partiūnaia organizatsiia Pamira v bor'be za sotsializm i kommunizm (1918-1968)* (Dushanbe: 1970), 98-99. See also, Qalandarov, "Religiia v zhizni pamirtsev XX veka," 24-51. Elbon Hojibekov, "Repressii 30-kh godov veka i ismaility Badakhshana," *ibid.*, 101-11. Qurbon Alamsho, *Pamir 1937* (Dushanbe: 2012).

²⁵⁴ Hojibekov, "Repressii 30-kh godov," 101-10.

²⁵⁵ R. M. Majidov, *Preodolenie religioznosti v usloviakh perekhoda k sotsializmu, minuia kapitalizm: (na materialakh Tadzhigistana)* (Dushanbe 1973), 173.

²⁵⁶ Qalandarov, *Shugnantsy*, 105.

²⁵⁷ On the 1930s religious repression in Badakhshan, see Hojibekov, "Repressii 30-kh godov," 101-111.

²⁵⁸ Pulodī, *Shoironi khalqi Badakhshon*, 105.

If the government casts its glance on poison, it turns into sugar
 If the government casts its glance on lead, it turns into gold
 If the government casts its glance on a fox, it turns into a lion
 If the government casts its glance on the foot, it becomes like the head
 Know for certain that this explanation and description is Ghulomjon's

In the early 1940s, the Soviet ruling bodies continued to lead systematic atheistic propaganda in the collective farms (*kholkhoz*), villages, schools and other places. However, by late 1941, a slightly more tolerant attitude emerged, likely because the Soviet Union was at war with Germany and changed its policy towards religion.²⁵⁹ The atheistic propaganda ceased to have the aggressive character observed before 1941. At this time, local Ismā'īlī leaders, sons of the executed *pīrs*, supported the Soviets against fascism and wrote an appeal to all Ismā'īlīs of the world. This appeal begins with invocations to the Imām (*yā Mawlānā, yā Ḥaẓrat-i Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh!*) and then addresses "all the coreligionists ... who act in accordance with the sacred book of Pīr Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the *Vajh-i dīn* ..." and calls them to stand against fascism.²⁶⁰ This more tolerant attitude to religion remains more or less the same towards the end of the 1940s and the middle of the 1950s. During this period, the religious situation in Badakhshān is characterised by a more tolerant attitude of the local authority to manifestations of religiosity among the population. However, in the early 1960s, the struggle against religion was renewed under Nikita Khrushchëv (1953-1964), the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.²⁶¹ Intensive propaganda of the so-called "scientific atheism" was carried out and numerous artists, scholars, writers and singers, supported by the state, played the role of anti-religious figures.²⁶² In the 1960s (just like in the 1930s), a simple piece of paper in Arabic script could serve as a pretext for the accusation of "an anti-Soviet activity."²⁶³ It was primarily during this period that many Ismā'īlīs had to hide their religious books by burying them in the earth, under rocks in mountains and other places.²⁶⁴

By the 1960s, there were no *pīrs* remained, as they had all been repressed.²⁶⁵ The Soviet authorities, aware of the difficulty of eradicating Ismā'īlī religious traditions entirely, began to accommodate them in a way that would not only undermine the religious establishment but also serve the Soviet system, which led to numerous campaigns against religion, superstitions and even traditional culture. As demonstrated in Chapter Eight, scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw was ideologically driven under the Soviet rule. This, in turn, had an influence on the hagiography recorded and produced at this time.

²⁵⁹ Yaacov Ro'i, "Islam in the Soviet Union after the Second World War," *Religion, State & Society* 24 (1996): 159.

²⁶⁰ Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 100.

²⁶¹ See Nazardod Jonboboev, "Antireligioznaia propaganda - delo kazhdogo lektora," *Kommunist Tadzhikistana* 1963.

²⁶² See I. Rahimova, "Po vsem napravleniām," *Sovetskaia Kul'tura* (December 1971).

²⁶³ Qalandarov, *Shugnantsy*, 111.

²⁶⁴ In 1998, a group of young men discovered a box of manuscripts in Tavdem in Shākh'darah. Qalandarov, *Shugnantsy*, 111.

²⁶⁵ Hōjibekov, "Repressii 30-kh godov," 101-10.

With the abolishing of the institution of *pīrship*, the *khalīfahs*, who formerly had served as the deputies of the *pīrs*, undertook the role of the religious authority. The Soviet governing bodies approved the appointment of the *khalīfahs*.²⁶⁶ The *khalīfahs*' task was narrowed to merely carrying out basic ceremonies, such as funerals, marriages and other rites of passage where their presence was deemed traditionally indispensable.²⁶⁷ The Soviet authorities hoped that with the passage of time, educational activities and secularization of society, the religious beliefs would increasingly give way to their atheistic worldview. Local members of the Communist Party were expected to act as role models, and their attendance at religious ceremonies was discouraged by the party committees or governing bodies.

In the absence of *pīrs*, who possessed religious knowledge and educated their followers, most of the remaining *khalīfahs* lacked such knowledge. What knowledge they had was derived from individual study, usually learnt from their fathers, and from focusing on the passages from the Qur'ān necessary for the conduct of the most vital rituals. None of the *khalīfahs* had visited the Imām. They had no followers or *murīds* like the pre-Soviet *pīrs* and *khalīfahs* did. This is confirmed even by the Soviet sources that were particularly interested in these matters.²⁶⁸ Although most of these *khalīfahs*, rightly identified as the “regular Soviet workers” and *kolkhozniki* by Yaakov Ro'i, served the interests of the state, there were a few *khalīfahs* who zealously advocated the influence of religion.²⁶⁹ In the 1960s, there were between twenty and thirty officially registered *khalīfahs* and, unlike in the pre-Soviet period, these functioned entirely on their own with no links between them.²⁷⁰ In the section on Ismā'īlīs in his book on Islam in the Soviet Union, Ro'i, basing his observations on official Soviet sources, describes certain religious traditions, such as the *khalīfahs*' performance of burial and memorial services, and states that “the bottom line seems to be that the substance of faith had become more social than spiritual” by the 1960s.²⁷¹ However, apart from the fact that spirituality can not be measured based on outward practices, the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān are famous for their discipline and practice of pious circumspection, a custom that reflects centuries of persecution they had suffered. The Soviet period did not allow for obvious displays of the spiritual substance of faith and the personal side of religion remained private during the time of the Soviet rule. In general, religion remained a separate domain in the life of the Ismā'īlī community, not interfering with the social and political trends of the state. The Ismā'īlīs, however, gathered in each other's houses, collectively studied their

²⁶⁶ Shokhumorov, *Razdelienie*, 103.

²⁶⁷ Iliiev, "Pirship in Badakhshan," 168, 70.

²⁶⁸ Ro'i, "Islam in the Soviet Union," 424.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 423.

religious works and explained the meanings of their devotional poems (*maddāh*).²⁷² This practice is known as *haq sedow* (literally, “teaching the truth”) in Badakhshān.²⁷³

In the 1960s, the Soviets attempted to eradicate the tradition of *Charāgh'rawshan* in Badakhshān.²⁷⁴ Despite this attempt, the tradition survived under their rule. Also known as *da'vat-i (Shāh) Nāshir*, *Charāgh'rawshan* (literally, “lamp-lighting”) appears to be one of the oldest surviving Ismā'īlī traditions. It is an assembly (*majlis*) of the community, where a lamp is illumined, which is its hallmark. The people recite Qur'ānic verses for the eternal peace of the departed soul. During the ceremony, special devotional songs such as *maddāhs*, with philosophical, doctrinal and ethico-moral messages, are sung to the accompaniment of *daf* (drum) and *rubāb* (six-stringed mandolin). The *Charāgh'rawshan* served a significant role in the spiritual life of the Ismā'īlīs during the Soviet period. The Ismā'īlīs did not openly display even elements of these practices, which were devoid of overt political motivation and did not pose any challenge to the existing system. This situation is illustrated well by a very famous anecdote about a man who was reciting a *maddāh* in praise of Nāshir-i Khusraw when some unknown people entered the house. Seeing the strangers, the man did not stop the recitation, but replaced Nāshir-i Khusraw's name with that of Vladimir Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Union.²⁷⁵ In fact, when the Soviet state failed to eradicate the tradition, they attempted to add to praises of the role of the Communist party and the Soviet Union to the lyrics of the *maddāh*.²⁷⁶

Very early on, the Soviet Union developed a very negative attitude towards Ismā'īlism, because of its anti-religious ideology and its antagonism towards the figure of the Imām Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Āghā Khān III, who was seen as an agent of British imperialism and who, in the context of the “Great Game,” like the preceding Āghā Khāns, encouraged his Central Asian followers to cooperate with British authorities.²⁷⁷ As Beben observes rightly, “these concerns on the part of Russian authorities survived the transition to the Soviet regime, and the Aga Khan's relationship with

²⁷² In Shughnānī-Rūshānī dialects, *mado* or *maddo*, which is related to the Persian *maddāhī*; the practice of performing *maddāh* is known as *maddāhgūyī*, in Pāmīrī dialects *maddoguyi* or *madoluvdo(w)*, which is related to the Persian *madh-gūyī*; *maddāhī* (taken from the trilateral Arabic root *m-d-h*, connoting “praise,” means “panegyric,” and “encomium.” We come across *maddāh*, *maddo*, *maddoh*, *madhiia*, *madh*, and similar variants in both primary and secondary sources used in this study. For consistency's sake, I use *maddāh* throughout. In Persian *maddāh* means encomiast or the person who performs *maddāhī*, but for the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān, the term *maddāh* refers to the panegyric poetry itself, i.e. *maddāhī*. The performer of *maddāh* is called *maddāhgūy*. *Maddāh* poetry is in praise of God, the Prophet, Shī'ī Imāms, Nāshir-i Khusraw and other sacred figures. They are usually replete with doctrinal and didactic messages. Among the Ismā'īlīs of Ghārān and Vakhān in Tajikistan and Ghārān and Zībāk of Afghanistan, *maddāhs* are known as *qasā'id* (plural of *qasīdah*) and in among the Ismā'īlīs of Darvāz as *haydarī*. Ĥaidarmamad Tavakkalov, “An'anai madhiiasaroi dar Badakhshon” (Diss., Candidate of Philological Sciences, Institute for the Study of Humanities, 2006), 6.

²⁷³ Qalandarov, *Shugnantsy*, 305

²⁷⁴ Shokhumorov, *Razdelienie*, 103.

²⁷⁵ Qalandarov, *Shugnantsy*, 47.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 112.

²⁷⁷ On the relationship between Āghā Khān III and the British government see Marc van Grondelle, *The Ismailis in the Colonial Era: Modernity, Empire, and Islam, 1839-1969* (London: Hurst and Company, 2009). On the role of the Āghā Khān and the Ismā'īlīs in the Great Game, see Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*. The association between Imām Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh and the British was noted by Russians before the Soviet Union. For instance, in 1903 Zaifsev mentioned that the Āghā Khān (whom he calls Sayyid-Aga) was “utterly devoted to the interests of the British.” Zaifsev, *Pamirskaiā starana*, 53.

the British struck fear in the eyes of Soviet authorities that he would incite the Ismāʿīlīs in the Pamirs to anti-Soviet activities.²⁷⁸ Propaganda by the Soviet authorities against the religious functionaries, in which they were accused of manipulating the local population, and of being disloyal to the Soviet state, having instead allegiance to their Imām, the Āghā Khān, was on the rise as early as in the 1930s.²⁷⁹ Although towards the end of the 1940s, after the change in the government's policy towards religion, when religion came to be "tolerated" and "regulated" rather than outrightly condemned, Ismāʿīlism never became part of "official" Islam, nor was it represented in the official directorates formed by the state. This anti-Ismāʿīlī tendency of the Soviet state never disappeared and was manifest even towards the end of Soviet rule. The Soviet film *Jura, the Hunter from Minarkhar*, which was produced in 1987 and was among the most frequently aired movies on television in Gorno-Badakhshān, conveyed overt anti-Ismāʿīlī messages. In this movie, the Ismāʿīlī Imām Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh is depicted as "the Dark Prince" who, as an agent of the British, sent his envoys to Badakhshān with the purpose of encouraging them to rise against the Soviet regime. Clearly, the Soviet antipathy to the figure of Imām Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh never went away. This film, which was produced towards the end of Soviet rule, reflects the same attitude of the Soviet regime as in the 1930s, when the Soviets produced a film called *The Living God* (in 1934), in which they vilified the *pīrs* through the figure of Sayyid Yūsuf ʿAlī Shāh and Imām Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh. In the words of the producer of the film S. Proshin, "at that time in the Pamirs there were numerous followers of "the living God" – the Aga Khan to whom the believers from all parts of the region sent money and other valuables as tithes every year. Exposing the Agha Khan and his henchmen and struggling for a new mode of life was the main purpose of the film ..."²⁸⁰ The Soviets clearly tried to distance the Ismāʿīlīs from their Imām. The anti-religious attitude had a strong influence on scholarship of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his representation in general.²⁸¹

The anti-religious policies continued in the 1970s and reached their peak when a 'special seminar to train anti-Ismaili propagandists' was held in Khorog in 1978.²⁸² A few years prior to this, a number of pamphlets hostile to Ismāʿīlism were published, one of them a paper called 'Modern Ismāʿīlism and its Reactionary Essence.'²⁸³ By and large, the state of religious affairs remained unchanged until the end of the 1980s, when the new Communist leader Mikhail Gorbachëv (1985-1991) announced his *perestroïka* (restructuring) and *glasnost'* (openness) policies. With the advent of

²⁷⁸ Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 418-419.

²⁷⁹ In 1937, the journal "Anti-religious" (*Anṛireligioznik*) published Liūtsian Klimovich's article "Ismailism and its reactionary role" in which the author points to the "conspiratorial" nature of Ismāʿīlism and alerted the Soviets to the espionage of the Ismāʿīlīs who were loyal to Āghā Khān III. The Imām is called as "a loyal servant of British imperialism" and "an enemy of the Soviet state." Liūtsian Klimovich, "Ismailizm i ego reaktsionnaia rol'," *Antireligioznik* 8 (1937): 35.

²⁸⁰ S. Proshin, *Ocherk ob istorii tadjzhikskogo khudozhestvennogo kino* (Stalinabad 1906), 18.

²⁸¹ See Chapter Seven.

²⁸² Alexandre Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslims of the Soviet Empire. A Guide* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986), 123.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

perestroika, religious activity began to be tolerated once again. Despite this, Soviet scholarship displayed the effect of the anti-religious policies till the end of Soviet rule in the late 1980s. Publications that appeared on Nāṣir-i Khusraw still had anti-religious elements. Overall, for most of the period, from the early 1920s to the end of the 1980s, religious teachings and ideologies were seen as a threat to the Soviet secularization policy.

Despite the anti-religious attitude of the Soviet regime, the Ismāʿīlīs continued to practice their faith. As my informants in Shughnān mentioned, the *daʿvat* (burial ceremony) with all its traditional rituals was held even for members of the Communist Party. However, these activities were constantly monitored by state appointed agents. Some of my informants also mentioned that they continued studying Persian and Arabic and learned the prayers (e.g. the *fātiḥah*, *duʿā-yi musulmānī*) during Soviet times. There were many Ismāʿīlīs who were well versed in the “old school,” learned the Qurʾān, the works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and other Muslim poets and, of course, many others who continued copying religious texts.²⁸⁴ The late Shohi Kalon Shohzodamuhammadov, whom I interviewed, was among them.

During Soviet rule, although the people had no freedom of speech and little freedom of religion, the regime focused on the improvement of the socio-economic well being of the region.²⁸⁵ The once remote region of Badakhshān was connected to Uzbekistan with the Khorog-Osh highway and to the capital of Dushanbe with the Khorog-Dushanbe road. Within the region itself, better road connections brought the Ismāʿīlīs closer to one another. They could now travel to the various parts of Badakhshān or Tajikistan with ease. The state paid significant attention to the improvement of education and built schools even in the remotest parts of Badakhshān.²⁸⁶ Although as a result of collectivization many lost their private property, the Soviets eradicated material difference between people and encouraged universal equality. Workers received reasonable salary for their work that was sufficient to support their families.

²⁸⁴ The names of some of these figures and brief accounts about them are found in S. Olimova and M. Olimov, "Musul'manskoe dukhovenstvo v redneziatskikh obshchestvakh," in *Musul'manskie lidery: Sotsial'naia rol' i avtoritet*, ed. S. Olimova and M. Olimov (Dushanbe: 2003), 42. Mamadali Bakhtiërov, *Ta'rikh-i Rushon* (Dushanbe: Ilm, 2013). Charoghabdol, *Tazkirai adiboni Badakhshon*. Bertel's and Baqoev, *Alfavitnyi Katalog*.

²⁸⁵ On the socio-economic development of GBAO in the Soviet time see Bliss, *Social and Economic Change in the Pamirs*, 247-63. Bliss briefly examines social (e.g. improvement of health and education infrastructure), economic, technological and scientific development in Badakhshān during the Soviet time.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered a brief survey of the socio-political history of Badakhshān from the 15th century to the end of Soviet rule in order to provide context in which the Badakhshānī hagiographical stories of Nāṣir-i Khusraw should be read and understood. It has examined two periods: from the 15th to the early 20th century and from the early 20th century to the late 1980s. The first period was marked by the numerous intrusions of foreign conquerors into Badakhshān and by devastation, tortures, enslavement, forced conversion and massacres associated with them. Although initially the Yārids seem to have had a relatively tolerant attitude towards the Ismā‘īlīs, later members of their dynasty and other rulers such as the Qunduzids, the Afghan and the Bukhārā emirates, demonstrated intolerance of this Shī‘ī community. In the 19th century, both the Afghans and the Bukhārāns sought control over Badakhshān, and their constant struggles resulted in the division of Badakhshān into their domains, by choosing the Āmū Daryā (or the Panj river in the region) as a border between the two powers. The British Empire and the Russians, who had arranged the division of the border, had already entered the scene by this time. Shughnān, Rūshān, Vakhān, Ishkāshim and Ghārān on the left side of the Upper Āmū Daryā was left in the hands of the rulers of Afghanistan, while the territories of Badakhshān lying on the right side of the Upper Āmū returned to Bukhārā.

Under the Afghans and especially during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān the people of Shughnān, Rūshān, Ishkāshim, Ghārān and Vakhān suffered tremendously. The Afghan armies plundered and killed them on many occasions. Up until 1344/1925, the Sunnī majority continued to discriminate against the Ismā‘īlīs. The Ismā‘īlīs on the right side of the Upper Āmū River (Shughnān, Rūshān, Vakhān, Ishkāshim and Ghārān) also suffered greatly under the Manghits of Bukhārā from 1313/1895 to 1323/1905. The Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān on both sides of the river continued to be seen as “heretics” by the Sunnīs after the delimitation. There were attempts on both sides to sunnicize the Ismā‘īlīs. The Sunnī rulers of Afghanistan and Bukhārā subjected the Ismā‘īlīs to cruel oppression, persecution and even genocide. At least from 18th century to the late 19th century, the Ismā‘īlīs were ruled by local *shāhs* and *mīrs* in Badakhshān. The majority of those seem to be have been Sunnīs and had terrible reputation among the Ismā‘īlīs. Like their more powerful Sunnī patrons in Fayzābād, the local *shāhs* and *mīrs* oppressed, persecuted, killed and sold into slavery their Ismā‘īlī subjects whom they considered as “heretics.” The Ismā‘īlīs practiced pious circumspection under Twelver Shī‘ism and Ṣūfism, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

There are important distinctions between the period before the mid-18th century and the period from mid-18th to the establishment of the Soviet Union. The latter was marked by significant socio-political transformations in Ismā‘īlism and Badakhshān. One of the major transformations was the open and public operation of the Ismā‘īlī imamate in Iran and later in India from the mid-18th century onwards. The Ismā‘īlī Imāms and their followers in Central Asia, including Badakhshān, established

closer contact. Although we find references to earlier visits of the local *pīrs*' assistants (*rāhīs*) to Imāms' place (Khvājah Malik 'Alī and Khvājah 'Abd al-Ma'šūm), in the mid-18th century a major *pīr* Khvājah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ visited the Ismā'īlī Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg, who authorized him to establish the Ismā'īlī *da'vah* in Badakhshān. The Ismā'īlī *da'vah*, as we can judge by the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, the Ismā'īlī Imāms' decrees and receipts of religious dues delivered at the courts of the Imāms, was very active in different regions of Badakhshān from the mid-18th century. It is at this time that the Ismā'īlī *da'vah* "became manifest" and many *rāhīs* visited the Imāms.²⁸⁷

The *pīrs* functioned as the religious leaders of the Ismā'īlīs in Badakhshān right until the establishment of the Soviet rule. Numerous sources attest to their immense authority among their Ismā'īlī followers. In the 19th century, foreign observers identify the *pīrs* as representatives of the Imāms and point to connection of the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān with their Imāms. Along with the rigorous *da'vah* activity, this period also witnessed the appearance of numerous religious texts that were either copied or produced by the Ismā'īlīs. Of note is also the presence of the Russians in Badakhshān towards the late 19th and the early 20th centuries.²⁸⁸ Having established direct control over the areas of present Gorno-Badakhshān in 1905, they introduced significant changes in the socio-political life of the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān. The Russians supported the Ismā'īlīs against the oppression of the Sunnī rulers, abolished enslavement and banned religious persecution. Having the support and the encouragement of the Russians, the Ismā'īlīs enjoyed the freedom to produce literature, including hagiographical accounts, in the early 20th century. It is also during this period that the Badakhshānī hagiographical sources about Nāṣir-i Khusraw express his Ismā'īlī affiliation openly.

The toppling of the Russian tsar and the revolutionary upheavals of 1917 resonated throughout the mountains of Badakhshan as early as 1918 and the first Soviet soldiers sent to guard the border arrived in Khorog in November 1920. The arrival of a Soviet-led expedition put an end to the centuries of intervention by Sunnī rulers.²⁸⁹ With the establishment of the Soviet authority in Badakhshān, the socio-political situation of the Ismā'īlīs on the right side of the Amū Daryā changed dramatically. The Ismā'īlīs now did not experience threats from their Sunnī neighbours and many of them became active members of Soviet organizations whose purpose was to establish the Soviet policies in Badakhshān. The attitude of the Soviets towards the Ismā'īlīs during some seventy odd years of rule was ambivalent. Initially, the Soviets were tolerant of Ismā'īlism, but later, especially in the 1960s, their anti-religious policies became harsher. Despite this, the Ismā'īlīs continued to practice their faith clandestinely and learned about their faith through other means, such as the *Charāgh'rawshan*. In

²⁸⁷ Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, 147-148, Èl'chibekov, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, 107-108. See also Èl'chibekov, *Ierarkhiā*, 269.

²⁸⁸ The Russians began to support the Ismā'īlīs against the Afghan and Bukhāran Uzbek Sunnīs even before they took full control of the region in 1905. See for instance, Nikolai Fëdorovich Petrovskii, *Turkistanskie pis'ma*, ed. V.S. Miasnikov (Moscow: Pamiātniki istoricheskoi mysli, 2010), 37.

²⁸⁹ This expedition was headed by T. Diakov, a representative of the Soviet Turkestan Republic. Qalandarov, "Religiā v zhizni pamirtsev XX veka," 34-35.

general, until the dissolution of the Soviet state, the Ismāʿīlīs were forced in to hide their faith or practice it in secret. Although the socio-economic conditions improved significantly during the Soviet period, the Ismāʿīlīs were not free to practice their faith, and the Soviet pressures on and persecutions of believing Ismāʿīlīs changed the way they practiced it. During the Soviet time, the authority of the *pīrs* came to be undermined and for most of the period, from the early 1920s to the end of the 1980s, religious teachings and ideologies were seen as a threat to the Soviet secularization policy of the public life. For most of its period, the Soviet Union controlled the religious affairs of the Ismāʿīlīs through appointing official *khalīfahs*. The Soviet Union developed a negative attitude towards Ismāʿīlism because of its anti-religious ideology as well as its attitude to Imām Sultan Muhammad Shāh who was seen as an agent of the British in the context of the “Great Game.” This shaped the attitude of scholars studying Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life and teachings, which, in turn, influenced the Ismāʿīlī hagiographical writing about him, produced during the Soviet time.

Chapter 4

The Contested Nature of Badakhshānī Hagiography

As demonstrated in Chapter One, we cannot depend on hagiography as a repository of “factual information” or “historical truth” about its subjects. This does not necessarily mean that hagiography should be treated as stories and legends without any historical value. Hagiographies can reveal “historical truth” about the subjects and the names and sometimes the dates in the stories may be true, but the value of the hagiography is in its presentation of a different kind of history, that of the way people have chosen to remember the subjects. In this manner, hagiography imparts information about the narrators and their views about the saints. Many scholars have treated Badakhshānī hagiography as a source of “historical information” and have been neither interested in nor attempted to investigate its other functions. This chapter examines a Badakhshānī oral hagiographical tradition based on which scholars draw conclusions about the spread of Nizārī Ismā‘īlism in Badakhshān.

The subjects of this hagiographical tradition are Shāh Malang, Shāh Khāmūsh, Shāh Burhān and Shāh Kāshān, who, as foundational figures, occupy an important place in the local memory of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs. Most Western scholars either represent or support a tradition that considers these men as Nizārī Ismā‘īlī *dā‘īs* who were sent to Badakhshān by the Imāms of Alamūt in either the 12th or the 13th centuries. This chapter demonstrates that such analysis disregards local traditions of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs that differ in not portraying these men as (Nizārī Ismā‘īlī) *dā‘īs*. Even the version of the tradition used as the basis for this analysis cannot be used to support the claims. I show that, depending on the socio-political contexts and the identity of those who tell these stories, elements in the narratives of this hagiographical tradition change and serve specific agendas.

The local Badakhshānī traditions typically describe these men, in addition to *sayyids*, as *pīrs* (spiritual guides),¹ dervishes (mendicant ascetics) or *faqīrs*, or *qalandars* (wandering ascetic).² As Ismā‘īlīs share these terms with Ṣūfīs and other Muslims, by themselves the titles cannot be used to determine the sectarian affiliation of the four figures. Identifying them as Nizārī Ismā‘īlī *dā‘īs* (a term that is never used in the narratives themselves) is a read into the narratives something that does not exist. As the figures are presented as descendants of Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms, some Tajik academics describe them as Twelver Shī‘ī preachers, though there are plentiful examples of descendants of these Imams who are not Twelvers. In some versions of the tradition, these figures are depicted more explicitly as Sunnīs, as followers of Ṣūfī masters, such as al-Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 298/910), as

¹ Bobrinskoī, "Sakta Ismailīa," 4-5.

² The *qalandars* generally distinguished themselves from other Muslims by their unconventional dress, behaviour and way of life. They are ascetics who have withdrawn from the world and who wander about like vagabonds. On them see, Tahsin Yazici, "Qalandar," *EI2*. In popular parlance, the word *faqīr* refers to a poor man or a pauper, but in the mystic terminology it is used for a person 'who lives for the Lord alone.' On this and other connotations of the word, see K.A. Nizami, "Faḳīr," *EI2*. Broadly through Islam, the word dervish (*darvīsh*) "is used in the sense of a member of a religious fraternity, but in

companions of Ṣūfīs, such as ‘Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī (d. 561/1166) and simply as Muslims who preached Islam (*musulmānī*) in Badakhshān and the neighbouring areas. The sectarian identity is further complicated by accounts - both in the oral traditions and in academic writings - that provide varying places of origin, including Iṣfahān (Kāshān), Sabzavār, Shīrāz, Ṭūs, Bukhārā and Māzandarān, and the time of arrival of these figures in Badakhshān, ranging from the 7th century, 11th-12th centuries, 12th-13th centuries, 16th century, etc.

In the following paragraphs, I examine five different versions of the tradition as recorded in secondary sources in light of the original narratives on which they are based. I argue that the discrepancies in the secondary sources are related to the scholars’ attempts at gleaning “historical information” about the subjects from these narratives. The chapter argues that these narratives should be treated as hagiographical, rather than as sources for “historical information,” because they reflect the agendas and projections of the people who narrate them, rather than provide historical information about their subjects. The Sunnī *mīrs* present Shāh Khāmūsh as a Sunnī, as he was the founding father of their kingdom. They thus trace their genealogy back to an important figure among the Badakhshānīs to legitimate their political authority. Similarly, Sunnī authors present Shāh Khāmūsh as a Sunnī Ṣūfī and in this way demonstrate that the saint preached Sunnī Ṣūfism in Badakhshān. The Ismā‘īlīs depict the figures as dervishes who are associated with Ismā‘īlī Imāms. A version originating with the rulers of Shughnān describes Shāh Khāmūsh simply as a Shī‘ī, without further specification. The narratives change or the identity of these foundational figures is contested according to the exigencies of the time and the needs of different parties.

I engage with these narratives for two important reasons: First, the examination draws attention to the contested and ambiguous nature of the Badakhshānī hagiographical narratives. Ismā‘īlī sources typically present these four figures simply as Muslim saints, not as specifically Sunnī, Ṣūfī or Twelver or Ismā‘īlī Shī‘ī. They could be taken as Muslims of any persuasion. This is precisely what we observe in the earliest hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The second reason for this extended analysis of the images of these figures in Badakhshānī hagiographical narratives is their regular reappearance in the hagiographical sources examined in subsequent chapters.

The second section of this chapter, dedicated to Ṣūfism, shows that the Sunnī dynasties of pre-Soviet times, which were intolerant of Ismā‘īlism, were largely open-minded toward Ṣūfism. Many Ṣūfīs held prominent positions in the government and served as spiritual guides and counselors to the Sunnī rulers. The Kubraviyyah, Qādiriyyah, Naqshbandiyyah, Chishtiyyah and other Ṣūfī orders enjoyed dynastic protection. Various Sunnī rulers were patronized Ṣūfī shrines. In such an environment, the Sunnī rulers, even those who attempted to sunnicize the Ismā‘īlīs, patronized the

Persian and Turkish more narrowly for a mendicant religious called in Arabic a *faqīr*.” On other connotations of the word, see D.B. MacDonald, “Darwīsh,” *EI2*.

shrine of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, although it is not clear whether they considered Nāṣir-i Khusraw a (Sunnī) Ṣūfī. The documentary evidence and the patronage of the shrine by Sunnī authorities indicate that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was widely considered as a Muslim saint. It is very important to bear this in mind, because, as we will see in Chapter Six, the *Risālat al-nadāmah* presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw simply as a Muslim saint, without affiliating him with Sunnism, Ṣūfism or Ismāʿīlism.

In the third section of this chapter, I examine the presence of what appear to be Twelver Shīʿī elements in Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlī tradition. This is a matter that I will return to briefly in my analysis of the stories in Chapters Six and Seven. I contend that Twelver Shīʿism may have spread to Badakhshān sometime in the 10th/16th century, which is when the first Badakhshānī hagiographical work, the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, was composed. I also suggest that Twelver Shīʿism, unlike Ismāʿīlism, may have been tolerated by the local Sunnī rulers during this period. Like their co-religionists and Imāms in Iran, the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān may have practiced pious circumspection under the cloak of Twelver Shīʿism from at least 16th century. Having practiced pious circumspection for a long time, the Ismāʿīlīs incorporated certain elements associated with Twelver Shīʿism in their own tradition. In this section, I argue that the presence of these elements in the Badakhshānī hagiographical narratives does not need to be taken as an indication that their authors or narrators considered the subjects of the stories to be Twelver Shīʿīs.

The narratives about the four dervishes do not identify them as Twelver Shīʿīs. It is the academic scholars who do so. The discussion of these elements in this chapter will be useful when we come to the chapters on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s hagiography. I argue that the unspecified sectarian affiliation of the four figures in Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlī hagiographies should not be explained in light of non-Ismāʿīlī hagiographies. In other words, simply because a Sunnī hagiographer depicts Shāh Khāmūsh as explicitly a Ṣūfī master and the Ismāʿīlī hagiographers refer to him by the more equivocal term dervish, we should not conclude that the Ismāʿīlīs considered him to be a Sunnī-Ṣūfī. In the prevailing environment, it was easy for Sunnīs to associate Shāh Khāmūsh with a Sunnī-Ṣūfī master, whereas the Ismāʿīlīs could not openly associate him with Ismāʿīlism. The common Ismāʿīlī-Ṣūfī vocabulary allowed the Ismāʿīlīs to safely express their memories of these foundational figures in the hostile climate of pre-Soviet Badakhshān.

4.1 Narratives of The Four Dervishes

In the Badakhshānī traditions, Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh occupy the most significant place of the four figures. The former is considered the forefather of the local religious leaders - the *pīrs*, while the latter is considered the forefather of the local rulers - the *mīrs*. Meanwhile, the tradition holds that Shāh Burhān left no offspring, Shāh Kāshān’s descendants are described neither as *pīrs* nor *mīrs*, but

as *sayyids*, a title that does not hold the same level of authority.³ As ancestors of the local religious and secular rulers respectively, Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh feature more prominently in Badakhshānī traditions and scholarship on subject. For that reason, the following paragraphs focus on narratives concerning these two figures.

At least five versions of the time of arrival and identity of Shāh Malang, Shāh Khāmūsh, Shāh Burhān and Shāh Kāshān have been preserved in various primary and secondary sources. The Badakhshānī sources do not explicitly identify the men as Ismā‘īlī *dā‘īs*, but scholars linked these figures with Ismā‘īlism on the basis of these sources. In the five versions presented by scholars and examined below, Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh are described as (1) Ismā‘īlī (or Iranian) *dā‘īs* who came to Badakhshān via India in the 11th and 12th centuries from Khurāsān (Sabzavār)⁴ or Iṣfahān; (2) Nizārī (Ismā‘īlī) *dā‘īs* who were sent by the Imāms of Alamūt the 12th and 13th century; (3) Ismā‘īlī *dā‘īs* who came to Badakhshān from Khurāsān or Shīrāz in the 13th century; (4) Sunnī propagandists from Bukhārā (probably) in the 7th century and *qalandars* or *dervishes* from Khurāsān in the 13th century; (5) Twelver Shī‘ī *dā‘īs* who arrived in Badakhshān in the 16th century from Iṣfahān. Apart from these, other versions of the tradition present these figures as Ismā‘īlī dervishes who were sent by a Fāṭimid Imām to Badakhshān at an unknown date from Ṭūs, Māzandarān and Sabzavār in Iran; and as dervishes who came to Badakhshān during the time of Imām Zayn al-‘Abidīn (d. 95/714), whom they served.

(1) Information for the first version, accepted by a group of scholars, comes from Faḏl ‘Alī Bek Surkhafsar’s *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān*. Hafizullah Emadi states that the two Iranian *dā‘īs*, Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh, visited Badakhshān several years after Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s death. According to this version, Shāh Khāmūsh was in Shughnān in 490/1098 when he married a daughter of the *mīr* of Shughnān. As Emadi also notes, “Shāh Khāmūsh and his four companions came to Shughnān via India.”⁵ Other scholars, including, most notably, Leonid N. Khariukov, also mention the local Badakhshān tradition according to which Ismā‘īlī preachers Shāh Malang, Shāh Burhān, Shāh

³ Bobrinskoĭ, "Sakta Ismailī‘ā," 4-5.

⁴ Sabzavār is the name of two towns of the eastern Iranian world. One of these towns in western Khurāsān was, together with Khusrūjird, an administrative district of Bayhaq, the name by which the entire district was generally known in medieval Islamic times. The modern town of Sabzavār lies on the highway connecting Tehran with Nīshāpūr and Mashhad. The second of these towns is in Harāt, in eastern Khurāsān. It was also known as Isfīzār or Asfīzār. It is now known as Shīndand, a town within the Farāh province of modern Afghanistan. Edmund C. Bosworth, "Sabzavār," in *EI2* (1995), 694-95. The hagiography does not specify which Sabzavār the dervishes came from. Sabzavār is associated with Ismā‘īlī figures in South Asia. For instance, according to Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, the Ismā‘īlī *pīr* Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. between 770-819/1369/1416) was sent to India from Sabzavār by Imām Islām Shāh (9th/15th). Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, *Khiṭābāt-i ‘āliyah*, ed. Hūshang Ujāqī (Bombay: Ismaili Society, 1963), 19-20, 42. Similarly, the great Ismā‘īlī *pīr* Pīr Shams (c. 12th-13th c.) is believed to have come from Sabzavār and is known as Ḥazrat Pīr Shamsuddīn Sabz(a)varī. See Zawahir Moir, "Hazrat Pīr Shamsuddin Sabzwari Multani," in *The Great Ismaili Heroes* (Karachi: Prince Aly S. Khan Colony Religious Night School, 1973), 83-86.

⁵ Shāh Khāmūsh was about 30 years old then as his date of birth is given 459/1066-67, but Emadi’s calculations into Gregorian (459/1079) are mistaken. This makes him 19 years old. Emadi, "The End of Taqiyya," 107-108.

Khāmūsh and Shāh Kāshān arrived in the Pamirs from Khurāsān sometime after Nāṣir-i Khusraw, most probably towards the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th centuries.⁶

Surkhafsar (or as he calls himself in the text, Mīrzā Fazl ‘Alī Bek Ḥājī Surkhafsar Dahīm al-Aḥmar) wrote the *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān* in 1325/1907 in the city of Osh, in present day Uzbekistan. As he mentions, the work was originally written by Sang Muḥammad Badakhshī and he updated it.⁷ There is insufficient information on Sang Muḥammad, except minor biographical notes mentioned in Boldyrev and Grigor’ev’s translation of the work. According to the translators, Sang Muḥammad came to Fayzābād in 1211/1796, i.e. in the fourth year of *amīr* Muḥammad-Shāh’s rule and probably joined the circle at the court known as *ahl al-kalām* or theologians. He completed the *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān* in the sixteenth year of Muḥammad-Shāh’s rule. Surkhafsar claims to have revised some inaccuracies in Sang Muḥammad’s work and to have expanded his narrative on the history of Badakhshān to the end of the rule of the Yārid dynasty.⁸ While Surkhafsar does not indicate where in the text his own account begins, after a detailed analysis of the manuscript, Boldyrev and Grigor’ev argue that Surkhafsar’s own narrative begins from 1205/1791. The first author, Sang Muḥammad, is credited with writing about the first part of the 230-year history and records events that had occurred during almost 150 years at and around the court of the *amīrs* of Badakhshān. Access to the *amīr* Muḥammad-Shāh’s archive also enabled Sang Muḥammad to use exact dates and produce a chronology without the use of oral sources.⁹ Unlike Sang Muḥammad, who had access to *amīr* Muḥammad-Shāh’s archive and produced his chronology, Surkhafsar draws heavily on oral sources or, as he puts it in the text, “the words I heard from just and old men who had witnessed and experienced the events.”¹⁰ In addition to the oral testimony, Surkhafsar apparently used two written sources. The first, which he names *Ba’zī Tavārikhāt*, he used to correct the purported errors he detected in Sang Muḥammad’s work. The second, importantly for our purposes, was what he names *Shajarat al-Sādāt*, containing the biography of Shāh Khāmūsh. Sang Muḥammad’s Sunnī background is clear. He had little sympathy for the Ismā’īlīs. Surkhafsar’s sectarian affiliation is less apparent. As he allowed the anti-Ismā’īlī statements of Sang Muḥammad to remain in the text, it is likely that he also was a Sunnī, or possibly, a Twelver Shī’ī. For instance, Sang Muḥammad writes the following in the *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān*:

“...The people of Shughnān, Rushān and Vakhān speak in different dialects and languages. However, they have a common language: when they converse with one another [they] use Persian. They and their tribe(s) belong to the community of Imām Ismā’īl, son of Ja’far Ṣādiq, and they are Ismā’īlīs, who have deviated from [true] knowledge, education and enlightenment...”¹¹

⁶ Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 109-110. Otambek Mastibekov also supports this version. Mastibekov, "The Leadership and Authority of Ismailis," 118.

⁷ Surkhafsar, *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 14. The actual author’s name is Muḥammad Riḏā, a scribe at the court of *amīr* Muḥammad-Shāh (r. 1206/1792-1223/1808). See Bezhan, "The Enigmatic Authorship," 110.

⁸ Surkhafsar, *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 99.

Although Surkhafsar dates the arrival of Shāh Khāmūsh in Shughnān to the 11th century (he supposedly married a daughter of Shughnān's ruler in 490/1096-97), nowhere in the *Tā'rikh-i Badakhshān* does he describe Shāh Khāmūsh as an Ismā'īlī. It is on the basis of the appendix ("Shāh Khāmūsh's biography – the ancestor of the *Shāhs* of Shughnān"), itself based on the *Shajarat al-Sādāt* that some scholars believe Shāh Khāmūsh and Shāh Malang came to Badakhshān in the 5th/11th century. According to the work, Shāh Khāmūsh, son of Sayyid Ḥaydar, was born in 459/1066-67 in Iṣfahān and died at about the age of seventy three in 531/1136.¹² It associates Shāh Khāmūsh with the famous Muslim saint 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī (d. 561/1166),¹³ who appears as his cousin. Surkhafsar also associates Shāh Khāmūsh with the famous Ṣūfī teacher Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 298/910)¹⁴ and relates that after miraculously transmitting his spiritual powers and knowledge to 'Abd al-Qādir and Shāh Khāmūsh, Junayd al-Baghdādī dispatched Shāh Khāmūsh to the "mountainous lands of Khatlān" where the latter would supposedly visit the tomb of Shāh Sanjar." As a *valī uvaysī* or an Uvaysī Ṣūfī, Shāh Khāmūsh receives instruction from the spirit of Junayd al-Baghdādī, who had been dead for more than a century and a half before Shāh Khāmūsh was born.¹⁵ Shāh Sanjar is likely a reference to the Saljūq sultan of that name who ruled in Khurāsān and northern Persia until his death in 552/1157. The choice of Sanjar may be deliberate here. Although the Saljūq sultan later sought peaceful relations with the Ismā'īlīs and did not encourage anti-Ismā'īlī campaigns,¹⁶ he was initially very hostile to the Ismā'īlīs.¹⁷ When he was still a *malik* of Khurāsān, he sent expeditions against the Ismā'īlīs in Ṭabas in Quhistān in 494/1101 and 497/1104. These expeditions destroyed Ṭabas and killed and enslaved

¹² Surkhafsar states that he derived Shāh Khāmūsh's date of birth from the numeric value of the expression *qādir-i qadīm* (*sana-i tavalludash az lafz-i qādir-i qadīm akhḡ karda mīshavad*), apparently used in the *Shajarat al-sādāt*. Surkhafsar, *Tā'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 120b. If the expression indicates the date of birth and Shāh Khāmūsh died when he was seventy three years old, then the year he died should be 532/1138.

¹³ The famous Ṣūfī 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (or Gīlānī) was born in 470/1077 in the Persian province of Gīlān south of the Caspian Sea. 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī was called *muḥyī al-dīn*, "the reviver of religion." Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 247. Surkhafsar, *Tā'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 118a-126b.

¹⁴ Detailed information on the life and works of Junayd al-Baghdādī can be found in A.H. Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd*, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series (London: Luzac, 1962).

¹⁵ Uvaysiyyah refers to a class of mystics in Islam who look for instruction from the spirit of a dead or physically absent person. This term is derived from the name of Uvays al-Qaranī (d. 37/657), who is supposed to have communicated with the Prophet Muḥammad by telepathy. From the 8th/14th century, the Uvaysī tradition acquires significance in the Naqshbandī brotherhood. The Uvaysiyyah was a popular movement in medieval Central Asia. For a study of Uvaysiyyah Ṣūfīs, see Julian Baldick, *Imaginary Muslims: The Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1993). See also A.S. Husaini, "Uways al-Qaranī and the Uwaysī Sufis," *The Moslem World* 57 (1967): 103-14. Other important studies on the Uvaysiyyah Ṣūfīs include Devin DeWeese, "The *Tadhkira-i Bughrā-khān* and the 'Uvaysī' Ṣūfīs of Central Asia: Notes in the Review of *Imaginary Muslims*," *Central Asiatic Journal* 40, no. 1 (1996): 87-127. Johan G.J. Ter Haar, "The Importance of the Spiritual Guide in the Naqshbandī Order," in *The Heritage of Sufism, The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500)*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (Oxford: Oneworld, 1999), 311-22.

¹⁶ 'Aṭā-Malik Juvaynī, *Tā'rikh-i jahān-gushāy*, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, vol. 3 (London: 1912-1917), 214-15; Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 342. M.G.S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 88, 100-2, 146 ff.

¹⁷ Sanjar's later rapprochement with the Ismā'īlīs was "apparently because of the conciliatory overtures of Ra'īs Muẓaffar." Ra'īs Muẓaffar (d. ca. 533/1139) was a supporter of the Ismā'īlī community. He became Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāh's representative at the castle of Girdkūh. See Shafīque N. Virani, "Alamūt, Ismailism and Khwāja Qāsim Tushtarī's *Recognizing God*," *Shii Studies Review* 2, no. 1-2 (2018): 203, forthcoming.

many Ismā‘īlīs in the region. In 520/1126, as a Saljūq sultan, he sent his vizier Mu‘īn al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Aḥmad (d. 521/1127) on a campaign against the Ismā‘īlīs in Quhistān.¹⁸

The *Tā‘rīkh-i Badakhshān* relates that Shāh Khāmūsh accompanied by Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān and Bābā ‘Umar Yumgī, reached the bank of the Oxus river through India, Chitrāl of Dardistān and a pass called Durah.¹⁹ From there, he went to Shughnān to preach his faith and converted the local people. After some time, Shāh Khāmūsh left for Khatlān through Vanj and Darvāz. In Vanj, he married the daughter of its ruler and had a son named Abū Yūsuf Shāh, whom he presented with a robe of *qalandars*. The *Tā‘rīkh-i Badakhshān* states that he converted the *kāfirs* of Khatlān to Islam (*musulmānī*) and summoned other teachers from Shughnān to Khatlān to teach Islam to the local people.²⁰

Overall, the *Tā‘rīkh-i Badakhshān* describes Shāh Khāmūsh as having summoned the people to Islam, without specifying a particular branch. Although the authors of the *Tā‘rīkh-i Badakhshān* do not specify the sectarian affiliation of Shāh Khāmūsh, they still associate him with a Sunnī sultān and more importantly with the Sunnī Ṣūfī masters such as al-Junayd and ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.

(2) Farhad Daftary refers a second version of the narrative that presents both Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh as Nizārī *dā‘īs*.²¹ This version, as we shall see, is supposedly based on “the local traditions” of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs.²² The sources underlying this version do not refer to Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh as Nizārīs (or Ismā‘īlīs) and do not use the word *dā‘ī*. Daftary does not indicate whether he prefers this version of the tradition to others. He simply mentions it as the only version of the tradition. However, some scholars, relying on his authority, describe them as Ismā‘īlī *dā‘īs*. For example, as Marcus Schadl writes: “... in the heyday of Alamūt, a fragile line of communication was reestablished by visiting *vakils* (representatives) and *dā‘īs* like Sayyid Shah Malang and, later, Mir Sayyid Hasan Shah Khamush, who introduced the Nizari *da‘wa* to Shughnan in northern Badakhshān.”²³ Schadl introduces the word *vakīl* into the narrative, something Daftary does not do. Similarly, Frank Bliss observes, “a so-called *dā‘ī* (summoner) from Alamut, named Sayyid

¹⁸ M.G.S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 88, 100-2, 146 ff. On Sanjar’s campaigns in Quhistān, see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, 109, 112-113, 132, 137, 224-225, 231. See also Abu’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī, *Tā‘rīkh-i Bayhaq*, ed. A. Bahmanyār (Tehran: 1317/1938), 271, 76.

¹⁹ Durah Pass, also called Salīm Pass, connects Badakhshān with Chitrāl in Pakistan. Bābā ‘Umar Yumgī features in many hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. On this person, see Chapters Six and Seven.

²⁰ There is a shrine (*maqbarah*) dedicated to Shāh Khāmūsh in the village of Langar in Mu‘minābād, Tajikistan. Although the actual tomb of Sultān Sanjar is in Merv, Turkmenistan, the local people in Mu‘minābād believe that an other shrine, located near Shāh Khāmūsh’s shrine, is Sultān Sanjar’s. See Gholib Ghoibov, *Ta‘rīkhī Khatlon az oghoz to imruz* (Dushanbe: Donish, 2006), 246-47. See also “Mazori Shohi Khomush,” in *Chahordah mazor* (Dushanbe: Bunēdi farhangī Tojikiston, 2001), 124-36. According to the *Shajarah* attached to the *Tā‘rīkh-i Badakhshān* of Sang Muḥammad and Surkhafsar, after the learned people came to Khatlān from Shughnān and converted the locals to Islam, the place became known as “qariyat al-Shulghān.” Surkhafsar, *Tā‘rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 125b. According to Ghoibov, this village, which is known as “Shughnānshahr” or “Shulghānshahr” is located about four kilometres to the south of Mu‘minābād. See Surkhafsar, *Tā‘rīkhī Badakhshon*, ed. Ghoibov, 176 n. 395.

²¹ Daftary, *A Short History*, 165. See also *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 452.

²² Daftary refers to the following sources on the origins and early development of Nizārī Ismā‘īlism in Central Asia: Surkhafsar, *Tā‘rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 227-53. Shāh‘zādah, *Tā‘rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 87-94. Semēnov, “Istoriia Shughnana.”

Shāh Malang, is said to have set himself up as ruler of Shughnān, followed by a second *dā'īs* named Mīr Sayyid Ḥasan Shāh Khāmūsh.²⁴

Daftary states that Central Asian Ismā'īlīs evidently recognized the Nizārī imamate during the late Alamūt period as a result of the activities of *dā'īs* sent from Qūhistān.²⁵ Other scholars also present this version. For example, Edmund Bosworth mentions that Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh were among other Nizārī Ismā'īlī *dā'īs* or propagandists,²⁶ who had been sent to Badakhshān by the “Grand Masters” in Alamūt.²⁷ Similarly, Wilferd Madelung observes that the “local tradition in Shughnān mentions two *dā'īs*, Sayyid Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh, who were sent by the imām.”²⁸ As Madelung mentions this in the context of the Upper Oxus Ismā'īlīs' recognition of “the Nizārī imamate before the end of the Alamūt period,” the Imām he refers to is obviously a Nizārī Imām who lived sometime before 654/1256 (although the identity of the Imām is not specified). In short, this group of scholars dates the arrival of Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh in Badakhshān to either the 12th or 13th century. Meanwhile, Daftary and Bliss, who quotes him, present the tradition preserved in Shughnān, which dates it to the middle of the 12th century,²⁹ Bosworth and Madelung date the arrival of Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh in Badakhshān to the 13th century.³⁰ They refer to Sang Muḥammad Badakhshī and Surkhafsar's *Tā'rikh-i Badakhshān*, Muḥammad'zādah and Shāh'zādah's *Tā'rikh-i Badakhshān* and Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh's *Tā'rikh-i Shughnān*, which was written by the local Ismā'īlī Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh in 1912 at the request of the Russian scholar Aleksandr Semēnov, who subsequently published his Russian translation of it in 1916.³¹ These sources are the ones referred to by Daftary, on whose authority some other scholars rely.³² I have already examined the Sunnī account of Sang Muḥammad Badakhshī and Surkhafsar's *Tā'rikh-i Badakhshān*. Similar to this account, the Ismā'īlī authors of the second *Tā'rikh-i Badakhshān*, Ākhūnd Sulaymān Qurbān'zādah (d. 1373/1953) and Sayyid Shāh Fiṭūr Muḥabbat Shāh'zādah (d. 1379/1959),³³ do not describe the four men as Nizārī Ismā'īlī *dā'īs* sent from Alamūt. Muḥammad'zādah and Shāh'zādah report that Shāh Malang, Shāh

²³ Schadl, "The Shrine of Nasir Khusraw," 72.

²⁴ Bliss, *Social and Economic Change in the Pamirs*, 62. Similarly, Mastibekov incorrectly cites Daftary as referring to these men as *dā'īs* and states that they were sent to Badakhshān by the Nizārī Imāms of the Alamūt period. Mastibekov, "The Leadership and Authority of Ismailis," 118.

²⁵ Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 451-52.

²⁶ It is quite possible that C.E. Bosworth has Shāh Burhān and Shāh Kāshān in mind in saying “other Nizārī Ismā'īlī *dā'īs*”. Bosworth, "Shughnān."

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Madelung, *EI2*, vol. IV, 198.

²⁹ Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 452. Daftary, *A Short History*, 165. Bliss, *Social and Economic Change*, 62.

³⁰ Bosworth. "Shughnān," in *EI2*, 459-6. Madelung, *EI2*, vol. IV, 198.

³¹ Semēnov, "Istoriia Shugnana."

³² Daftary, *A Short History*, 165. See also Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 452.

³³ Shāh'zādah, *Tā'rikh-i Badakhshān*.

Khāmūsh, Shāh Kāshān and Shāh Burhān, set out as *qalandars* from Iṣfahān and Kāshān³⁴ to travel the world to find a suitable place for permanent residence. They write:

“From old men it is known that from the region of Iṣfahān and Kāshān, which is in Iran, four *qalandars* set out to travel the world to find a suitable place for permanent residence. The names of these *qalandars* should be mentioned: the first was Sayyid Muḥammad Iṣfahānī, known as Shāh Kāshān, the second was Sayyid Shāh Malang, the third Sayyid Shāh Khāmūsh, and the fourth Shāh Burhān-i Valī. They arrived in Shīva of Badakhshān and liked the climate of Shughnān.”³⁵

Similarly, Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh’s *Tā’rīkh-i Shughnān* does not describe Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh as Nizārī *dā’īs* sent from Alamūt. The author begins his account with the Chinese rule in Shughnān, for which he does not provide dates. During this time, the local people belonged to different religious confessions: some were followers of Ismā’īlism (*Ismā’īlīyyah*), some followed Twelver Shī’īs (*iṣnā’ashariyyah*), some idol-worshippers (*but’parast*) and half of the population were Sunnīs.³⁶ We are told that after the Chinese, fire-worshippers (*ātash’parast*) came to rule in the region. He reports from “learned people” that the ruler was Rīv, nicknamed Farhād. The fire-worshippers converted the people to their religion. This was the situation until the arrival of the *Shāh* of the dervishes, Shāh Malang, from the family of the Prophet. Having toppled Rīv Farhād with the power of his prayer, Shāh Malang set out on the dervish path. After Shāh Malang, Shāh Khāmūsh arrived from Shīrāz. He became the ruler of Shughnān and ruled for six years. This holy man then left Shughnān, but a certain ‘Abdū Muḥammad, a disciple (*murīd*) of Shāh Malang, succeeded him to the throne of Shughnān. ‘Abdū Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Shāh Muḥammad Bīk, who was in turn succeeded by Shāh Muḥammad Ḥusayn. After Shāh Muḥammad Ḥusayn, Shāh Nazar Bīk became the next ruler of Shughnān. Shāh Nazar Bīk did not have any male offspring. Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh writes that the reign of the descendants of ‘Abdū Muḥammad lasted until 1193/1779. Some time after this date, a descendant of Shāh Khāmūsh, named Shāh Amīr Bīk, appeared in Shughnān from the west. The people of Shughnān gladly accepted him as a ruler. We are then told that his son Shāh Vanjī succeeded to the throne of Shughnān after Shāh Amīr Bīk.³⁷

³⁴ Kāshān, especially after the Muḥammadshāhī Imām Shāh Tāhir (d. 952/1545) took residence in it, became the place of Muḥammadshāhī Ismā’īlīs. The poet Amrī Shīrāzī who, according to Maryam Mu’izzī, was probably a Muḥammadshāhī Ismā’īlī and whose poems are famous in Badakhshān lived in the vicinity of Kāshān. She also surmises that Sayyid Muḥammad Iṣfahānī, i.e. Shāh Kāshān, may have been a Muḥammadshāhī Ismā’īlī. Mu’izzī, *Ismā’īlīyyah-i Badakhshān*, 165-66.

³⁵ Shāh’zādah, *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 87. The Tajik scholar, Ḥ. Pirumshoev’s translation of this passage is mostly correct, but instead of “old men” he translates it as “historians.” He also translates “*qalandar*” as “wandering dervishes.” He changes the ending (e.g. omits the lake *Shīva*): “From earlier historians it is known that from the region of Isfahan and the locality of Kashan, which is in Iran, four wandering dervishes set forth in search of a suitable place for permanent residence. The first was called Sayyid Muhammad Isfahani and was known as Shah Kashan, the second was Sayyid Shah Malang, the third Sayyid Shah Khamush, and the fourth Shah Burhan-i Wali. They travelled abroad and eventually came to Shughnan. They took a liking to Shughnan and its natural surroundings.” Pirumshoev, “The Pamirs and Badakhshan,” 226.

³⁶ Semënov, “Istoriia Shugnana,” 2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 5-9. The *Tā’rīkh-i Shughnān* further relates about other rulers who succeeded Shāh Vanjī up to Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān, the last ruler of Shughnān who died in 1883.

As we can see, the *Tā'rikh-i Shughnān* simply describes Shāh Malang as the *shāh* of dervishes, who continued living as a dervish after toppling Rīv, the fire-worshiper and the ruler of Shughnān. According to this account, Shāh Khāmūsh came to Shughnān from Shīrāz and, after ruling in Shughnān for six years returned back to his home. He is not described as a Nizārī *dā'ī* sent from Alamūt. Regarding Shāh Malang, the author mentions that he continued on the path of the dervishes. It is only in the footnote that Semēnov mentions that, according to the explanation of the author of the *Tā'rikh-i Shughnān*, Shāh Malang, who originally came from Khurāsān, had been sent to Shughnān to preach Ismā'īlism by the contemporary “Aga Khan,”³⁸ i.e. the Ismā'īlī Imām. Although the title of the Āghā Khān came later, the Ismā'īlīs simply meant the Imām by it.

Leaving aside the fact that the nature of hagiographical sources makes them less concerned with “historical facts,” for the sake of argument against scholars who rely on these sources for information, it is worth noting that, according to Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh, following the departure of Shāh Khāmūsh from Shughnān and his succession by ‘Abdū Muḥammad, three further generations of the latter’s family ruled in Shughnān up to the year 1193/1779. This makes it impossible for Shāh Khāmūsh to have arrived in the 12th or 13th century. Nevertheless, the three sources (with the exception of the footnote provided by Semēnov) to which Daftary, Bosworth and other scholars refer, do not describe Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh³⁹ as Nizārī *dā'īs* who came to Shughnān in the 12th and 13th centuries and were dispatched to the region of Badakhshān by the Imām(s) of Alamūt. Their representation of these figures remains ambiguous at best.

(3) Vladimir Minorskiĭ, who claims to have based his information on the *Tā'rikh-i Shughnān*, writes that a certain Sayyid Shāh Malang, sent from Khurāsān by the “Grand-Master” of the Ismā'īlīs, overthrew the local ruler.⁴⁰ He further adds that another missionary, Shāh Khāmūsh followed Shāh Malang from Shīrāz. Minorskiĭ also refers to T. D. Forsyth in providing the date of Shāh Khāmūsh’s arrival in Shughnān, which is 665/1266.⁴¹ Forsyth, whose account is introduced and examined below, does not describe Shāh Khāmūsh as an Ismā'īlī missionary, but gives the date of his arrival as 665/1266.⁴² Minorskiĭ, apparently on the basis of Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh’s *Tā'rikh-i Shughnān*, states that “Farhad Rew... was overthrown by a certain Saiyid Shah Malang sent from Khorasan by the Grand Master of the Ismā'īlīs.”⁴³ However, as we have seen above, nowhere does Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh mention that the leader (“the Grand-Master” in Minorskiĭ’s term) of the Ismā'īlīs sent Shāh Malang to Shughnān. Based on the same work, Minorskiĭ also writes that Shāh Malang came from

³⁸ Ibid., 7.

³⁹ This group of scholars mention only Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh, but the primary sources similarly do not portray Shāh Burhān and Shāh Kāshān as Nizārī Ismā'īlī *dā'īs*.

⁴⁰ Vladimir Minorskiĭ, “Shughnān,” *EI2*, vol. 4, 390.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² T.D. Forsyth, *Report of a Mission to Yarkund in 1873* (Calcutta: 1875), 282. “There were already at this time Mussulmen in the neighbouring country of Darwaz, A.H. 665, and on the arrival of the Shah-i-Khamosh many people flocked thence into Shighnan.”

Shīrāz. However, as we have already seen, the year 665/1266 that Minorskiĭ indicates in referring to Forsyth is not compatible with the account of the *Tā'rikh-i Shughnān*.

(4) The *shāhs* or *mīrs* of Shughnān present Shāh Khāmūsh as a Sunnī *pīr* who converted people to Sunnism. According to their version of the story, he came to Shughnān from Bukhārā. The British agent Ney Elias (d. 1897) travelled through the region in 1885-86, and recorded the version of these rulers of Shughnān as follows:

“The family of the Shighni Mīrs trace their origin to a certain Shāh-i-Khamosh, a Darweesh and Sayad of Bokhara, who appears to have first converted the people to Sunnī Mohamadanism, in his capacity of Pir, and then to have become Mir over them. Long afterwards the people became Shiah, though the family of the Mīrs remained Sunnī till the last. When Shāh-i-Khamosh lived I have not been able to ascertain, and there are no written histories of the country. Probably it was about the same time as the conversion of the Badakhshis, or some time in the seventh century; this, at all events, is what the [Sunnī] Khan Mullah of Badakhshān thinks probable.”⁴⁴

The time of Elias' sojourn corresponds with the beginning of the rule of the Sunnī Bukhārā *atabīgs* in Badakhshān. Because Shughnān was under the jurisdiction and control of the Sunnī Bukhārāns, it is quite possible that the *mīrs* wished to portray Bukhārā as the original home of Shāh Khāmūsh. This is another good example of the way elements of narratives change in accordance with the socio-political environment. However, there are also other versions of the narrative recorded from the *mīrs* and *shāhs* of Shughnān. In 1870, the British explorer Henry Trotter's assistant surveyor was in Shughnān (he even reached Vamār) and met with Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, the *shāh* of Shughnān from 1287-1300 to 1871-1883, recording the following account. The same is also provided in Ivan Minaev's *Svedeniĭa o stranakh po verkhov'iam Amu-Dar'i*, which is based on Thomas Gordon's *The Roof of the World* in which it was included.⁴⁵ As Gordon writes,

“According to Shighni accounts, the family of the Shāh of Shighnan originally came from Persia, and the first arrival from that country (said to have been between 500 and 700 years ago) was the Shah-i-Khamosh, who was a Syud and a Fakir. The country was at that time in the hands of the Zardushtis (ancient Guebers – fire-worshippers), a powerful and learned race. The Shah-i-Khamosh commenced to teach these people the Koran. There were already at this time Musulmans in the neighbouring country of Darwaz, and many of them flocked into Shighnan as followers of the Shah-i-Khamosh. In about ten years he had converted large numbers of the people, and a religious war broke out, which ended in this leader wresting the kingdom from Kakhaha, the ruler of Shighnan and Roshan under the Zardushtis, the seat of whose government was then at Balkh. After this the teaching of the people continued, and in ten years more all had been converted to the Shiah form of the Muḥammadan faith.”⁴⁶

This account, like the other versions examined above, mentions that Shāh Khāmūsh came from Persia. It describes him as a *sayyid* and a *faqīr* who taught the people of Shughnān the Qur'ān. This

⁴³ Minorskiĭ, “Shughnān,” in *EI2*.

⁴⁴ Elias, “Report of a Mission,” 47. Although it is not clear, it is quite possible that Ney Elias meant 7th century AH and not 7th century CE.

⁴⁵ Gordon, *The Roof of the World*, 51, 156-57.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 141.

account also states that Shāh Khāmūsh preached Shī'ism in Shughnān and Rūshān. This suggests either that there were two versions of the tradition among the *shāhs* or that they simply meant (similar to Ney Elias) that the people became Shī'īs, but the family of the *shāhs* remained Sunnīs.

Minaev, unlike Gordon, does not explicitly mention Zoroastrians, but simply writes “fire-worshippers” (*ognepoklonniki*). Also, he mentions the year 665/1266 as the date of the arrival of Shāh Khāmūsh in Shughnān.⁴⁷ Both Captain Trotter and Gordon were members of the Forsyth mission. Hence, they provide exactly the same information, but Forsyth was probably the first author to mention the year 665/1266 for the arrival of Shāh Khāmūsh in Shughnān.⁴⁸ Ney Elias’ assumption that Shāh Khāmūsh may have arrived in the 7th century is also based on the version of the *shāhs* of Shughnān. It is possible that Ney Elias meant the 7th century AH, and not the 7th century CE, because Minaev⁴⁹ and Forsyth,⁵⁰ providing the same account, place the arrival of Shāh Khāmūsh in Shughnān in 665 AH, i.e., in the 7th hijrī century.

In short, Ney Elias, Captain Trotter, Thomas Gordon and Ivan Minaev’s account is based on the versions of the *shāhs* or *mīrs* of Shughnān. This is one of the first accounts of the tradition, reported much earlier than the other sources examined. At least in one of the versions, the Sunnī rulers of Shughnān do not portray Shāh Khāmūsh, whom they considered to be their ancestor, as a Sunnī. With the death of ‘Abd al-Ghiyās Khān, son of the last ruler of Shughnān Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān (d. 1300/1883), this version of the story was largely forgotten. However, the fact that it once existed should not be ignored. None of the scholars who refer to Shāh Khāmūsh mention this account, which is noteworthy in that it shows how one figure is contested in Badakhshān between the Ismā‘īlīs, Sunnīs and possibly Ṣūfīs and how the narratives change according to changing contexts.

(5) Apart from the versions of the stories outlined above, others are supported by scholars who believe that Shāh Malang, Shāh Khāmūsh, Shāh Burhān and Shāh Kāshān arrived in Badakhshān in the 11th/16th century. The late Tajik scholar Baḥodur Iskandarov (d. 2006) stated that they arrived in Shughnān in 1581.⁵¹ He claimed to have based this view on the oral tradition, the *Tā’rīkh-i Badakhshān* of Ākhūnd Sulaymān Qurbān’zādah and Sayyid Shāh Fiṭūr Muḥabbat Shāh’zādah, the *Shajarah* (genealogy) of the Shāh-Kāshānī *sayyids* and Sayyid Farrukh Shāh’s (d. 1307/1889) historical chronicle *Sarā-yi Dilrabā*. Iskandarov writes that, according to these sources, it is clear that in approximately 1000 AH⁵², the four “brothers” Sayyid Muḥammad Iṣfahānī (Shāh-i Kāshān), Sayyid Shāh Malang, Shāh Burhān and Shāh Khāmūsh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān came to Shughnān from Iṣfahān. These four brothers, we are told, were dressed in dervish attire. As the Ṣafavids were then in power in

⁴⁷ Minaev, *Svedeniā*, 51, 156-157.

⁴⁸ Forsyth, *Report of a Mission*, 280.

⁴⁹ Minaev, *Svedeniā*, 51, 156-157.

⁵⁰ Forsyth, *Report of a Mission*, 280.

⁵¹ Iskandarov, *Sotsial’no*, 60.

Iran, Iskandarov assumes that the four brothers may have been supporters of their branch of Shī'ism [i.e. a form of Twelver Shī'ism].⁵³ He believes that the arrival of the four “brothers” was undoubtedly linked with the spread of Shī'ism, and states that their presence strengthened Ismā'īlism in the region.⁵⁴ Following Iskandarov, Abusaid Shokhumorov (d. 1999) also believed that the four men were Shī'ī missionaries who arrived in Badakhshān in the 16th century.⁵⁵

Pirumshoev, in a recent article, accepts most of Iskandarov's version and writes, “According to a tradition to which nearly all authorities on Pamir refer, in 1581 four brothers dressed as dervishes arrived in Shughnān from Iṣfahān, having passed through Badakhshān.”⁵⁶ According to him, the *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān* of Ākhūnd Sulaymān Qurbān'zādah and Sayyid Shāh Fiṭūr Muḥabbat Shāh'zādah relates this tradition, and the same story concerning the arrival of the brothers in Shughnān, albeit under a slightly different guise, is narrated by the author of the *Ta'rikh-i Shughnān*, Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh.⁵⁷ Although it is somewhat less explicit in Iskandarov's book (as he allowed for the possibility that these men may have been Twelver Shī'īs), Pirumshoev believes that Iskandarov has offered “a well-substantiated argument that these brothers were in fact the propagators of the Ismā'īlī doctrine.”⁵⁸ Most Tajik scholars (Pirumshoev, Shokhumorov and others) who wrote after Iskandarov accept this version. As we have seen above, according to Iskandarov, the four men arrived in Shughnān in 1581.⁵⁹ He has supposedly based this view on the *Sarā-yi Dilrabā*, written in the middle of the 19th century by the then *pīr* of Shughnān, Sayyid Farrukh Shāh (d. 1307/1889). According to this “historical narrative” (*istoricheskoe povestvovanie*), the throne of Shughnān (*shugnanskiĭ prestol*) was an inheritance from father to son. After Shāh Khudādād, who, we are told, in Muḥammad'zādah and Muḥabbat Shāh'zādah's *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, was the offspring of Shāh Khāmūsh and his wife, the daughter of the previous ruler of Shughnān,⁶⁰ the next ruler was 'Abd al-Raḥmān. From the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān to the reign of the last ruler of Shughnān, Yūsuf 'Alī Shāh,⁶¹ the dynasty was in power for over three hundred years.⁶² As the last ruler of Shughnān Yūsuf 'Alī Khān died in 1300/1883, this led Iskandarov to conclude that the dynasty ruled from 1581 to 1883. The *Sarā-yi Dilrabā* itself does not provide dates for the arrival of Shāh Khāmūsh or the other

⁵² The text has a typographical error: instead of 1000 Hījri, it has 100 Hījri. Iskandarov converts this to 1581 CE, which is likely a typographical error for 1591.

⁵³ Iskandarov, *Sotsial'no*, 57.

⁵⁴ Iskandarov does not explain how the presence of the Twelver Shī'ī preachers strengthened Ismā'īlism in Shughnān. Ibid., 58.

⁵⁵ Abusaid Shokhumorov, *Pamir-strana ariev* (Dushanbe: 1997), 74-75.

⁵⁶ Pirumshoev, “The Pamirs and Badakhshan,” 226.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 227.

⁵⁹ Iskandarov, *Sotsial'no*, 60.

⁶⁰ Shāh'zādah, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 88.

⁶¹ This ruler was called Yūsuf 'Alī Khān (d. 1300/1883) and not Yūsuf 'Alī Shāh (d. 1350/1931). The former was the *mīr* or *shāh*, but the latter was the *pīr*.

⁶² Iskandarov, *Sotsial'no*, 60.

figures.⁶³

It should be mentioned in passing that, as far as we know, none of the written sources describe the four men as brothers. However, an early account recorded in 1883 by the Russian scholar and consul in Qāshghar, Nikolaĭ Fēdorovich Petrovskĭi (d. 1908), cited by both A.V. Stanishevskĭi and A. Semēnov, mentions Shāh Malang, Shāh Khāmūsh and Shāh Burhān as brothers.⁶⁴ According to Petrovskĭi these three brothers of unknown origin came to Shughnān at the time of the ruler Farhād.⁶⁵

As we have already seen, according to Iskandarov, these “four brothers” came to Shughnān dressed in dervish attire. Although Iskandarov believed their presence strengthened Ismā‘īlism, he does not rule out the possibility that they may have been Twelver Shī‘īs.⁶⁶ Pirumshoev accepts most of Iskandarov’s conclusions. However, his view that “all authorities in Pamir” refer to this tradition is mistaken. The *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* of Ākhūnd Sulaymān Qurbān’zādah and Sayyid Shāh Fiṭūr Muḥabbat Shāh’zādah, to which he refers, does not provide a date for the arrival of these four dervishes. Although this *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* states that the four men came from Iṣfahān and Kāshān, it does not describe them as Ismā‘īlī propagandists, nor does it say they were “brothers.”⁶⁷ Pirumshoev further writes:

Practically the same story – although in a slightly different guise – concerning the arrival of the brothers in Shughnan is told by the author of the *History of Shughnan*, Sayyid Haydar Shah. He recounts that Sayyid Shah Malang of Khurasan was sent to spread the Ismaili doctrine in Shughnan. This version has been endorsed by a number of scholars, notably the story that Shah Khamosh founded a dynasty of local Shahs following the dissemination of the Ismaili doctrine in Shughnan; within 10 years he is said to have convinced the local inhabitants to abandon fire worship and accept the Ismaili version of Islam. On the basis of the versions current among the local inhabitants at the beginning of the twentieth century, Minaev believed that the dynasty of local rulers was descended from the four brothers who had arrived from Khurasan: ‘One of them became the *hakim* [governor] in Kanjut, the second in Wakhan, the third in Shahdara and the fourth in Darwaz’.⁶⁸

Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh, just like Muḥammad’zādah and Muḥabbat Shāh’zādah, does not say that the four men were “brothers.” As we have seen already, Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh does not claim in his *Ta’rīkh-i Shughnān* that Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh were sent to spread the Ismā‘īlī doctrine in Shughnān. It is not explicitly stated in the *Ta’rīkh-i Shughnān* that Shāh Khāmūsh converted the “fire-worshippers” to the “Ismaili version of Islam.” The reference to Shāh Khāmūsh’s conversion of people in Shughnān and Rūshān and fighting fire-worshippers within 10 years is similar to the account

⁶³ Iloliev also notes that “A local Pamiri historian, Sayyid Farukhshāh, in his book *Sahrā-yi Dilrābā* (cited in Iskandarov 1983) maintains that in approximately 1581 three dervish-brothers, Shāh Khāmūsh, Shāh Malang and Shāh Burhan, emigrated from Iṣfahan to Badakhshan and later became involved not only in the religious but also the political life of the region. They claimed to be the ancestors of all *pirs* and *mirs* of the Pamir principalities.” Abdulmamad Iloliev, “Popular culture and religious metaphor: saints and shrines in Vakhān region of Tajikistan,” *Central Asian Survey* 27:1 (2008): 63. Note that Iskandarov has *Sarā-yi Dilrābā*, not *Sahrā-yi Dilrābā*. Iskandarov, *Sotsial’no*, 60.

⁶⁴ Stanishevskĭi, *Izmailizm na Pamire*, 10. Semēnov, “Istoriia Shughnana,” 4.

⁶⁵ “Istoriia Shughnana,” 4.

⁶⁶ Iskandarov, *Sotsial’no*, 58.

⁶⁷ Shāh’zādah, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 88.

⁶⁸ Pirumshoev, “The Pamirs and Badakhshan,” 226.

given by Henry Trotter, which was examined above. However, even in that account there is nothing about Shāh Khāmūsh's preaching the "Ismaili version of Islam." It is also noteworthy that it is not Minaev, but Bobrinskoĭ, who mentions the information given to him by an Ismā'īlī in Shākh'darah, according to which the descendants of the "four brothers from Khurāsān" became the rulers (*hākims*) of Kanjut, Vakhān, Shākh'darah and Darvāz.⁶⁹ However, it is not clear who these four brothers were.

In addition to the five versions of the Badakhshānī tradition about the identity, place of origin and time of arrival in Badakhshān of Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh's (as well as Shāh Burhān and Shāh Kāshān), we come across other Ismā'īlī sources that associate them with Ismā'īlī Imāms. An unknown author composed one of these sources in 1932.⁷⁰ According to it, Ismā'īlism was widely spread among the local Shughnānīs after Nāṣir-i Khusraw. A Fāṭimid Imām then sent four preachers from Khurāsān: Shāh Khāmūsh from the town of "Mān-i Zindarān" (probably Māzandarān),⁷¹ Shāh Malang from the town of Sabzavār, Shāh Kāshān from the town of "Mān-i Zindarān" and Shāh Burhān from the town of Ṭūs.⁷² The source describes Shāh Khāmūsh as the most influential of these four preachers, who, with the help of the Ismā'īlīs, toppled the local ruler named Rīv-i Farhād. Shāh Khāmūsh was acclaimed the ruler and became not only the spiritual, but also the secular leader of Shughnān. Subsequently, Shāh Khāmūsh, together with some seventy families, moved to Kūlāb (a region in modern-day Tajikistan), where his tomb is currently located and the descendants of the seventy families, having converted Sunnism, lost connection with Shughnān. After the descendants of Shāh Khāmūsh became Sunnīs, the leadership of the Ismā'īlīs transferred entirely to the descendants of Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān, Shāh Burhān and another *pīr* named Mīr-i Gul Surkh. Shāh Burhān did not leave descendants, but the offspring of Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān and the *pīr* Mīr-i Gul Surkh, up to now, represent the learned, religious leaders of the Ismā'īlīs in the region.⁷³

It is not clear whether the author of this anonymous text of 1932 was an Ismā'īlī or not, but it is obvious that it is based on the local tradition. It is the only version that presents Shāh Khāmūsh, who is introduced in several accounts as an Uvaysī Ṣūfī, Sunnī and Shī'ī, explicitly as an Ismā'īlī preacher was sent to Badakhshān by a Fāṭimid Imām. It is not an accident that this version found currency during Soviet times. The Ismā'īlīs did not need to present the figures in ambiguous terms once the socio-political environment had changed. In the Soviet period, the Ismā'īlīs who no longer feared any repercussions from the once dominant Sunnīs, openly claimed or re-claimed all the four dervishes as Ismā'īlīs.

⁶⁹ Bobrinskoĭ, *Gor̄tsy*, 119. Iskandarov, *Soṣial'no*, 59. Although Pirumshoev provides a reference to Bobrinskoĭ's *Gor̄tsy*, for some reason he says it was Minaev who believed this. See Pirumshoev, "The Pamirs and Badakhshan," 229.

⁷⁰ Anonymous, "Iz dokumenta otnosiashchegosia k istorii Zapadnogo Pamira (1932 g.)," in Khariukov, *Anglo-russkoe sopernichestvo*, 218-231.

⁷¹ "Mopi zindaran," a typographical error in Khariukov.

⁷² Shāh Burhān's shrine is presently located in the village of Tusyān in Shākh'darah. According to the local people, the name Tusyān is derived from Ṭūs.

⁷³ *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 218-219.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, I have treated these hagiographical narratives extensively here primarily to show that elements in the narratives change, depending on the socio-political contexts and identity of those who tell them. While the Sunnīs, at least in one version, openly associated Shāh Khāmūsh and the other figures with Sunnism and Ṣūfism, the Ismāʿīlīs mostly represent them as dervishes, *qalandars* and *sayyids*. Even in 1916, the author of the *Taʿrīkh-i Shughnān*, who apparently told Semēnov that the Āghā Khān of the time dispatched Shāh Malang, the ancestor of the Ismāʿīlī *pīrs*, he did not incorporate this information into the actual text. Only later, by the 1930s, did the Ismāʿīlīs openly call, not only Shāh Malang, but also Shāh Khāmūsh Ismāʿīlīs. Why is this the case? This could only be explained only through the concept of *taqiyyah* or pious circumspection.

4.2 Pious Circumspection and Badakhshānī Hagiography

During the Soviet period, the Ismāʿīlīs no longer needed to practice *taqiyyah* for fear of those Sunnīs who were hostile to them. Whatever the historical religious persuasion of these four figures, the Ismāʿīlīs could now more openly identify them with Ismāʿīlism, without describing them with general terms such as *qalandar*, dervish or *sayyid*. However, it is important to note that just because such terms were used, this does not mean the Ismāʿīlīs regarded them as Ṣūfīs. This vocabulary was common to both Ismāʿīlism and Ṣūfism. It is quite possible that these four men were indeed Nizārī Ismāʿīlī preachers but were not identified specifically in situations of pious circumspection. Likewise, it is possible that the Ismāʿīlī narratives deliberately present these foundational figures in terms that they shared with Ṣūfism, which was a common practice for the Nizārīs in the post-Alamūt period.

The presence of Ṣūfism in Badakhshān in the 19th and preceding centuries is a significant phenomenon to consider at this point. A number of Ṣūfī orders, particularly the Nurbakhshī, Naqshbandī, Qādirī, Chishtī and the Kubravī traditions, were prominent in the region. Mīrzā Muḥammad Dūghlāt informs us of the presence of the Nurbakhshīs in Badakhshān in the 16th century.⁷⁴ As demonstrated below, the Yārid *mīrs* themselves belonged to the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqah*. Among the Naqshbandī masters, Mawlānā Naqshbandī Mīr Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Badakhshī or Ghiyāṣī (1117-1182//1705-1768)⁷⁵ served at the court of the Yārid *mīr* Sulṭān Shāh, who, as we have seen, was particularly hostile to the Ismāʿīlīs.⁷⁶ Ghiyāṣī was born in the village of Hisārak, located in the heart of the district of the city of Jurm in Badakhshān, but his ancestors emigrated from the village of Dabhīd

⁷⁴ Dūghlāt, *Tāʿrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. A. Ghaffārī Fard, 627.

⁷⁵ Ḥabibov has 1181/1767. Ḥabibov, *Az taʿrīkhī ravobiti adabii Badakhshon bo Hinduston*, 128. Badakhshī, *Armughān-i Badakhshān*, 2-6.

⁷⁶ Surkhafsar, *Tāʿrīkh-i Badakhshān*, 49b. See also Ikrām al-Dīn Amīrī, *Ghiyāṣī: ʿArif-i Kāmil va Shāʿir-i Vārasta* (Dushanbe: 2000).

near Samarqand.⁷⁷ As described above, Badakhshān of the early 18th century witnessed a period of political transition, and the birth year of Ghiyāṣī corresponds to the completion of the fiftieth anniversary of the reign of the Yārid Mīr Yār Bīk (1068-1119/1657-1707).

Yār Bīk is described as a *sayyid* and *pīr* of the Yaftal in Badakhshān.⁷⁸ Designated by local historians, including Sang Muḥammad and Shāh ‘Abd Allāh, as the liberator of Badakhshān and the instigator of struggle for independence against the Tīmūrid rulers and the Ashtarkhānids, he came from the religious dynasty of Naqshbandī Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam, Aḥmad al-Kāsānī al-Dahbīdī (d. 949/1542).⁷⁹ According to Ikrām al-Dīn Amīrī, a Ṣūfī named Makhdūm Ṣāhib Awliyā’ Ma‘ṣūm Hindūstānī initiated him.⁸⁰ The *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* mentions that a certain Shaykh Muḥammad Amān settled in Fayzābād during the reign of Yār Bīk.⁸¹ By the time of Sulṭān Shāh (r. 1160-1179//1747-1765), a high Ṣūfī culture was developed in Badakhshān, and the three brotherhoods of Chishtiyyah, Qādiriyyah and Naqshbandiyyah, which had been introduced primarily from neighboring India, were present in the region.⁸² Many poets gathered at his court in Fayzābād and it is there that Ghiyāṣī composed his poetic and mystical work. His *Dīvān* (*Dīvān-i Ghiyāṣī*) is popular among the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs to this day.⁸³ Ghiyāṣī also became the Ṣūfī master of Sulṭān Shāh himself.⁸⁴ When the Qattaghānīs of Qunduz captured the latter in 1179/1765, Ghiyāṣī continued to advise the son of the imprisoned *shāh*, Muḥammad Shāh for three years. According to the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, “four hundred *qalandars* were at his service” in the region.⁸⁵ After Ghiyāṣī’s death, a mausoleum was erected over his tomb, which was known as ‘Pīr-i dast’gīr’ (The Helping Pīr).⁸⁶ As he was one of the greatest Ṣūfī saints, dubbed as *la’l-i kūh-i ‘irfān-i Badakhshān*, or ‘the ruby of the mountain of gnosis of Badakhshān,’ his tomb became a centre of worship where the faithful came for various rituals.⁸⁷

Apart from Ghiyāṣī, other famous Ṣūfīs were active during the 18th and 19th century in Badakhshān. The *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* mentions a certain ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, the *shaykh* of *shaykhs*, a miracle worker who had many followers during the reign of the Yārid Mīrzā Nabāt (1161/1748).⁸⁸ The

⁷⁷ Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 49b-50a. According to Shāh ‘Abd Allāh Badakhshī, Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn studied in India. Badakhshī, *Armughān-i Badakhshān*, 2.

⁷⁸ Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 2b.

⁷⁹ Alexandre Papas, "Soufis du Badakhshān: un renouveau confrérique entre l’Inde et l’Asie centrale," *Cahiers d’Asie centrale* 11/12 (2004): 87-102. On Aḥmad al-Kāsānī al-Dahbīdī, see B. Babajanov, "Biographies of Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam Aḥmad al-Kāsānī al-Dahbīdī, Shaykh of the Sixteenth-Century Naqshbandīya," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 4, no. 2 (1999): 4-8.

⁸⁰ Amīrī, *Ghiyāṣī*, 98. Papas suggests that this could be Shaykh Muḥammad Ma‘ṣūm (1007/1599-1072/1661-62). However, Yār Bīk would have been a child of three or four years of age at the time of Shaykh Muḥammad Ma‘ṣūm’s death.

⁸¹ Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 6a. Boldyrev’s comment (#29) on *ishān* as an Ismā‘īlī leader is questionable here, as *ishān* as a form of respect was used in relation to non-Ismā‘īlīs as well.

⁸² S. A. A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1986), 115-16, 231-34.

⁸³ The most complete manuscript of the *Dīvān* is kept in the library of OITAS with an accession number of 2454. As Ḥabibov mentions, three copies of the *Dīvān* are kept in St. Petersburg, nine in Dushanbe and three in Khorog. Ḥabibov, *Az ta’rīkhi ravobiti adabii Badakhshon bo Hinduston*, 129. A digitized copy of the *Dīvān* is found in KhRU-IIS (MS Folder 78).

⁸⁴ Papas, "Soufis du Badakhshān" <http://asiacentrale.revues.org/690?lang=en> (accessed December 2015).

⁸⁵ Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 49b-50a.

⁸⁶ Amīrī, *Ghiyāṣī*, 414.

⁸⁷ Ibid. Amīrī participated in a Nawrūz celebration in 1999 at the site of the shrine.

⁸⁸ Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 21b-22a.

work also mentions a certain Mīrzā ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (possibly the same person), who taught both exoteric and esoteric sciences and, during the reign of Sulṭān Shāh, had many people followers were his followers (*murshid-i khāṣṣ va ‘ām*) among the nobles (*akābir*) and those of lower ranks (*aṣāghir*).⁸⁹ The *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* mentions Mawlavī ‘Abd al-Jabbār who, during the reign of Sulṭān Shāh, is reported to have been initiated into Ṣūfism by the Qādirī *shaykh* Ḥājī Muḥammad Amīn of Lahore.⁹⁰ Upon the receipt of his teaching license (*ijāzah*), he taught at a madrasa in Fayzābād in Badakhshān. ‘Abd al-Jabbār is reported to have had many followers, and on Fridays he practiced the meditation (*zīkr*).⁹¹ Similarly, the mystic poet Mīrzā Kirāmī (d. 1156/1743) and Muḥammad ‘Āshiq (d. 1182/1768), who is buried close to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s tomb near Jurm, belonged to the entourage of Ghiyāṣī.⁹² We may also mention Ghiyāṣī’s disciples, such as the mystic poet Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Balkhī, nicknamed “Khalīfah Khān,” Najīb Allāh Mīr Shajarat, who established himself as a renowned master, and Shāhbāz Baland Parvāz “Yaftil,” a native of Qāshghar who was a scribe of Ghiyāṣī and one of the propagators of his work in Central Asia. The sons of Ghiyāṣī, Shāh Kābulī Jān and Shāh Faqīr Allāh Yakdil continued the Mujaddidī Naqshbandī tradition in Badakhshān.⁹³ Finally, the disciples of Yakdil, the Ṣūfī poets Mīrzā Raḥmat Aḥmad Ṣāhib’zāda and Mawlānā Izhār-i Jurmī should be mentioned. The spiritual genealogy (*silsilah*) of Yakdil, which goes back to the Prophet Muḥammad, continues until the present day, as Amīrī mentions the name of Sayyid Najīb, who died in 1999.⁹⁴ It should be mentioned that the Khvājagān, referred to above, were also Naqshbandī Ṣūfīs.⁹⁵ The author of the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* pays particular attention to the Naqshbandīs, clearly due to the close associations of the Yārīds (whose history he narrates) with the Naqshbandīs, but, apart from the Qādirīs mentioned above, the Kubravī order gains prominence in Badakhshān, especially after Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī (d. 786/1385).⁹⁶

Shrines were quite common in Badakhshān during this period. The capital of Badakhshān, Fayzābād, which means “abode of divine blessing/bounty” is so named because it is believed that in 1102/1691, Mīr Yār Bīk brought the “blessed robe” (*khirqah-i mubārak*) of the Prophet there.⁹⁷ In fact, a shrine (*mazār*) where the robe was kept already existed, and a tall building was erected later.⁹⁸ The Khvājahs of Samarqand, who had originally planned to take the robe to India, but who were

⁸⁹ Ibid., 51b.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 49a.

⁹¹ Ibid., 49b.

⁹² Papas, "Soufis du Badakhshān," 87-102.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ J.F. Fletcher, "The Naqshbandiyya in Northwest China," in *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia*, ed. B.F. Manz (Ashgate/Variorum, 1995), 1-46.

⁹⁶ On the importance of the Kubraviyyah, in Badakhshān, particularly after Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī (d. 786/1385), see Daniel Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 196-212.

⁹⁷ Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 7a.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 6b. The *mazār* became known as *khirqat-i sharīf*. Minaev, *Svedeniā*, 43.

stopped by Yār Bīk, were made *shaykhs* or keepers of the *mazār*.⁹⁹ According to Kushkakī, even though Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī took the robe to Qandahār when he invaded Badakhshān, the inhabitants of Fayzābād considered as sacred the place where the robe was kept. Pilgrims came there in large numbers and praised the revered Prophet.¹⁰⁰ A sacred place named after one of the most celebrated of the early ascetics and mystics of Baghdād, Maʿrūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815-16) was also located in Fayzābād.¹⁰¹ We have encountered a reference to the ‘Pīr-i dast’gīr’, also called Mīr Ghiyāsh al-Dīn Valī’s shrine.¹⁰² Other famous shrines in Badakhshān included the shrine of the Khvājah (*mazār-i Khvājah*) situated outside of Fayzābād, the shrines of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn in Sar-i Ghulām, Dīvān-i Shāh in Zībāk, Sar-i ghār in Rustak and Khvājah Bahā al-Dīn in Turga Teppa. In addition to these, of course, there was the shrine of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*mazār-i Shāh Nāṣir*).¹⁰³ Shrines (including that of Nāṣir-i Khusraw) were places for pilgrims from India and Khurāsān.¹⁰⁴ Kushkakī mentions the *jāy-i qadam* or the footprint of the famous 3rd/9th century mystic Bāyazīd Bistāmī on the way from Zībāk to Ishkāshim, which is a place of visitation.¹⁰⁵ Hagiographical materials that attribute wondrous deeds to certain Ṣūfī figures are abundant in Badakhshān.¹⁰⁶

Based on the *vaṣīqahs* or decrees studied by Khalīl Allāh Khalīlī, which were kept in Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s shrine, it is clear that he is not referred to as an Ismāʿīlī between the 16th and the late 19th century. The decrees show how lands around the shrine of Nāṣir-i Khusraw were given to it as an endowment (*vaqf*). The earliest of the decrees, issued by Maḥmūd Ghāzī, is written in 892/1497.¹⁰⁷ It refers to the “luminous shrine” (*mazār-i purʻanvār*) of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and to the saint himself with the honorific appellation of “The Sulṭān of the saints and the proof of the pious” (*Ḥaṣrat Sulṭān al-Awliyāʻ va Burhān al-Atqiyāʻ*).¹⁰⁸ This document exempts the dervishes and the keepers of the shrine (*mashāyikh*) from paying land tax. The second decree is dated 913/1507.¹⁰⁹ This document was issued by the order of the Tīmūrid Nāṣir Mīrzā (d. 921/1521), who fought the local Badakhshānīs in 913/1507 and came as far as Ishkāshim. This document, too, describes the shrine and its saint in precisely the same words. According to it, the territory surrounding the shrine in Yumgān was given as an inalienable religious endowment to the shrine and the “great shaykhs” (*mashāyikh-i ʻizām*) and “honorable inhabitants” (*ahālī-i kirām*) who lived near (*mujāvīr*) the blessed shrine (*mazār-i mutabāarak*) were exempted from paying land tax (*khirājāt*) and dues (*vājib-i māl*). The individuals

⁹⁹ Ibid., 7a. Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 98.

¹⁰⁰ *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 93.

¹⁰¹ Minaev, *Svedeniā*, 43.

¹⁰² Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 94.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 94-95.

¹⁰⁴ Minaev, *Svedeniā*, 44.

¹⁰⁵ Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 146.

¹⁰⁶ Ikrām al-Dīn Amīrī studies the hagiography that attributes wonders to Ghiyāshī.

¹⁰⁷ This may be a reference to the Tīmūrid ruler Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā, but this ruler died in 899/1494.

¹⁰⁸ Khalīlī, “Yumgān va vaṣāʻiq,” 440-41.

¹⁰⁹ 912 in the actual text. Ibid., 440.

were instead expected to cater to ‘the people of God’ (*ahl-i Allāh*), travelers (*abnā’ al-sabīl*) and the right-holding lords (*arbāb-i istihqāq*). The third decree, which also concerns tax exemption, is dated 1007/1599. Its stamp includes the name of Humāyūn. This cannot have been the Mughal Muḥammad Humāyūn, as he died in 963/1556, over forty years before the date on the decree. This document describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as “The Sulṭān of the Seat of Yearning and Gnosis” (*sulṭān-i sarīr-i shawq va ‘irfān*), “The Wearer/Keeper of the Crown of Tasting and Finding” (*tājdār-i dihīm-i zawq va vijdān*), “The Seal of the Sphere of *vilāyat*” (*muhr-i sipihr-i vilayāt*), “The Star of the Sky of *vilāyat*” (*akhtar-i āsmān-i vilāyat*), “The Lord of the Strivers in the paths of the traditions of the Apostles” (*sayyid al-mujāhidīn fī masālik sunun al-mursalīn*).¹¹⁰ The fourth decree, which also grants land tax exemption and is dated 927/1520, was issued by the order of Sulaymān Mīrzā (d. 997/1589), who is described as the ruler of Badakhshān (*ḥukmdār-i Badakhshān*). This document refers to Nāṣir-i Khusraw as “The Sulṭān of the Gnostics and the Proof of Searchers of Truth” (*sulṭān al-‘arifīn va burhān al-muḥaqqiqīn*). The fifth decree was issued by the order of the above-mentioned Ashtarkhānid governor of Balkh, Nādir Muḥammad Khān in 1029/1619. It also exempts the lands surrounding the shrine of Nāṣir-i Khusraw from tax. This decree, however, only adds *shāh* to the name of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, without adding the additional honorific appellations that are encountered in the other decrees.¹¹¹ Apart from these, Khalīlī also mentions two other decrees that were ordered by the “late Badakhshānī *mīrs*” (*az mīrān-i muta’ākhīr-i Badakhshān*) that also exempt the lands surrounding the shrine from paying land tax. He does not mention who these two *mīrs* are, but indicates that Nāṣir-i Khusraw is referred to as “the Lord of the Strivers” (*sayyid al-mujāhidīn*), “The Seal of the Sphere of *vilāyat*” (*muhr-i sipihr-i vilayāt*), and “The Star of the Sky of *vilāyat*” (*akhtar-i āsmān-i vilāyat*).¹¹² The last decree was issued by the order of the *amīr* of Afghanistan, Shīr ‘Alī Khān (d. 1296/1879). He provides tax exemptions for the guardians (*mutavallīs*) of the “blessed shrine of Ḥaḏrat Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir” (*mazār-i fayḏāsār-i Ḥaḏrat Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir*). This document is dated 1290/1873.¹¹³ As we can see, none of these documents that cover a period of more than five hundred years describe Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an Ismā‘īlī, or for that matter, indicate any specific religious affiliation. The honorific appellations do not indicate explicitly whether he was considered a Ṣūfī, a Sunnī or a Shī‘ī. Although the reference to the dervishes and the *mashāyikh* may suggest that there was a religious brotherhood at the shrine, this is not conclusive.¹¹⁴ As we shall see in Chapters Six and Seven, these terms, as well as the honorific appellations, are used extensively in the Ismā‘īlī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. However, it is clear that the patrons of the shrines mentioned in the decrees were all Sunnī rulers, the majority of whom are the Tīmūrīds.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 440-42.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 442-72.

¹¹² Ibid., 472.

¹¹³ Ibid., 438-42, 72-76.

John Wood, who visited the shrine in the 1830s, mentions the “inmates” at the sanctuary (*āstāna*) who lived off the crops produced on the land endowed to the shrine.¹¹⁵ When the shrine was renovated in 1109/1697, the name of a certain Shaykh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Shaykh Kalān was carved on a wooden pillar, which can still be read. It is possible that ‘Abd al-Raḥīm was the master (*shaykh*) of a resident brotherhood.¹¹⁶ It is worth noting that there is an inscription on a wooden panel above the entrance door to the tomb chamber that reads: the exalted Shah Khudadad in the year 796 (1367) “renovated this gate of the holy grave of Khwaja Nasir, may his earth be light.”¹¹⁷ Schadl states that this “can be none other than the Chaghatay amir Khudaidad (r. before 765 [1363]–before 850 [1446]).”¹¹⁸ If this is the case, then sponsorship of the renovation by this Sunnī ruler may indicate either that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was considered a Sunnī-Şūfī saint by the second half of the 14th century or, as Schadl writes, “Khudaidad” may perhaps have been tolerant of the Ismā‘īlīs.¹¹⁹ There is also the possibility, as has been the case elsewhere, that people of varying persuasions commonly renovated saints’ tombs. One is tempted to associate Shāh Khudādād with the founder of the local Shughnānī dynasty, but, unfortunately, nothing but the name connects the two.

As we shall see in Chapter Five, Beben is of the opinion that the hagiographical tradition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw first emerges from the “Sunni constituencies connected with Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s shrine” prior to the 18th century, when “a written hagiographical tradition connected with Nāṣir-i Khusraw took shape among Ismā‘īlī communities in Badakhshān.”¹²⁰ It is possible that Sunnīs appropriated both Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his shrine as early as the 15th century. Even today the guardians of the shrine are Sunnīs and consider Nāṣir-i Khusraw to have been their ancestor, and also a Sunnī.

The concept of *taqīyyah* or pious circumspexion, which was referred to in the previous chapters, has been an important characteristic of Islam, particularly Shī‘ī Islam, since its inception.¹²¹ In the hostile and adverse circumstances of the post-Alamūt period, the Ismā‘īlīs, as a minority religious community, had to resort to this practice for survival.¹²² We come across evidence of the

¹¹⁴ Both these terms are used by Ismā‘īlīs in Badakhshān, as well as other communities.

¹¹⁵ Schadl, “The Shrine of Nasir Khusraw,” 78. Wood, *A Journey*, 261.

¹¹⁶ Schadl, “The Shrine of Nasir Khusraw,” 80.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” vi.

¹²¹ On *taqīyyah* in Shī‘īsm, see Etan Kohlberg, “Some Imāmī Shī‘ī views on taqīyya,” *JAOS* 95 (1975): 305-402. See also *Taqīyya in Shī‘ī Theology and Religion*, ed. H.G. Kippenberg and G.G. Stroumsa, Secrecy and Concealment: Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religions (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 345-80. Imām Ja‘far al-Şādiq refined the principle of *taqīyyah* and made it an article of Shī‘ī faith. See Ignaz Goldziher, “Das Prinzip der Takijja im Islam,” *ZDMG* 60 (1906): 213-26. Arzina Lalani, *Early Shī‘ī Thought: The Teachings of Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2000), 88-91.

¹²² Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 48.

Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs adopting the cover of Ṣūfism, at least in one specific region.¹²³ It has been posited that the Ismāʿīlīs adopted certain terminology from Ṣūfism, and that these two esoteric traditions coalesced. Studies have pointed to the intimate historical relationships of Ṣūfism and Ismāʿīlism in Persia and South Asia and the particular style of religious discourse developed as a result of these relationships.¹²⁴ Indeed, there was a synergism of thought and expression between Ṣūfism and Ismāʿīlism in the post-Mongol period. However, the relationship between Ṣūfism and Ismāʿīlism, as Virani shows, is much more nuanced than the symbiotic relationship thesis indicates.¹²⁵ There are many issues that prompt us to question the nature of the symbiotic relationship between Ṣūfism and Ismāʿīlism. For instance, the similar terms (e.g. *qalandars*, dervishes, *pīr*, etc.) that are used in the two schools of thought do not necessarily suggest that Ismāʿīlīs adopted them from Ṣūfism. While Ismāʿīlī term *pīr* refers to a specific dignitary in the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī hierarchy, the Ṣūfī term *pīr* (generally considered the Persian equivalent of *shaykh*) refers to the “spiritual director” (*murshid*) who may be the founder of an order (*ṭarīqah*) in Ṣūfism.¹²⁶ Similarly, as Aleksandr Semēnov explains, the word dervish has three meanings for Shughnānī Ismāʿīlīs: 1) a poor person who begs or asks for alms, 2) the person distinguished by piety and strict abstinence from everything, 3) the deputy and assistant (*nāʿib*) of a *pīr*.¹²⁷ Considering the third meaning, it is clear that, in the Ismāʿīlī hierarchy, dervish is also considered to be a dignitary.

It is not hard to imagine that the Ismāʿīlīs, ruled by local Sunnī *mīrs* and living in perpetual fear of the Sunnī Badakhshānī and other Central Asian conquerors, had to take these precautionary measures, concealing themselves under the guise of Ṣūfism.¹²⁸ Precautionary measures or *taqiyyah* has two aspects for Shīʿīs: “hiding their association with the cause of the Imams when its open declaration would expose them to danger and, equally important, keeping the esoteric teachings of the Imams hidden from those who are unprepared to receive them.”¹²⁹ We know that, as a precaution, the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs were extremely reluctant to discuss their faith with those outside the community. As John Biddulph remarks, “[T]he precepts and observances of the sect are difficult to

¹²³ For example, Jalāl-i Qāʾinī, a 14th or 15th century author observed in his *Naṣāʾih-i Shāhrukhī* (*Counsels to Shāhrukh*) that some people in the region of Quhistān appeared as Ṣūfīs but were in fact Ismāʿīlīs. Quoted in *ibid.*, 104.

¹²⁴ On the relationships of the Ismāʿīlī Imāms and the Niʿmatullāhī Ṣūfīs, see Nasrollah Pourjavady and Peter L. Wilson, “Ismāʿīlīs and Niʿmatullāhīs,” *Studia Islamica* (1975): 118-35. Daftary, *The Ismailis in Medieval Muslim Societies*, 183-203. Nadia Eboo Jamal, *Surviving the Mongols: Nizārī Quhistānī and the Continuity of the Ismaili Tradition in Persia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 84-107. With regards to the penetration of Ismāʿīlī ideas in Ṣūfī thought and literature, Henry Corbin writes, “[The effect of Ismāʿīlism] on Sufism and Iranian spirituality in general presupposes some fundamental affinities which throw new light on the problem of the meaning and even the origins of Sufism. ... One hesitates at times in deciding whether a text is written by a Sufi steeped in Ismailism, or by an Ismaili steeped in Sufism.” On the style of religious discourse in India, see Ali Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment, The Ismaili Devotional Literature of South Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 91.

¹²⁵ Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 142-48.

¹²⁶ Bosworth, “Pīr,” *EI2*.

¹²⁷ Semēnov, “Istoriia Shughnana,” 7.

¹²⁸ It is possibly because of this that verses in the early copies of the *Charāgh-nāmah* or *Qandil-nāmah* encourage the faithful to keep the faith secret, sit in a *khānqāh* (*dar khānqāh binshūn*) and become a Ṣūfī (*Ṣūfī shav*). See for instance *Qandil-nāmah*, MS Folder 50 (either 1121/1709 or 1217/1802), f. 161a (KhRU-IIS).

ascertain, one of their sayings being that “a man should conceal his faith”¹³⁰ Or, as the Russian geologist D.L. Ivanow (d. 1924), who was in Badakhshān in the late 19th century, writes, “In order to keep the faith and customs of his forefathers, the mountain Tajik was not only forced to seek refuge in the inaccessible mountains, but also to keep quiet to himself, in his family, and has created, as it were, two faces.” According to him, the Ismā‘īlīs interact with the outside world with one face and with their own people with the other.¹³¹ Zaitsev shares the same sentiments.¹³²

The terminological similarities and even intellectual ties between Ṣūfism and Ismā‘īlism, the two esoteric schools of thought, allowed the Ismā‘īlīs to express themselves much more safely in the adverse circumstances.¹³³ As Schadl observes,

When in the highly hostile Sunni milieu of Badakhshan, Isma‘ilis needed to practice *taqiyya* in the guise of Sunnism, for all practical purposes they did so under the mantle of Sufism, without actually affiliating themselves with any one of the existing Sufi orders.... The rapprochement between Sufism and Isma‘ilism that characterizes the post-Alamut period was by no means limited to terminology. A sort of coalescence emerged between these two independent esoteric traditions as Nizari Isma‘ilis developed close intellectual ties with Sufi movement.¹³⁴

4.3 Twelver Shī‘ism in Badakhshān

Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms feature in Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī tradition and the Badakhshānī hagiographical sources about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It is therefore useful to provide some context that would help us to understand the agendas of our hagiographical sources.

The history of Twelver Shī‘ism in Badakhshān and its relationship with the local Ismā‘īlī tradition remains a neglected area in the scholarship on the region. We do not know exactly when and how Twelver Shī‘ī teachings travelled to Badakhshān. Based on fragmentary information and circumstantial evidence provided in several primary sources, it is possible to surmise that Twelver Shī‘ism was widespread in Harāt and may have been so in Badakhshān in the second half of the

¹²⁹ Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 48.

¹³⁰ Biddulph, *Tribes*, 121.

¹³¹ D.L. Ivanow, "Putushestvie na Pamir," *RGO* 20, no. 3 (1884): 242.

¹³² Zaitsev, *Pamirskaiā starana*, 54.

¹³³ The Ismā‘īlīs in the post-Alamut period expressed their ideas much more safely through terminology that they share with Ṣūfīs. The works of many Ismā‘īlī authors have similarities with Ṣūfī ideas (e.g. Nizārī Quhistānī (d. 720/1320), Abū Ishāq Quhistānī (d. after 904/1498), Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī (d. after 960/1553) and Khākī Khurāsānī (d. after 1056/1646)). Nizārī Quhistānī may have been the very first post-Alamut Nizārī to choose the poetic forms of expression that could be taken for Ṣūfī forms of expression. This model was widely emulated by many later Nizārī authors in Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Leonard Lewisohn, "Sufism and Ismā‘īlī Doctrine in the Persian Poetry of Nizārī Quhistānī (645-721/1247-1321)," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 41 (2003): 229-51. Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 410-22.

¹³⁴ Schadl, "The Shrine of Nasir Khusraw," 73. Other scholars studying the Ismā‘īlī tradition of Badakhshān have also noted this. As Iliiev notes, "... it is evident that the Pamiri Ismā‘īlī tradition in the post-Alamut period was significantly influenced by various Islamic beliefs and practices, especially those of the Twelver Shī‘ism and Sufism." Iliiev, *The Ismā‘īlī-Ṣūfī*, 46. As John Mock remarks, "The diachronous threads of history and tradition weave together with the synchronous threads of interpersonal and intercommunity relations to form the broader social fabric of the region, in which the predominant interpretive mode today is that of Isma‘īli and Sufi thought, in a distinctive form that is called Pamir Isma‘īlism." John Mock, "Shrine Traditions of Wakhan Afghanistan," *Journal of Persianate Studies* 4 (2011): 117-18. Henry Corbin has described Badakhshān as "the scene of that fusion of traditions which gave the Persian Ismaili literature its distinctive characteristics.

10th/16th century. Hāfiẓ Tanīsh b. Mīr Muḥammad al-Bukhārī's *Sharafnāmah-i shāhī*, also known as *ʿAbdallāh'nāmah* (composed towards the end of 10th/16th century), includes an edict (*fatvah*) by Shaybānid jurists declaring a holy war against the Shīʿīs in Harāt and “its neighbouring lands of infidels.”¹³⁵ This edict was issued at the request of the Shaybānid ruler ʿAbd Allāh Khān, who launched a massive military campaign against the “sinful infidels” in Harāt in 997/1588-1589.¹³⁶ He sent an army to Badakhshān in the same year. The edict refers to these “sinful infidels” as the *qizil'bāshīyah* (literally, “red-head”), which in its general sense denotes a range of extremist Shīʿī sects, but in its more specific sense refers to the supporters of the Ṣafavids.¹³⁷ According to this document, the Shīʿīs controlled the area for seventy years and the people that were born during the reign of the “infidels” were in solidarity with them and subscribed to their doctrines.¹³⁸ The Sunnī Shaybānids and the Shīʿī Ṣafavids had an ongoing struggle over Khurāsān, particularly Harāt from the beginning of the 10th/16th century.¹³⁹ The founder of the Ṣafavid dynasty, Shāh Ismāʿīl I (d. 930/1524) had already defeated the Shaybānids in 916/1520 in Harāt and consolidated his rule in Khurāsān. Mīrzā Dūghlāt mentions the influence of the *qizil'bāshīs* during Shāh Ismāʿīl's time in Harāt.¹⁴⁰

The Shaybānids and the members of the Tīmūrid family backed by the Ṣafavids vied for control over Badakhshān in the 10th/16th century. The Ṣafavid monarch Shāh Ismāʿīl I lent strong support in establishing control over this territory to the Tīmūrid ruler Mīrzā Khān (r. 915-926/1510-1521) who reigned in Badakhshān on behalf of the Mughal emperor Bābur (d. 937/1503).¹⁴¹ Bābur is known to have accepted Twelver Shīʿism in exchange for the support he received from Shāh Ismāʿīl in his struggle against the Shaybānids.¹⁴² Based on Mīrzā Dūghlāt's account, it seems unlikely that Mīrzā Khān accepted Twelver Shīʿism or helped the Ṣafavids spread it in Badakhshān, but equally he does not seem to have prevented its activities in the region.¹⁴³ He was, however, an enemy of the Ismāʿīlīs and, as mentioned, in 915/1509, when some rebels beheaded the Muḥammad-Shāhī Ismāʿīlī Imām Shāh Razī al-Dīn, they put his head “at the feet of Mīrzā Khān.”¹⁴⁴

The Ṣafavids also supported Bābur's son Naṣīr al-Dīn Humāyūn (d. 963/1556) when he fought against the Shaybānids and wrested Badakhshān back from the Uzbeks in 953/1546. Humāyūn also

From this fusion there resulted a very complex whole” ... defined by the “coalescence of Ismaili ideas with Sufism.” Corbin, “Nāṣir-i Khusrau and Iranian Ismāʿīlism,” 525-26.

¹³⁵ Salakhedinov, “Neizvestnyĭ dokument,” 173-75.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Roger M. Savory, “The struggle for supremacy in Persia after the death of Timur,” *Der Islam* XL (1964): 54ff.

¹³⁸ Salakhedinov, “Neizvestnyĭ dokument,” 173-75.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 172.

¹⁴⁰ Dūghlāt, *Tāʾrīkh-i Rashīdī: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 235.

¹⁴¹ Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn ibn Humām al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī Khvāndmīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyār fī akhbār afrād al-bashar*, ed. W.M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1994), 592-94.

¹⁴² On Bābur's profession of Shīʿism, see also Dūghlāt, *Tāʾrīkh-i Rashīdī: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 261.

¹⁴³ Mīrzā Dūghlāt simply says Mīrzā Khān “as Muslim, was much harassed [by the Ismāʿīlīs].” Whereas Mīrzā Dūghlāt explicitly mentions Bābur “had clothed himself in the garments of the *qizil-bāsh* (which was pure heresy, nay almost unbelief),” he does not mention this about Mīrzā Khān. Ibid., 227, 46.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 227.

seems to have accepted Shī'ism in return for support from the Ṣafavid Shāh Ṭahmāsp (d. 984/1576). In return to Ṣafavids' military aid, he was to help them spread Twelver Shī'ism and read the *khuṭbah* (sermon delivered during the congregational worship) in their name.¹⁴⁵ He handed Badakhshān to his father's cousin, Sulaymān Mīrzā (d. 997/1588), who, as mentioned above, appears to have been a patron of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's shrine.¹⁴⁶ The Shaybānid 'Abd Allāh Khān finally defeated Sulaymān Mīrzā and his grandson Shāhrukh (d. 1061/1607) in 990/1583,¹⁴⁷ after which the anti-Shī'ī Shaybānids (and later the Ashtarkhānids (r. 1006-1199/1598-1785)), gained control of Badakhshān despite the attempts of some of the later members of the Tīmūrids to reclaim the region.

Given the fact that the Ṣafavids gave supported Tīmūrids attempts to gain control of Badakhshān from the ardent Sunnī Shaybānids, and considering the account of Ḥāfīz Tanīsh, according to which Twelver Shī'ism was widely spread in Harāt and its "neighbouring lands" for seventy years, it is safe to assume that Twelver Shī'ism also spread to Badakhshān in the 10th/16th century. While it is possible that Twelver Shī'ism reached Badakhshān earlier, there are no sources to confirm this. Prior to the 10th/16th century, the circumstances of the conversion of others, such as the Twelver Shī'ī Hazārahs, in areas close to Badakhshān, are uncertain.¹⁴⁸ Some scholars argue that they may have converted to Twelver Shī'ism during the Ilkhānid period, since their sovereign Ghāzān Khān (d. 713/1304) is reported to have converted to Twelver Shī'ism at the end of the 13th century.¹⁴⁹ This view, however, remains unsubstantiated. Unlike the Ṣafavids, Ghāzān Khān does not seem to have been interested in converting others to Shī'ism.¹⁵⁰ If the conversion took place during the Ilkhānid period, it must have been a long process.¹⁵¹ We know that a more active official conversion to Twelver Shī'ism took place among the Hazārahs at the end of 10th/16th century under the influence of the Ṣafavids.¹⁵² At any rate, Badakhshān was not part of Ilkhānid dominions and information about Twelver Shī'ism in the area is non-existent. It is in the 10th/16th century that we first notice the names of Twelver Shī'ī Imāms appearing in Badakhshānī poetry. For instance, the native Shughnānī poet

¹⁴⁵ According to Digby, Humāyūn "was forced to sign papers professing Shī'ism." S. Digby, "Humāyūn," *EI2*. Bayazid Bayat, "Ta'rīkh-i Humāyūn," in *Three Memoirs of Humayun* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2009), 25-32.

¹⁴⁶ It seems unlikely though, because Sulaymān Mīrzā was born in 920/1514 and would have been only six years old when the *vaṣīqah* was issued.

¹⁴⁷ Ḥāfīz Tanīsh, ff. 106b-110a.

¹⁴⁸ E.E. Bacon, "The Inquiry into the History of the Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 7 (3) (1951): 230-47.

¹⁴⁹ N.V. Petrushevskii, *Istoriā Irana s drevneishikh vremen do kon'tsa XVIII veka* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo Universiteta, 1958), 199.

¹⁵⁰ "Ghāzān Khān was more a Mongol than a Muslim; as ruler and legislator his activities were entirely free from biased pietism." See Barthold, "Ghāzān," *EI2*.

¹⁵¹ The time for the conversion of the Hazārahs to Twelver Shī'ism is a matter of debate among scholars. For a critique of different authors' views, see Yahia Baiza, "The Hazaras of Afghanistan and their Shī'a Orientation: An Analytical Historical Survey," *Journal of Shī'a Islamic Studies* 7, no. 2 (2014): 151-71.

¹⁵² See Sayed Askar Mousavi, *The Hazaras of Afghanistan: An Historical, Cultural, Economic and Political Study* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998), 75. The *qizilbāshīs* in Afghanistan, who are also Twelver Shī'īs, must have come to this area or converted to Twelver Shī'ism during the time of the Ṣafavids. On them, see Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Miṣbāh'zādah, *Shī'iyān-i Afghānistān, gurūh-hā va guriftārah-hā* (Kabul: n.p., 1392), 88-89.

Shāh Z̤iyāyī (10th/16th century)¹⁵³ lauds the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms in a poem:

<i>Bih haqq-i Zayn-i ‘Ibād Bāqir-u Ja‘far</i>	In the name of Zayn ‘Ibād, Bāqir and Ja‘far
<i>Bih haqq-i Mūsá, Sulṭān Rizā-yi dīn-parvar</i>	In the name of Mūsá, Sulṭān Rizā the nurturer of religion
<i>Bih haqq-i zāt-i Naqī-yu Taqī-yu ham ‘Askar</i>	By the name of the essence of Naqī, Taqī and ‘Askar[ī]
<i>Bih haqq-i Mahdī-yi hādī, ḥākim-i maḥshar</i>	By the name of the rightly guided Mahdī, the sovereign of the Day of Judgment
<i>Muḥammad ast-u ‘Alī Fāṭimah Ḥusayn-u Ḥasan</i> ¹⁵⁴	Muḥammad, ‘Alī Fāṭimah, Ḥusayn and Ḥasan

As the following verses make clear, Shāh Z̤iyāyī belonged to the family of the *shāhs* of Shughnān:

<i>Bih aṣl-u naṣl zi shāhān-i Shughnānam</i>	By origin and lineage I am the offspring of the kings of Shughnān
<i>Chū la ‘l jā-yu makān ast dar Badakhshānam</i>	Like a ruby my place is in Badakhshān ¹⁵⁵

Shāh Z̤iyāyī’s praise of the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms led the Iranian scholar Maryam Mu‘izzī to suggest that Twelver Shī‘ism may have spread in Shughnān under its rulers, not long before his time.¹⁵⁶ Unfortunately, Shāh Z̤iyāyī himself does not inform us of the sectarian affiliation of the *shāhs* of Shughnān. It is possible that they were (or most probably became) Twelver Shī‘īs in the 10th/16th century, sometime during the reign of the Tīmūrīds. According to Abusaid Shokhumorov, the Ṣafavids conquered Badakhshān and established Twelver Shī‘ism as “state *mazhab*” in the region.¹⁵⁷ He argues that they conferred the title of *sayyid* upon the local ruling elite, considering them as descendants of the Prophet through the Twelver Shī‘ī Imām Mūsá al-Kāzīm (d. 183/799). In return, the Ṣafavids demanded that the local rulers spread Twelver Shī‘ism in Badakhshān. As mentioned above, according to Iskandarov, Shāh Khāmūsh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, the ancestor of the *shāhs* and a supporter of Twelver Shī‘ism, came to Shughnān in 1000/1592 from Iṣfahān, which was to become the capital of the Ṣafavids after 1006/1598.¹⁵⁸

Shokhumorov provides no documentary evidence for his assertions, and it is not clear on what basis he claims that the Ṣafavids made Twelver Shī‘ism the “state religion” in Badakhshān,

¹⁵³ On Z̤iyāyī, see Ḥabibov, *Az ta“rīkhi ravobiti adabii Badakhshon bo Hinduston*, 109-11. *Ganji Badakhshon*, 155-61. See also Mu‘izzī, *Ismā‘īlīyyah-i Badakhshān*, 179-80.

¹⁵⁴ MS 1954/24v, f. 67b (copied in 1144/1732) (OITAS). See Bertel’s and Baqoev, *Alfavitnyī Katalog*, 70, 71. Shāh Z̤iyāyī composed his poetry in the 10th/16th century. In the two poems quoted by Mu‘izzī, Shāh Z̤iyāyī indicates 993/1585 and 994/1584 as dates for their compositions. Mu‘izzī, *Ismā‘īlīyyah-i Badakhshān*, 179-80. Based on the letter-numerical system (*abjad*), Ḥabibov converts the expression “*bih vaqt-i chāshī*” that Shāh Z̤iyāyī mentions at the end of a poem to 1012/1603 as the year in which the poem was composed. Ḥabibov, *Ganji Badakhshon*, 156-7. In fact, the expression *bih vaqt-i chāshī* converts to 1217/1802 (or 1212/1797, if we are read it as *به وقت چاشت* rather than *چاشت*). Unless Ḥabibov used a different system of conversion, *bih vaqt-i chāshī* cannot be taken as the year for the composition of the poem. In a poem found in MS Folder 227 (KhRU-IIS), Shāh Z̤iyāyī mentions 955/1548 as the year in which he composed it (*bih sāl-i nuh ṣad-u panjāh-u panj-i hijrat*). Similarly, Shāh Z̤iyāyī says he wrote a *qaṣīdah* in 993/1585 (*sanah-i tis‘ah mi‘ah ṣalāṣah*) in Balkh. MS Folder 27 (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁵⁵ See Berg, *Minstrel Poetry*, 286. This poem can be found in Mu‘izzī, *Ismā‘īlīyyah-i Badakhshān*, 180.

¹⁵⁶ *Ismā‘īlīyyah-i Badakhshān*, 179-80.

¹⁵⁷ Abusaid Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 26-29.

¹⁵⁸ Iskandarov, *Soṣial’no*, 57.

demanding that the rulers spread their version of Shī'ism in the region. The Ṣafavids do not seem to have occupied Badakhshān,¹⁵⁹ but simply aided the Tīmūrid rulers, two of whom (Bābur and his son Humāyūn) are said, at least nominally, to have accepted Twelver Shī'ism. Nonetheless, the view that Twelver Shī'ism came to Badakhshān in the 10th/16th century as a result of Ṣafavid support for the Tīmūrids seems plausible. A Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw that traces his genealogy back to the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms emerges (e.g. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, see Chapter Six) precisely towards the end of the 16th century. Nāṣir-i Khusraw is always presented as a descendant of the Twelver Shī'ī Imām Mūsā (e.g. the *Kalām-i pīr*, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, see Chapter Six) and this remains an important part of the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiography.

Poems of Qāsim-i Anvār (d. 837/1433), who, according to some scholars, was a “leading Ṣafavid *dā'ī*,”¹⁶⁰ are popular among the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān,¹⁶¹ who seem to have considered him as their co-religionist.¹⁶² He was active in Harāt for almost half a century, until eventually the Tīmūrids expelled him after his unsuccessful revolt of 830/1426-7. As he operated in Tīmūrid territory before Shāh Ismā'īl established the Ṣafavid dynasty in 907/1501-2, his activity and influence were, perhaps, on a small scale. He died before the Ṣafavid order acquired a stronger Shī'ī character and finally established Twelver Shī'ism as state religion in 907/1501-2.¹⁶³ Qāsim-i Anvār aside, as Berg demonstrates, there is a poetic narrative (*hikāyat*) from the *Kitāb-i Fārigh* of Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan Fārigh-i Gīlānī (16th/17th century poet),¹⁶⁴ which is popular in Badakhshān that represents 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661) as a divine manifestation. The work was dedicated to the Ṣafavid Shāh 'Abbās in celebration of his conquest of Gīlān in 1000/1591-1592.¹⁶⁵

Apart from the *Kitāb-i Fārigh*, there is a very popular apocalyptic *qaṣīdah* in Badakhshān that establishes a further connection between the Ṣafavids, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the Ismā'īlīs of

¹⁵⁹ The Ṣafavid attempt to occupy Balkh and its vicinity in the early 17th century was abortive. See Thomas Welsford, *Four Types of Loyalty in Early Modern Central Asia, The Tūqāy-Tīmūrid Takeover of Greater Mā Warā al-Nahr, 1598-1605* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 188. Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Munshī provides information about the activities of the Twelver Shī'īs (*qizilbāshiyah*) in areas to the west of Badakhshān in the 16th and early 17th centuries, but mentions nothing about their occupation of or activities in Badakhshān. Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Munshī, *Tārīkh-i Muqīm Khānī (Mukimkhanskaia Istorīa)*, trans. Aleksandr Semēnov (Tashkent: n.p., 1956), 54, 60-61, 64-65, 76-77, 82, 173, 206.

¹⁶⁰ See R.M. Savory, "Qāsim-i Anwār," *EI2*. See also Qāsim-i Anvār, *Kulliyāt-i Qāsim-i Anvār*, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī (Tehran: Sanāyī, 1337/1958), 363.

¹⁶¹ Mu'izzī, *Ismā'īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 196-7. Qāsim-i Anvār's *ghazals* (lyrical poetry), *qaṣīdahs* (odes), *rubā'īs* (tetrastiches), etc. are found in many Badakhshānī manuscripts: *Dīvān-i Qāsimī*, MS Folder 111 (copied in 1267/1851) (KhRU-IIS), *Dīvān-i Qāsimī* (copied in 1307/1889) (in PC of Quḍrabek El'chibekov). Other poems are scattered in MS Folder 12, MS Folder 19 (copied in 1354/1935), MS Folder 27, MS Folder 220, GKBK361 and other manuscripts in the archives of KhRU-IIS.

¹⁶² Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 420.

¹⁶³ Although some scholars point to a Shī'ī character of the Ṣafavid order before 907/1501-2, H.R. Roemer opines that the Shī'ī elements do not prove that Shāh Ismā'īl's ancestors (leaders of Qāsim-i Anvār) abandoned Sunnism in favour of Shī'ism. H.R. Roemer, "The Ṣafavid period," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 196-97.

¹⁶⁴ On the *hikāyat*, see Berg, "Ismā'īlī Poetry in Tajik Badakhshan," 9. On the *Kitāb-i Fārigh*, see J.T.P. de Bruijn, "Ṣafawids Literature," *EI2*.

¹⁶⁵ A digitized copy of the *Kitāb-i Fārigh* (which begins with "Nāzīm-i īn kalām-i ranj'shikan" – "The composer of these trouble-destroying verses" and has 3500 distiches) is in MS Folder 72 (copied in 1315/1898) (KhRU-IIS).

Badakhshān. This *qaṣīdah*, generally known as the *Ākhīrzamān'nāmāh* (*The Book of the End of Time*) in Badakhshān, hails the Ṣafavid Shāh Ismā'īl (907-930/1501-1524), his son Shāh Tahmāsp (930-984/1524-1576) (although the latter's name does not occur in the *qaṣīdah*) and in particular Shāh 'Abbās (996-1038/1588-1629). The poem describes the approaching apocalypse and the expected return of Imām Mahdī. Although there is no explicit indication that the Mahdī refers to the Twelver Imām who is believed to have entered occultation in 260/874, the Ṣafavid context certainly suggests this.¹⁶⁶ The *qaṣīdah*, a manuscript copy of which is kept in the archives of OITAS, was most likely composed soon after Shāh 'Abbās came to power in 996/1588.¹⁶⁷ Shāh 'Abbās was sixteen years old when he was placed on the throne and the *qaṣīdah* refers to him as “a youth” (*javān*). According to the manuscript in Dushanbe, the *qaṣīdah* was copied (*raqam gardīd*) in Sabzavār, most likely a reference to the town near Harāt where Shāh 'Abbās himself was born.¹⁶⁸ However, the year given for its composition or transcription, 993/1585, must be incorrect, because the *qaṣīdah* describes Shāh 'Abbās's taking over the leadership, indicating that the poem had to be composed after 996/1588. Although the date in the Dushanbe copy, apparently the earliest extant version, is incorrect, it does seem to date to the 10th/16th century. What is most remarkable is that the *qaṣīdah* is attributed (anachronistically of course) to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. We can be fairly confident then that it was in this period in which a connection was established between Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Twelver Shī'ism. According to Bertel's, “... for many Iranian Shī'īs of the tenth ḥijrī century, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was one of their great Shī'ī scholars or rather one of their saints and an unknown poet composed a *qaṣīdah*, attributing it to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the famous person.”¹⁶⁹ There is a strong possibility that Nāṣir-i Khusraw had a large following in Bāmiyān (among the Hazārahs) where the Ṣafavids were most likely engaged in converting the people to Twelver Shī'ism. He certainly was a saint in Badakhshān during this time. Composing a *qaṣīdah* of this nature and attributing it to Nāṣir-i Khusraw may well have been part of the campaign of the Ṣafavid and their loyalists to attract his followers, i.e. the Ismā'īlīs, to Twelver Shī'ism.

It is equally possible that the Ismā'īlīs, as followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, were the ones responsible for attributing this *qaṣīdah* to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. In Iran, this *qaṣīdah* is generally attributed to Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Valī, not Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹⁷⁰ As I show below and in Chapter Six, Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs presented Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint acceptable in Twelver Shī'ī terms. Although the exact

¹⁶⁶ This poem (beginning with *Ay 'azīzān shūr-u ghawghā dar jahān khvāhad girift* – “O dear ones, tumult and riot will fill the earth”) titled *Qaṣīdah-i Ḥaẓrat Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw* is in MS Folder 21, ff. 58-59 (KhRU-IIS). See Andrei Bertel's, "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az 'urafā va shī'īyān-i iṣnā-'asharī rāji' bih arzish-i mīrās-i adabī-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw," in *Yādnāmāh-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (Mashhad: Dānishgāh-i Firdawsī, 1976), 112. See also Berg, "Ismaili Poetry in Tajik Badakhshan," 1-9.

¹⁶⁷ Bertel's, "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az 'urafā," 112.

¹⁶⁸ As the Iranian scholar Dānish'pazhūh indicated to Bertel's, this *qaṣīdah* is also popular in Iran. Bertel's, "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az 'urafā," 119.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁷⁰ See for example, Muḥammad Yūsuf Nāji, *Risālah-i pādshāhī-i ṣafavī*, ed. Rasūl Ja'fariyān (Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1387HSh/2008), 71-73.

circumstances in which Nāṣir-i Khusraw was turned into a Twelver Shī'ī saint are unknown to us, the practice of pious circumspection by the Ismā'īlīs in Badakhshān and elsewhere must have played a role. As mentioned before, the Qāsim Shāhī Imām Zu'l-Faqār 'Alī (Khalīl Allāh I) (d. 1043/1634) whose imamate coincided with the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, had friendly relations with the Ṣafavids, married the Ṣafavid monarch's sister and practiced *taqiyyah* under the cover of Twelver Shī'ism. It is likely that his followers followed suit in this practice. Due to prolonged practice of *taqiyyah*, terminology and beliefs more widely held in Twelver (as in Ṣūfī) environs entered the Ismā'īlī tradition, albeit often in modified forms (see Chapter Seven). If we look at the tradition in its historical context without viewing it through the prism of later developments, its complexity becomes apparent. At any rate, it is clear that the *qaṣīdah* attempts to link Nāṣir-i Khusraw to Ṣafavid Shī'ism and presents him as a saint (who had predicted the arrival of the Mahdī) within this Shī'ī branch. It is one of the many poems composed from the 10th/16th century onwards that make Nāṣir-i Khusraw acceptable to Twelver Shī'īs.

As the Ismā'īlīs, following the practice of their Imām, adopted *taqiyyah*, it is quite possible that the reference to the Mahdī in the *qaṣīdah* refers to an Ismā'īlī Imām, as the Imāms are regularly regarded collectively as Mahdī, i.e. rightly guided.¹⁷¹ The *qaṣīdah* mentions an unnamed leader, who, as it claims, was killed around this time. This may be a reference to the Imām Murād Mīrzā, who was executed in 981/1574. Of course, this is only suggestive, but it would be useful if one were to read this *qaṣīdah* from a different perspective, rather than viewing it simply as the product of a Twelver Shī'ī hand. This may seem “confusing” to those who categorize religious traditions using clear-cut definitions, but the situation on the ground allows us to paint a much more nuanced portrait. The following paragraphs will further demonstrate this point.

After the murder of the thirtieth Muḥammad Shāhī Imām Shāh Razī al-Dīn ibn Ṭāhir (d. 915/1509) in Badakhshān, the next Imām Shāh Ṭāhir ibn Razī al-Dīn (d. ca. 956/1549) also practiced *taqiyyah* as a Twelver Shī'ī, first in Ṣafavid Persia and later in India, where he permanently settled and served the Twelver Shī'ī Nizām-Shāhī state from 944/1537 until his death.¹⁷² He wrote several commentaries on the theological works of some Twelver Shī'ī scholars.¹⁷³ Shāh Ṭāhir's son Shāh Ḥaydar (d. 994/1586) and grandson Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 1032/1622), who enjoyed the respect of the Nizām-Shāhīs, likely disguised themselves also as Twelver Shī'īs in the Deccan. This practice most likely continued with the other Imāms such as 'Aṭīyyat Allāh (d. 1074/1663) who is said to have lived and died in Badakhshān, and went on until at least the time of Mu'īn al-Dīn II (d. 1127/1715),

¹⁷¹ The time for the emergence of the Mahdī are variously given in different manuscripts. The one examined by van Berg has 1380/1960 (ف، غ، ش). As van den Berg mentions, the letters differ in each version of the *qaṣīdah* she examined. Berg, "Ismaili Poetry in Tajik Badakhshan," 6. The ones available to me have 1200/1785 (ت، ر، خ)، 1310/1892 (ق، ش، غ) and 1080/1669 (ف، خ، ت). All three are in MS Folder 21 (KhRU-IIS). According to Bertel's, other versions have 100/718 (ط، ص، ب)، 1380/1960 (ف، ش، غ)، 483/1090 (ج، ف، ت) and 950/1543 (خ، ن، ش). Bertel's, "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az 'urafā," 119.

¹⁷² Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 453-55.

during whose imamate a Muḥammad Shāhī author by the name of Ghulām ‘Alī Muḥammad composed his *Lama‘āt al-tāhirīn* (in 1110/1698) which eulogizes the Twelver Imāms while also referring to the Muḥammad Shāhī Imāms.¹⁷⁴ Around this time, in 1078/1667, a collection of texts (e.g. *Nūr'nāmah*, *Maṭlūb al-mu'minīn*, *Haft nuktaḥ*, *Qiṭ'ah-i mujārat*, *Ahd'nāmah*, *Khuṭbat al-bayān*, *A Du‘ā* and other works) was copied in Badakhshān. Of particular interest to us is the *Du‘ā*, a long invocation that was composed during the time of Shāh Ṣadr (Naṣr) al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Shāh Ḥaydar’s reign (994-1032/1586-1622), which refers to him as the Imām of the time (*ṣāhib al-zamān*) and the Lord of the Resurrection (*qā'im al-qiyyāmah*). According to this *Du‘ā*, the Imāms are one in essence and this essence manifests itself in different bodies and names in different historical times. In essence, all the Imams are ‘Alī or Shāh Ṣadr al-Dīn, who is “the first and the last.” In this regard, although the author of the *Du‘ā* writes their names separately, she or he does not draw any distinction between the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms and the Muḥammad Shāhī Imāms, as all of them are the “great names” (*nāmhā-yi buzurḡ*) or the “sacred names” (*nāmhā-yi muqaddas*) of the same essence (*ḥāl*).¹⁷⁵

The same manuscript (MS Folder 232 (KhRU-IIS)) contains a *qaṣīdah* by a certain Mawlānā Afshangī in praise (*madḥ*) of the Imāms of Twelver Shī‘ism. No information about this poet is available, but his *qaṣīdahs* were popular among the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān, as testified by the

¹⁷³ Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 273-275.

¹⁷⁴ See Ivanow, "A forgotten Branch of the Ismailis," *JRAS* (1938), 70-9. *Ismaili Literature: A Guide to Ismaili Literature* (London: 1933), 166-67.

¹⁷⁵ See MS Folder 232 (KhRU-IIS), 89-90. The same *Du‘ā* is found in MS 1959/24d (copied in 1144/1732) (OITAS), ff. 82-96. On this manuscript, see Baqoev, *Alfavitnyi Katalog*, 105. The text mentions the Twelver Imāms (‘Alī, Ḥusayn, Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, Mawlānā Bāqir, Mawlānā Ja‘far-i Ṣādiq, Mawlānā Mūsā Kāzīm, Mawlānā ‘Alī Rizā, Mawlānā Taqī, Mawlānā Naqī, Askarī, Mawlānā Mahdī) followed by Muḥammad Shāhī Imāms (Mawlānā Ismā‘īl, Mawlānā Muḥammad, Mawlānā Raṣī, Mawlānā Taqī, Mawlānā Vafī, Mawlānā Mahdī, Manṣūr, Mawlānā Mu‘izz, Mawlānā ‘Azīz, Mawlānā Ḥākīm, Mawlānā Zāhir, Mawlā (no name, but in MS Folder 232, it is Mawlānā Mustansir), Mawlānā Karrār (MS Folder 232 has Mawlānā Nizār instead), Mawlānā Qāhir (MS Folder 232 adds Mawlānā Mahdī here), Mawlānā Hādī, Mawlānā Ḥusayn (MS Folder 232 has Mawlānā Ḥasan instead), Mawlānā Muḥammad (MS Folder 232 adds Mawlānā Ḥasan and Mawlānā Muḥammad here), Mawlānā Ziyā al-Dīn Muḥammad, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn, Mawlānā ‘Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad, Mawlānā Muḥiqq (?), Mawlānā Rukn al-Dīn, Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn, Mawlānā Mu‘min Shāh, Mawlānā Muḥammad Shāh (MS Folder 232 adds Mu‘min Shāh here), Mawlānā Shāh Tāhir (MS Folder 232 adds Mawlānā Raṣī, Mawlānā Tāhir, Mawlānā Raṣī and Mawlānā Shāh Tāhir here), Mawlānā Ḥaydar Shāh (MS Folder 232 has Mawlānā Shāh Ḥaydar instead), Mawlānā Shāh (MS Folder 232 does not have this name) and the contemporary Imām (*ṣāhib-i zamān*)/the Lord of the Resurrection (*qā'im al-qiyyāmah*) Shāh Ṣadr (Naṣr) al-Dīn Muḥammad. For the Ismā‘īlīs, the Imāms are the “‘Alī of the time” (*‘Alī-yi zamānah*). See for example *Maṭlūb al-sā'ilīn*, MSGK131 (undated, but other works in the same codex are dated 1170/1757), f. 159 (KhRU-IIS). In an untitled poem (which begins with *Pīsh-i dū chashm-i ‘āshiqān gashtah ‘iyyān ‘Alī, ‘Alī* – “‘Alī has become manifest before the two eyes”), all the Qāsim Shāhī Imāms are manifestations of Imām ‘Alī’s essence. The Imām of the time during whose imamate the poem must have been composed is Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh (d. 1298/1881). Imām Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh is referred to as “‘Alī-yi vaqī” (‘Alī of the time). This poem is in MS Folder 8 and USBk17 (copied in 1319/1901, KhRU-IIS). Similarly, an untitled *maṣnavī* attributed to Imām ‘Alī (undated, from Yāḡīd, Darvāz) refers to all the Twelver Shī‘ī Imams as ‘Alī in essence (E.g. *Man ān shāham kih nāmam Ḥasan būd, Man ān shāham kih nām-i man Ḥusayn būd, Man ān shāham kih dānī Zayn al-‘Ibād, Man ān shāham kih būdam Bāqir-i shad, Man ān shāham kih Ja‘far gashtaam man ... Man ān shāham kih bā Mūsā Kāzīm... Man ān shāham kih Sulṭān Taqīyam, Man ān shāham kih Sulṭān Naqīyam, Man ān shāham kih nāmam ‘Askarī būd... Man ān shāham kih man Mahdī-yi dīnam... – “I am that king whose name was Ḥasan, I am that king whose name was Ḥusayn, I am that king whom you know as Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, I am that king who was the blissful Bāqir, I am that king who became Ja‘far... I am that king who is Mūsā Kāzīm... I am that king who was Taqī, I am that king who was Naqī, I am that king whose name was ‘Askarī, I am that king who is the Mahdī of religion...”). MS Folder 7 (undated, only mentions Sunday (*yakshanbih*), copied by Mirzā Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd al-(Ḥabdāl?) Valī, KhRU-IIS). A Badakhshānī poet Muṭribī also has a *qaṣīdah* in which he recognizes the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms as Imām ‘Alī regarding whom he says “‘Alī is the first and also the last” (*‘Alī ham avval ast ham ākhir*). See MS Folder 12, ff. 133-135.*

numerous manuscript copies.¹⁷⁶ He apparently lived before 1078/1667, when the manuscript was copied. Apart from this *qaṣīdah*, the *Charāgh'nāmah* or the *Qandīl'nāmah*, which is attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, is replete with verses in praise of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms.¹⁷⁷ Extant copies of the *Charāgh'nāmah* are relatively recent and it is not clear when it was first composed.¹⁷⁸ It is clear, however, that it predates the early 13th/19th century, because the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, which was composed sometime between 1244/1829 and 1246/1837, quotes verses from it.¹⁷⁹ It is worth noting that Andreï Bertel's, who analyzes the text of the *Charāgh'nāmah*, which contains the word Nāṣirī (a follower of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, see Chapter Five), argues that, for the authors and compilers of this work, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is the founder of a mystic *silsilah* called the Nāṣiriyyah. On the basis of his analysis of the *Charāgh'nāmah*, Bertel's opines that the *silsilah* developed in the 8th/14th or 9th/15th century in Badakhshān.¹⁸⁰ This, however, is only a conjecture, which is based on the view that the text might have been authored by the Ṣūfī master Shāh Ni'mat Allāh (d. 834/1431), whose name and verses appear in the *Charāgh'nāmah*.¹⁸¹ Although the particular verses in question are clearly by Shāh Ni'mat Allāh, the *Charāgh'nāmah* changes some of them and adds additional verses to them, not found in the critical edition. We already come across this change in a manuscript that was copied sometime in the second half of the 12th/18th century, as it mentions Imām Sayyid Ḥasan, who took the office of imamate in 1167/1754. Based on this, we can postulate that the *Charāgh'nāmah* was created, at the very latest, in the first half of the 12th/18th century,¹⁸² or perhaps even earlier during 10th/16th century,

¹⁷⁶ *Mawlānā Afshangī mī'farmāyad*, MS Folder 232, ff. 163a-163b (KhRU-IIS). The same poem is given in MS Folder 207 (copied in 1310/1892 in Shidz, Rūshān), ff. 137a-138b (KhRU-IIS). Another *qaṣīdah* (that begins with *Kih dārad chūn 'Alī shāh-i savār...*) in praise of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms is in MS Folder 12 (copied in 1395/1975 in Shughnān) (KhRU-IIS). Yet another (that begins with *Gūyam sukhanī zih shāh-i mardān* – “I say a word about the king of men”), which also refers to the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms is in MS Folder 21 (KhRU-IIS). The 11th/18th century Badakhshānī poet, Nazmī mentions Afshangī's name along with Shāh Ziyāyī's in a poem. See Habibov, *Az ta'rikhi ravobitī adabī Badakhshon bo Hinduston*, 141. In reference to himself, Afshangī mentions Kāshān and Qumm in a poem (*Gar zi Kāshān būdī yā az shahr-i Qumm* – “Although you were from Kāshān and the city of Qumm”). The poem begins with *'Ilm-i ghaybī kas namī'dānad bih juz parvardīgār* – “Nobody but God has knowledge of the unseen.” MS Folder 21 (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁷⁷ The *Āghāz-i Charāgh'nāmah* mentions Ḥazrat Shāh Sayyid Muḥammad Madanī (fl. 8th/14th century) and Ḥazrat-i Sulṭān al-Muḥaqqiqīn Nāṣir-i Khusraw as its authors. *Āghāz-i Charāgh'nāmah*, MS Folder 164, ff. 81a-84a (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁷⁸ See Baqoev, *Alfavitmyī Katalog*, 41, #59, 60, 61, 62. Bertel's reported that he had prepared a critical edition of the *Charāgh'nāmah* on the basis of #59, 60 and 61, but it does not seem that he published it. Bertel's, "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az 'urafā," 105.

¹⁷⁹ For example, “Who are your friends of the cave, O friend of God, Master Shāh Nāṣir?” (*Kīyānand-u tū-rā yārān-i ghārand, Valī Allāh Bābā Shāh Nāṣir?*), *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 108, Ēl'chibekov, 78. On the *Silk-i guhar-rīz*, see Chapter Seven. The verses from the *Charāgh'nāmah* are quoted in "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az 'urafā," 109.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 111.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² MS Folder 220, f. 11a (KhRU-IIS). The eleven distiches of Shāh Ni'mat Allāh (*Khūsh rahmatīst yārān ṣalavāt bar Muḥammad, Gūyim az dil-u jān ṣalavāt bar Muḥammad, Gar mu'minī-yu ṣādiq bā mā shavī muvāffiq, Kūrī-i har munāfiq ṣalavāt bar Muḥammad, Dar āsmān farishtah mihrash bih jān sirishtah, Bar 'arsh khūsh navishtah ṣalavāt bar Muḥammad, Ṣalavāt agar bigū-yī yābī har ān chih jū-yī, Gar tū zi khayl-i ū-yī ṣalavāt bar Muḥammad...*) become fourteen distiches in MS Folder 220, 42a-42b (KhRU-IIS). In MS Folder 168 (KhRU-IIS), they are twenty-eight distiches. In *Charāgh'nāmah-i mubārak*, MS Folder 206 (prepared for the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān in the early 20th century) (KhRU-IIS), those are twenty-six distiches. The study of the origins of the *Charāgh'nāmah* requires a separate study. At present, we can only conjecture about its history. I suspect that Shāh Ni'mat Allāh's verses were included in the *Charāgh'nāmah* or even the entire text was put together sometime during the imamate of Imām Shāh Nizār (d. 1134/1722) or Imām Sayyid 'Alī. MS Folder 220 (transcribed in 1151/1738) seems to be the oldest extant copy of a Badakhshānī text that contains Shāh Ni'mat Allāh's verses which later found their way into the *Charāgh'nāmah*. Imām Shāh Nizār (d. 1134/1722) had close connection with the Ni'mat

considering the environment in Badakhshān that was friendly to Twelver Shī'ism. At any rate, the following are examples of the types of verses in praise of Twelver Imāms that are present in the *Charāgh'nāmāh*:

<i>Sham 'i lagan-u duvāzdah burj-i falak</i>	The candle of the union of stars and the twelve signs of the heaven
<i>Shāh-i Najaf ast yāzdah farzandash</i> <i>Mī'kunam sharḥ-i adā, fahm nāma bismillāh</i>	Are the King of Najaf (i.e. 'Alī) and his eleven sons I will explain this so you comprehend "in the name of God"
<i>Ibtidā-yi sukhan az sirr-i Khudā bismillāh</i>	The beginning of the speech with the mystery of God "in the name of God"
<i>Bih Ḥasan naqd-i 'Alī gawhar-i shāh-i dū jahān</i> <i>Bih Ḥusayn ast shahīdān-i hudā bismillāh</i>	Is with Ḥasan, the treasure of 'Alī, the king of both worlds With Ḥusayn, the [king of] the martyrs in the right path, "in the name of God"
<i>Zayn al-'Ābid ast dīgar Bāqir-u Ja'far shah-i dīn</i>	Also [with] Zayn al-'Ābid[īn], [Muḥammad al-]Bāqir and Ja'far [al-Ṣādiq], the king of Religion
<i>Mūsā-yi Kāzīm-u Sulṭān-i Riṣā bismillāh</i> <i>Bih Taqī-yu Naqī Askarī-yu Mahdī-i dīn</i> <i>Vaqt-i ān ast kih kunand yārī-i mā bismillāh</i>	Mūsā Kāzīm and Sulṭān-i Riṣā, "in the name of God" With Taqī, Naqī, Askarī and Mahdī It is the time for them to come to our aid, "in the name of God"
<i>Dīn dīn-i duvāzdah Imām ast</i> <i>Bā sharḥ-i Nabī chū ū tamām ast</i> <i>Az sharḥ bīrūn hama ḥarām ast</i> <i>Khush gū ṣalavāt Muṣṭafā-rā</i>	Religion is the religion of the Twelve Imāms With the declaration of the Prophet it is complete Going beyond the explanation is forbidden Send salutations for the Chosen One ¹⁸³

In one copy of the *Charāgh'nāmāh*, which was also examined by Bertel's, the tradition of the *Charāgh'rawshan* itself is mentioned to have passed from God to the Prophet, then to Imām 'Alī, then to Twelver Imāms and finally to Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹⁸⁴ A text titled the *Āghāz-i Charāgh'nāmāh* (copied sometime during the imamate of Imām Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh (r. 1232-1298/1817-1881)) is followed by an untitled text on the Twelve Shī'ī Imāms that describes the twelfth Imām as "the master of the time" (*ṣāhib al-zamān*).¹⁸⁵

The Ismā'īlī hagiographical work *Silk-i guhar'rīz* (completed in 1246/1831) (examined in Chapter Seven) also praises the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms, in addition to the Ismā'īlī Imāms. Its author, Khvājah Aḥrār (who wrote under the pen name of Kūchak, "the insignificant one") praises the awaited

Allāhī Ṣūfī order. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 456-57. The *Qandil'nāmāh* in MS Folder 50 (KhRU-IIS) was either transcribed in 1121/1709 or 1217/1802. If the former is the case, then the *Charāgh'nāmāh* was created in the 11th/17th century or even earlier.

¹⁸³ *Qandil'nāmāh*, MS Folder 50 (either 1121/1709 or 1217/1802), ff. 162a-163b (KhRU-IIS). Umed Muḥammadsherozodshoev, *Manobe'i sunnat-i charogh-ravshan* (Dushanbe: 2009), 23. Poetry in praise of the Twelver Imāms is found in a manuscript titled "Jung'nāmāh" and other *bayāz*'s of local poets, copies of which are preserved in the archives of KIH. Some examples of the poetry can be found in Mu'izzī, "Ta'rīkh-i Ismā'īlīyān-i Badakhshān," 219-22.

¹⁸⁴ *Īn charāgh az jabbār-i 'ālam āmad az barā-yi Muḥammad āmad, az Muḥammad bā 'Alī āmad, az 'Alī bā dūvāz'dah Imām āmad, az ān bā ... Sayyid Sulṭān Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw āmad...* (This candle came from the Almighty for Muḥammad, from Muḥammad to 'Alī, from 'Alī to twelve Imāms, from them to ... Sayyid Sulṭān Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw), MS Folder 19 (date of this particular text in the folder is unknown) (KhRU-IIS). Bertel's, "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az 'urafā," 106. The combination of "from 'Alī to Twelve Imāms" (*az 'Alī bā dūvāz'dah Imām āmad*) in the *Charāgh'nāmāh* is strange though, because Imām 'Alī is the first of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms.

¹⁸⁵ MS Folder 164, f. 88a (KhRU-IIS)

Imām and the remaining eleven (*bā yāzdah*) of the Twelver Imāms in his other poems.¹⁸⁶ There are devotional songs (*maddāḥ*), popular among the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān, which glorify the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms.¹⁸⁷ One popular devotional poem says,

Tā šūrat-i panj farq shud ma ‘lūmam
Az hasht-u chahār mī‘rasad maqšūdam

Maddāḥ-i dūvāzdah imām shab-u rūz
Khāk-i qadam-i chahārdah ma ‘šūmam

When the image of the five heads¹⁸⁸ became known to me
The eight and four (i.e. presumably Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms)
bring me to the goal
I sing the praise of the Twelve Imāms day and night
I am the earth beneath the feet of the Fourteen Infallible
Ones¹⁸⁹

In the very garden near the shrine of Nāšir-i Khusraw in Pārshinīv, there is a rock with Persian inscriptions (see Image 1.1.). Its author is the Ismā‘īlī *pīr* of Shughnān Sayyid Farrukh Shāh (d. 1307/1889) whose pen-name (*takhalluṣ*) *Za‘īfī* (literally, “feeble, emaciated”) is inscribed inside the image of a palm with five open fingers (which is a symbol of the five holy ones, the *panj’tan*, i.e., the family of the Prophet). This work of poetry, which was composed in 1290/1873, asks for the help of the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms (*hasht bā char*, “eight with four”) to protect Sarā-yi Bahār (a place in Pārshinīv where some of the *pīrs* in Sayyid Farrukh Shāh’s family lived):

Yā rabb, tū sarā-yi dilrabā-rā
Az dast-i sitamgarān nigāh dār
Yā rabb bih za ‘īfī-i shikastah
Imdād rasān zih hasht bā chār

Oh Lord, keep Sarā-yi dilrabā safe
From the hands of the oppressors
Oh Lord, make the help of the eight with four
Reach the wounded *Za‘īfī*

There is an anonymous *qaṣīdah*, titled *Manqabat-i sharīf-i Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw* and apparently attributed to Nāšir-i Khusraw, in praise of the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms. This *qaṣīdah* is composed in imitation of the famous *qaṣīdah* of Nāšir-i Khusraw in which (among other things) he responds to those who say he is poor and lonely in Yumgān:

... *V-ān kih mī‘gūyad kih “ḥujjat gar ḥakīm astī chirā*
*Dar darrah-yi Yumgān muflis-u tanhāstī?”*¹⁹⁰

... And he who says “If the *ḥujjat* is a wise man
Then why is he poor and lonely in Yumgān?”

The *Manqabat-i sharīf-i Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw* includes a few verses from Nāšir-i Khusraw’s *qaṣīdah*, changes some of them and adds many new verses. It has a total of seventy-five distiches while Nāšir-i Khusraw’s original *qaṣīdah* has only fifty (in Taqavī’s edition of the *Dīvān*) or

¹⁸⁶ MS Folder 140, KIH. See also *Munājāt-i Mīrzā Kūchak*, MSGK130 (copied by Yār Bīk ibn Ibrāhīm in 1309/1892 in Sūchān).

¹⁸⁷ For examples of Badakhshānī *maddāḥs* in praise of the Twelve Imāms, see Qurbān Shāh, *Afsānah va Ḥaqīqat*. See also Gabrielle van der Berg, *Minstrel Poetry*, 277-78, 444-45. Muhammadsherzodshoev, *Manobe*’i, 23.

¹⁸⁸ The “Panj farq” or “the Five heads” are the Prophet, ‘Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. It is because of the *Panj farq* that Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlism is locally known as “Panj’tanī.” Ātashī also uses this expression in relation to these five members of the Prophet’s family in a *qaṣīdah* (which begins with *Šubhidam chūn zawraq-i zarrīn bih amr-i dād’gar* – “Early in the morning, by divine order, a golden boat”), MS Folder 13 (copied by Gulzār Khān in 1394/1974) and MS Folder 21 (titled *Madḥ-i panj tan*, copied by Mullā Nuṣrat Allāh Darvīsh in 1377/1958) (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁸⁹ The fourteen pure ones are the Prophet, his daughter Fāṭimah and the Twelve Imāms. See Qurbān Shāh, *Afsānah va Ḥaqīqat*.

¹⁹⁰ The entire *qaṣīdah* with slight differences is found in *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 439-41 and *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī), 225-8.

fourty-eight (in Mīnuvī's edition of the *Dīvān*).¹⁹¹ Unfortunately, we do not know when the *Manqabat-i sharīf-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* was composed, but it is included in MS Folder 12, which was transcribed by Gulzār Khān in 1395/1975 in Shughnān (KhRU-IIS). The scribe indicates that he copied numerous poems from old manuscripts.¹⁹² Its author may be a poet with the pen name of Niyāzī.¹⁹³ At any rate, below is a transcription of the *Manqabat-i sharīf-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* in Persian along with its English translation:

Har kih bughz-i āl-i Aḥmad mī'kunad rūyash siyāh

Those who have hatred for the family of the Prophet are disgraced (lit: black-faced)

Budah-and az naṣl-i pāk-i ān rasūl-i mujtabā

From the pure family of that chosen messenger

Shabbar-u Shubbayr,¹⁹⁴ Zayn al-'Ābidīn k-az ba'd-i shāh

After the King (i.e. Imām 'Alī) Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, Zayn al-'Ābidīn

Ja'far-u Bāqir Imām-i pāk'dīn Mūsāstī

Ja'far, Bāqir and Mūsā are chaste Imāms

Ān yakī mulk-i Khurāsān-rā Imām-i bar ḥaqqī

One is a rightful Imām in the land of Khurāsān

Ān digar afzūdah dīn-rā har zamānī rawnaqī

The other made religion prosper in splendour in every age

Ān digar mī'rānd dar bahr-i ma'ānī zawraqī

One rode a boat in the sea of [spiritual] meanings

Har yakī būdand bih 'aṣr-i khūd Imām-i bar ḥaqqī

Each one of them was a rightful Imām in his age

Shāh 'Alī Mūsā Rizā-yu ham Taqī-yu ham Naqī

Shāh 'Alī Mūsā Rizā, Taqī and also Naqī

'Askarī bā Ḥujjat al-Qāyīm kih ū barjāstī...

'Askarī with Ḥujjat al-Qāyīm who is established

Nāṣir-i Khusraw zi dast-i ān sagān-i khvārijī

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, because of the Khvārijī¹⁹⁵ dogs

Dar darrah-yi Yumgān nishastah sarvar-i yaktāstī¹⁹⁶

Sits in the valley of Yumgān, the unique leader

There is an elegiac *qaṣīdah* (in the form of a *mukhammas*, stanzas consisting of five verses) about the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms that is attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Gulzār Khān gives its title as

¹⁹¹ The *Manqabat-i sharīf-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, for example, includes the following verses that are also found in Taqavī's edition, but are omitted in Mīnuvī's edition of the *Dīvān*:

Az namāz-u rūza-i tū hīch nagshāyad tu-rā

Nothing will open up for you with your prayer and fasting

Khvāh kun khvāhī makun man bā tū guftam rāstī

It's your choice to do them, but I told you the truth

See *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 439-41. *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī), 228.

¹⁹² According to Gulzār Khān, the old manuscripts belonged to Shāh Mislīm from Rīvāk and Sayyid Maḥmūd from Bāghīv in Shughnān. Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS), f. 226.

¹⁹³ There are two separate poems of *Manāqib-i a'immah* (*In Praise of Imams*) that follow the *Manqabat-i sharīf-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* in the same manuscript. The first (which begins with *Shukr Khudā az rah-i nik'aktarī* – "I thank God that with good fortune") is a devotional poem (*ḥaydarī, madh*) in praise of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms and Nāṣir-i Khusraw. MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS), ff. 49-52. The second *manqabah* (which begins with *Biyā sāqī kih imruz ast Nawrūz* – "Come o cupbearer for today is Nawrūz") is also in praise of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms and has the name or pen name of the poet as Niyāzī. MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS), ff. 52-58. A certain Niyāzī is quoted by Muḥammad b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn Fidā'ī Khurāsānī in his *Kitāb bih hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-ṭālibīn*, 138-39. This Niyāzī apparently lived during the time of Imām Zu'l-Faqār 'Alī (d. 1043/1634). According to Fidā'ī Khurāsānī, Niyāzī functioned as a *dā'ī* of Imām Zu'l-Faqār 'Alī and was an accomplished (*kāmīl*) person. In the poem that Fidā'ī Khurāsānī quotes, Niyāzī eulogizes Imām Zu'l-Faqār 'Alī. Imām Zu'l-Faqār 'Alī had friendly relations with the Twelver Shī'ī Ṣafavids and practiced *taqīyyah* under the cover of Twelver Shī'ism. See Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 437. There is Mawlānā Niyāz Badakhshī ibn Mawlānā Viṣālī-i Badakhshī (d. 1010/1601), whose pen name was Niyāzī, but he was most likely a Sunnī. On him, see Ḥabibov, *Ganji Badakhshon*, 73-4. Another poet named Shāh Niyāz had the pen name of Niyāzī, but he, too, was a Sunnī. On him see Badakhshī, *Armughān-i Badakhshān*, 79-81. Maryam Mu'izzī refers to a work titled *Sarguzāsh va āṣār-i Niyāzī Shughnānī* (*Life and Works of i Niyāzī Shughnānī*) on Niyāzī Shughnānī that is kept in the archives of KIH. According to her, Niyāzī Shughnānī died in 1403/1982. See Moezzi, "Ta'rikh-i Ismā'īlīyān-i Badakhshān," 29. Unfortunately, this work is unavailable to me.

¹⁹⁴ Ḥasan b. 'Alī and Ḥusayn b. 'Alī are said to have been named Shabbar and Shubbayr after Aaron's (Hārūn) sons. Steven M. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 95.

¹⁹⁵ On the Khavārij, see Chapter Six.

Mukhammas-i Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw dar na‘t-i Sayyid al-mursalīn (*Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s mukhammas in praise of the master of the messengers*). The last verse of the *qaṣīdah* mentions Nāṣirī, which could be a pen name or a reference to the followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw:

<i>Tā zi shawq-i madḥ-i Sayyid qudsiyān par mī‘zanand</i>	Angels fly in their desire for praise of the Master of the Messengers
<i>Madḥ-i ān sulṭān dar īn nuh charkh-i akhḏar mī‘zanand...</i>	[They] sing the praise of the Sovereign in the nine (ethereal) spheres...
<i>‘Andalīb-i bāgh-i Riḏvān dam zi Ḥaydar mī‘zanand...</i>	The nightingales of Paradise ¹⁹⁷ speak praise of ‘Alī...
<i>Az barā-yi mātamash malā‘ik dar khurūsh...</i>	In their mourning of him, all angels are in pain...
<i>Talkh chud kām-i Ḥasan chūn kard jām-i zahr nūsh...</i>	Ḥasan’s palate became bitter with drinking from the poisoned cup...
<i>Chūn muḥibbān az ghamash har sāl mī‘giryand zār...</i>	As his lovers weep bitterly every year, lamenting his departure
<i>Dar ghamī baḥr-i Ḥusayn tashnah‘lab faṣl-i bahār...</i>	Because of Ḥusayn, the lips of the season of spring are parched with thirst
<i>Ān dū sibṭayn-i nabī-rā chūn falak bar bād dād...</i>	As [the wheel] of fate took these two grandsons of the Prophet away
<i>Charkh khanjar mī‘kashad bā dushman Zayn al-‘Ibād</i>	The wheel [of fate] wields the sword with the enemies of Zayn al-‘Ibād
<i>Bā dū chashm-i khaṣm(-i) Bāqir nayzah nishtar mī‘zanad</i>	And throws a lance at Bāqir with its two eyes
<i>Tā shudah khāk-i sar-i kūh-i riḏā maskan ma-rā</i>	The top of the mountain of contentment has become my abode
<i>Gayr-i madḥ‘shān dīgar nīst tā murdan ma-rā</i>	Till my death, I praise no one but them
<i>Hamchū qumrī nālah-hā bar yād-i Ja‘far mī‘zanad...</i>	Like a ring-dove I wail in remembrance of Ja‘far
<i>Bī rukh-i Mūsá-yi Kāzīm dar chaman gul har saḥar</i>	Without the countenance of Mūsá, the flower in the meadow sighs in pain
<i>Az firāq-i ḥijr-i ū ātash bih daftar mī‘zanad</i>	in separation from him every morning
<i>Man ghulām-i ān shahanshāh ham kih hast ū pīshvā</i>	I am the slave of that king of kings, the leader
<i>Hast ū bar jumlah ‘ālam Imām-u rah‘namā</i>	He is the Imām and guide for all creatures in the world
<i>Khāk-i rāh-i āstānash dādah dilhā-rā riḏā</i>	The earth on the path to his shrine gives pleasure to the hearts
<i>Sabz pūshīdah bunafshah az gham-i Shāh-i Riḏā</i>	Violets are dressed in mourning, ¹⁹⁸ lamenting [the loss of] Shāh Riḏā
<i>Bā sitam‘gārī Taqī sawsan bih khanjar mī‘zanad</i>	For tyranny against Taqī, the lily hits the sword
<i>Gar tū khvāhī bigzarī chūn barq āsān az širāt</i>	If you want to pass through the Path ¹⁹⁹ with ease like lightning
<i>Gayr-i madḥ-i khānadān kam gū dar īn kuhnah ribāt...</i>	Speak little other than the praise of this family in this old inn (i.e. the world)
<i>Har giyāhī k-az zamīn rūyad va ashjār-u nabāt</i>	Every grass that grows on soil, all trees and plants
<i>Bar havā-yi qāmat-i sarv-i Naqī sar mī‘zanad</i>	Flourish because of the desire for the cypress-like stature of Naqī
<i>Har kih ū-rā hast īmān bāshad az ahl-i yaqīn</i>	Those who have faith are among the people of certainty
<i>Naw‘nihāl-i bāgh-i Ḥaydar ‘Askarī mīdān yaqīn...</i>	Know for certain ‘Askarī as the tree with fresh

¹⁹⁶ MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS), ff. 44-49.

¹⁹⁷ The garden of Riḏvān (*bāgh-i Riḏvān*) means Paradise as in Islamic tradition Riḏvān is the guardian of Paradise. See W. Raven, "Riḏwān," *EI2*.

¹⁹⁸ Sabz/pūsh (literally, clothed in green) means "dressed in mourning," "saints," "a tree in full leaf," etc. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 648.

¹⁹⁹ According to Islamic tradition, *širāt* (Arabic, *al-širāt*) is the proper name of a bridge ("narrower than a hair and sharper than a sword") above Hell. "The believers will cross it in the winking of an eye, with the speed of lightning." The evil ones will fall into the fire of Hell. See G. Monnot, "Širāt," *EI2*.

Bād bar jumlah muḥibbān salām-i bī'hisāb
Ḥaẓrat-i Mahdī kih mānd pā-yi dawlat dar rikāb

Tīgh bar farq-i Yazīdān-i mukaddar mī'zanad

Dushman-i āl-i Muḥammad mī'dān tū kamtar az kharī

Nīst Nāṣir-rā bih juz madḥ-i Imāmān khūshtarī

Z-ān kih juz Mahdī-yi hādī nīst bihtar sarvarī
Har kasī dam mī'zanad az murshidī-yu rahbarī
*Nāṣirī dam az dam-i shāh-i qalandar mī'zanad*²⁰¹

shoots in the Lion's (i.e. 'Alī's) garden
May there be unending peace for all the lovers
As Ḥaẓrat Mahdī put the foot of felicity in the
stirrup

[He] strikes the foreheads of the afflicted
Yazīdīs²⁰⁰

Regard the enemies of the Prophet's family as no
more than donkeys

Nothing but the praise of the Imāms is sweeter for
Nāṣir

As no leader and guide is better than Mahdī

Everyone praises a guide and a leader

Nāṣirī in his very being praises the breath of the
king of *qalandars* (i.e. 'Alī)

Similar to Nāṣirī (if it is the pen name of the poet), another Badakhshānī poet, whose pen name was Ḥusaynī (c. 17th-18th century), also associated Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Twelver Shī'ism.²⁰² I will discuss this issue in relation to Ḥusaynī in Chapter Seven. In addition to Ḥusaynī,²⁰³ many other Badakhshānī poets and those who are either Badakhshānī or whose poems are popular in the region, praise the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms and the Fourteen Pure Ones (*chāhār'dah ma'ṣūm-i pāk*) (the Prophet Muḥammad, Fāṭimah and the Twelve Imāms). These include Ātashī (fl. c. mid-18th century or earlier),²⁰⁴ Ḥāfīzī (fl. first half of 18th century or earlier),²⁰⁵ Qadam Shāh Muṭribī (fl. first half of 18th century or earlier),²⁰⁶ Khvājah 'Abd Allāh Bīk Musta'in (dates unknown),²⁰⁷ Shāh Mukarram (fl. after

²⁰⁰ Yazīdīs (*yazīdiyān*) are followers of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah (d. 683) who ordered to massacre Imām Ḥusayn and his entourage in 61/680 in Karbalā. More generally, the term is used in reference to the enemies of faith. See Chapter Seven.

²⁰¹ MS Folder 12, ff. 209-211 (KhRU-IIS).

²⁰² Ḥusaynī's (who most likely lived in the second half of the 11th/17th and first half of the 12th/18th century) *Haft band-i munāqibat-i murtaẓavī* extols the virtues of Imām 'Alī and the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms. It is found in MS Folder 220 and MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS). The *Haft band-i munāqibat-i murtaẓavī* begins with *Al-salām ay maẓhar-i asrār-i rabb al-'ālamīn* ("Salutations, O locus of the mysteries of the lord of the worlds"). Ḥusaynī praises Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms in his *Dar manqabat-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, *Haft band* that is also found in MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS).

²⁰³ Another poem by Ḥusaynī (composed in imitation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's style, similar to the one most probably composed by Niyāzī) eulogizing Twelver Shī'ī Imāms can be found in MS Folder 12 (*Mukhammas az Ḥusaynī*, copied by Gulzār Khān in 1395/1975), ff. 273-74 (KhRU-IIS).

²⁰⁴ I found no information about Ātashī and cannot confirm whether he was from Badakhshān, but his poetry is popular in the region. Although this may not be the case, considering the fact that Ātashī, like other Badakhshānī poets, heaps abundant praise on the "Panj farq" ("The Five heads") or the "Panj tan-i pāk" ("The Five Holy Ones"), he may be from Badakhshān, MS Folder 13, f. 20 (KhRU-IIS). In this legend, God shows Eve (*Havā*) as the primordial light of the *panj farq*, which was created from divine light hundreds of thousands of years before. Another *qaṣīdah* by Ātashī (which begins with *Ay dil ar khvāhī kih yābī...* – "Oh heart, if you want to find ...") in praise of Twelver Shī'ī Imāms is in MSGK131, ff. 355-70 (KhRU-IIS).

²⁰⁵ It is unknown whether he was a Badakhshānī poet. Ḥāfīzī (who probably lived in the first half of the 12th/18th century) lauds the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms in a *maṣnavī* (which begins with *Ba'd-i ḥamd-i Khudā-yū na't-i rasūl* – "After the praise of God and the Messenger"). See MS Folder 220 (KhRU-IIS). A copy of this *maṣnavī* is also found in the Bertel's and Baqoiev collection. Its accession number is MS1960/13 (OITAS).

²⁰⁶ As a follower of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Qadam Shāh (Muṭribī) was from Badakhshān. He most likely lived in the first half of the 12th/18th century. He begins a *qaṣīdah* with *Az dam-i garm-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir* ("By the warm breath of Pīr Shāh Nāṣir") in which he calls to the recognition of Twelver Shī'ī Imāms. See MS Folder 12, ff. 133-5 (KhRU-IIS). A translation of some verses is provided below. Ḥabibov also confirms that Muṭribī was an Ismā'īlī poet from Zībāk. However, based on his interviews with old people in Badakhshān, Ḥabibov adds that the poet lived in the 19th century. The scholar quotes the first six lines of the poem that begins with *Az dam-i garm-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir*. See Ḥabibov, *Az ta'rikhi adabiēti tojik dar Badakhshon*, 136-37.

²⁰⁷ Musta'in's poetry can be found in some Badakhshānī manuscripts. One of his poems in praise of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms is written in the style of Shāh Zīyāyī's *Salām-nāmah* (*The Book of Salutations*). It begins with *Salām-u 'alayk ay karīmā*

the first half of the 18th century),²⁰⁸ Sayyid Nasīmī (dates unknown) and/or Nasīmī (d. 807/1404-5).²⁰⁹

It should, however, be noted that although generally, the “Fourteen Pure Ones” (*chāhār'dah ma'sūm*)

kabīrā – “Peace be upon you, o beneficent and great.” The poet mentions his pen name Musta‘īn in the last verse. MS Folder 21 (KhRU-IIS). Another poem by the same poet is found in MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS). This poem begins with *Har ān-rā chashm-i dil binā bih anvār-i yaqīn bāshad* – “Those whose inner eye sees with the light of certainty.” The scribe Gulzār Khān titles this poem as *Qaṣīdah-i Khvājah ‘Abd Allāh Bīk Musta‘īn* (*The Qaṣīdah of Khvājah ‘Abd Allāh Bīk Musta‘īn*). The full name of the poet is then Khvājah ‘Abd Allāh Bīk. He was most likely a Badakhshānī poet. A pentastich (*mukhammas*) by the poet, which is about the importance of following the *pīr/murshid* (both terms are used in it), mentions *Musta‘īn-i Nāṣir* (literally, “the seeker of help from Nāṣir”). The *mukhammas* begins with *Bi-yā imrūz fikr-i rūz’gār-i rūz-i maḥshar kun* – “Come, contemplate on the day of gathering (i.e. the resurrection) today.” The *mukhammas* is also in MS Folder 21 (KhRU-IIS).

²⁰⁸ The works of these poets have largely been ignored in scholarship. We know almost nothing about these poets and where exactly they lived. Mu‘izzī refers to Ātashī and Shāh Mukarram in her study on Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlism. Mu‘izzī, “Ta’rīkh-i Ismā‘īlīyān-i Badakhshān,” 224-28. *Ismā‘īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 188-89. The copies of Ātashī and Shāh Mukarram’s poems (kept in the archives of KIH) that Mu‘izzī used for her study are not available to me. I used the *qaṣīdah* of Ātashī that is found in a codex with the accession number of MSGK131, ff. 355-70 in the archives of KhRU-IIS. Some of the works included in the codex were copied in 1170/1757 and 1171/1758. Ātashī therefore lived before 1171/1758. Mu‘izzī clearly refers to the *Mukhammas az Husaynī*, which she found in a manuscript containing poems of Shughnānī poets that is kept in the archives of KIH (*Bayāz-i shā’irān-i Shughnān*, 131-142). However, she states that the *mukhammas* belongs to Shāh Mukarram and makes no mention of Husaynī. In fact, the pen name of the poet in the same *mukhammas* in MS Folder 12, which is in praise of the Fourteen Pure Ones, is Husaynī. The last lines of the *mukhammas* in MS Folder 12 begin with *shud mukarram*, which, according to Mu‘izzī, appears as *Shāh Mukarram* in the *Bayāz-i shā’irān-i Shughnān*. These final five verses are in praise of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Grammatically, *Shāh Mukarram* instead of *shud mukarram* reads better in this part of the poem, but it would be unusual for a poem to have two poets. It seems that Shāh Mukarram adapted Husaynī’s original poem (leaving his pen name unchanged) and turned it into a longer *mukhammas*. In a collection of poems (*bayāz*), copied by Mullā Nuṣrat Allāh Darvīsh, son of Mīrzā ‘Abd Allāh, in 1376/1957 in the village of Zingryā of Shikay district in Afghan Badakhshān, there is a poem (titled *Dar manqabat-i dūvāz’dah Imām*, which begins with *Chindah-am az būstān-i Ahmad-i mukhtār gul* – “I have picked flowers from the garden of Ahmad (Muhammad), the Chosen”) by Husaynī in praise of the Fourteen Pure Ones and Nāṣir-i Khusraw. *Kitāb-i mustaqāb-i rāh-i haqq*, *Bayāz*, MS Folder 21 (KhRU-IIS). This poem, similar to the *mukhammas*, ends with the word *gul* (flower) and some lines are exactly the same (e.g. *Nāṣir-i Khusraw gul az būstān-i vaḥdat ast* – “Nāṣir-i Khusraw is from the garden of divine unity,” etc.) More verses have been added to the poem and some have been changed (e.g. *Az qudūmash Ka’bah Yumgān shudast* – “Yumgān has become the Ka’bah with his arrival” to *Az qudūmat gūshah-i Yumgān shudah bī-khār gul* – “Yumgān has become a thornless flower with your arrival”). It is also quite possible that the *mukhammas* is the original version, considering the fact that it ends with the word “gul” and rhymes with the rest of the lines, unlike the poem that ends with the word “shudast.” As Husaynī’s name appears in both versions, he should be considered the author of the poem and the *mukhammas* in question. The choice of words (e.g. *qurrat al-‘ayn*, *būstān*, etc.) in the *mukhammas* and the *Dar manqabat-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, *Haft band* that is also found in MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS) and their similar style would further support the idea that the *mukhammas*, including the part in praise of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, must be Husaynī’s. A slightly different version of the *Dar manqabat-i dūvāz’dah Imām* is found in Berg, *Minstrel Poetry*, 444-45., but the Badakhshānī informants of the author wrongly attribute it to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. I discuss the *Dar manqabat-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, *Haft band* further in Chapter Seven.

²⁰⁹ Sayyid Nasīmī’s *qaṣīdah*, titled *Ash‘ār-i Sayyid Nasīmī* (*Sayyid Nasīmī’s Poetry*), praising the Twelver Shī‘ī Imams is found in MS Folder 13, ff. 28a-32b. It begins with *Mash‘al-i khurshīd k-az nūrash jahān-rā zīvar ast* – “The illuminating sun whose light adorns the world.” Whether or not Sayyid Nasīmī was a Badakhshānī poet is unknown. It is possible that the *qaṣīdah* is by or was attributed to the Ḥurūfī poet Sayyid ‘Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī Shīrāzī who was executed in Aleppo in 807/1404-5. Nasīmī’s poems (or poems attributed to him) are included in various Badakhshānī manuscripts. Some are in MS Folder 21 (copied by Mullā Nuṣrat Allāh Darvīsh son of Mīrzā ‘Abd Allāh in 1376/1957) (KhRU-IIS), MS 1962/15 (copied in 1270/1854) (OITAS), MS 1961/23 (undated) (OITAS). See Baqoev, *Alfavitniyī Katalog*, 34, 47. Like Nasīmī, other Ḥurūfī poets’ compositions have found a place in Badakhshānī manuscripts. Verses by Nasīmī’s own master Faḥl Allāh Astarābādī (d. 796/1394), whose pen name was Na‘īmī, can be found in manuscripts that come from Badakhshān. For instance, there is one that begins with *Vujūdā zamānī kih paydā nabūd* – “When my existence was not manifest” in MS Folder 21 (KhRU-IIS). This poem appears in Faḥl Allāh’s published *Dīvān*. See *Dīvān-i fārsī-i Faḥl Allāh Na‘īmī Tabrīzī va ‘Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī Shīrāzī*, ed. Rustam Aliev (Tehran: Intishārāt-i dunyā, 1350-1HSh/1971-2), 10-11. On Sayyid ‘Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī Shīrāzī and Faḥl Allāh, see Shahzad Bashir, *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005), 100-1, 07, 12, 15-16, 23. It is possible that Sayyid Nasīmī could be an entirely different person, considering that Sayyid ‘Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī Shīrāzī’s pen name was Nasīmī (not Sayyid Nasīmī). Further research with discovery of new material could reveal the identity of the author of the *qaṣīdah* that is in praise of the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms. There is another poem beginning with *Sharm az qudrat-i Khudā bāshad*... – “There is [the feeling] of shame before the majesty of God” at the end of which the pen name of the poet appears as Nasīmī. This poem is in MS Folder 21 (copied by Mullā Nuṣrat Allāh) and in MSGK-92 (copied in 1344/1925 by ‘Ālam Shāh son of Sayyid Muḥammad) (KhRU-IIS). The style of the poem is similar to that of Sayyid ‘Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī Shīrāzī. See, for example, *Dīvān-i fārsī-i Faḥl Allāh*, 90, 283, for verses that end with *alif* and

are the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms together with the Prophet and Fāṭimah,²¹⁰ we also come across works in which their names differ from those of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms.²¹¹ For instance, the “Fourteen Pure Ones” listed in a work titled as *Bāb dar bayān-i chahār'dah ma'ṣūm (A Chapter on The Twelve Pure Ones)*, which was transcribed by Sayyid Niẓām al-Dīn ibn Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn in 1392/1972, are not the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms, the Prophet and Fāṭimah, but fourteen descendants of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms, who, according to the author, were all martyred in their childhood.²¹² This text titled *Nām-i chahār'dah ma'ṣūmān-i pāk (The Names of the Fourteen Pure Ones)* in the manuscript preserved in the archives of OITAS provides the names of these figures as follows:

- 1) Ḥaẓrat Muḥsin ibn Ḥaẓrat 'Alī (buried in Baqī')
- 2) 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥaẓrat Imām Ḥasan
- 3) Ḥaẓrat-i 'Alī Aṣghar ibn Ḥaẓrat Imām Ḥusayn (killed by 'Abd Allāh Azraq Sāmī at the age of 1 and a half years, buried in Karbalā)
- 4) Ḥaẓrat Ḥasan ibn Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn
- 5) Ḥaẓrat Qāsim ibn Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn (killed by Yazīd when he was one year old, buried in Baṣra)
- 6) Ḥaẓrat 'Alī Aṣghar ibn Imām Muḥammad Bāqir
- 7) 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (killed by 'Arisyān (?) when 9 years old, buried in Dāmghān)
- 8) Ḥaẓrat Yaḥyā ibn Ḥaẓrat Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (martyred at the age of two by Maḥmūd Kūfī, buried in Baghdād)
- 9) Ḥaẓrat Ṣāliḥ ibn Imām Mūsā Kāẓim (killed by Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad Maṣṣūr Dimishqī when he was three years old)
- 10) Ḥaẓrat Ṭayyib ibn Imām Mūsā Kāẓim (killed by Usmān Dimishqī at the age of seven, buried in Sabzavār)
- 11) Ḥaẓrat Ḥusayn ibn Ḥaẓrat Imām Riẓā (killed at the age of four, buried in Ghazvīn)
- 12) Ḥaẓrat Imām Muḥammad Naqī (killed at the age of four by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm Dimishqī, buried in Qumm)
- 13) Ḥaẓrat Ja'far ibn Ḥaẓrat Imām Ḥasan 'Askarī (killed when 1 year old by Nāṣir Dimishqī,

bāshad. MS Folder 12, ff. 58-9 (KhRU-IIS) contains Nasīmī's poem eulogizing 'Alī that begins with *Ay Shāh-i takht-i man 'araf(a)...* – “O King of the throne of “whoever knows...” I could not locate the poems by Nasīmī in Sayyid 'Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī Shīrāzī's published *Dīvān* available to me, but they likely belong to him. The only doubt I have is related to the poem by Sayyid Nasīmī. For our purpose, poems by or attributed to Sayyid Nasīmī and/or Nasīmī serve as examples of literature regarding Twelver Shī'ī Imāms in Badakhshān. Nasīmī's link with and influence on Badakhshānī Ismā'īlism is an interesting topic that merits a separate study.

²¹⁰ A poem beginning with *Yā rabb tū-yī barī-yu munazzah zih har khaṭā* – “O Lord, you are free from every fault” by a poet named Ṣābir found in MS Folder 12 (copied in 1395/1975, KhRU-IIS) is also in praise of the Twelver Imāms, the Prophet and Fāṭimah, i.e. the Fourteen Pure Ones. Ṣābir names the Fourteen Pure Ones and calls them *dah-u chār* (ten and four) at the end of the poem. Apart from the other mentioned works, see also the *munājāt*, the author of which is unknown, in MS Folder 50 (copied either 1121/1709 or 1217/1802), ff. 223a-223b (KhRU-IIS) in praise of the Prophet, Fāṭimah and the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms. Another poet whose *qaṣīdahs* are found in Badakhshānī manuscripts is a certain Bābā Shūrīdah, who (based on his poetry) most likely lived outside of Badakhshān and may not have been a native of the region. One of his *qaṣīdahs*, called *Manāqib-i Ḥaẓrat 'Alī Mūsā Riẓā (The Virtues of Ḥaẓrat 'Alī Mūsā Riẓā)*, which was composed in Sha'bān 670/March 1272, is found in MS Folder 12, ff. 68-73 (KhRU-IIS).

²¹¹ Similarly, the expression “Twelve Imāms” (*duvāz'dah Imām*) in some contexts does not refer to the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms. For instance, according to a Badakhshānī text titled *Duvāz'dah Imām-i ḥaqīqat (The Twelve Imāms of Truth)*, they are 1) Universal Intellect (*'aql-i kull*), 2) Universal Soul (*nafs-i kull*), Asās (Foundation), Imām, chief *hujjat* (*hujjat-i a'zam*), *hujjat* with limited authority (*hujjat-i maḥdūd*), *dā'ī* with absolute authority (*dā'ī-i muṭlaq*), *dā'ī* with limited authority (*dā'ī-i maḥdūd*), the licentiate with absolute authority (*ma'zūn-i muṭlaq*) and the licentiate with limited authority (*ma'zūn-i maḥdūd*). In this case, the expression “Twelve Imāms” refers to the Ismā'īlī religious hierarchy (*ḥudūd*). MS Folder 21, f. 52 (KhRU-IIS). This folder contains Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Safar'nāmah* and also the *Sa'adat'nāmah*, which were copied by Sayyid Ḥasan Shāh in 1407/1986.

²¹² A photocopy of this manuscript is kept in the archives of KIH (no accession number). On this, see Mu'izzī, *Ismā'īlīyyah-i Badakhshān*, 37-38, 201.

- buried in Rayy)
 14) Ḥaẓrat Qāsim ibn Ḥaẓrat Ḥasan Askarī (killed by Nāṣir Dimishqī when he was 1 year old, buried in Arabia).²¹³

At the dawn of the 20th century, as demonstrated previously, the Russian scholar Bobrinskiō mentioned that they were unaware of the presence of Ismā‘īlīs in Badakhshān and in Russia they believed the Badakhshānīs were [Twelver] Shī‘īs.²¹⁴



Image 1.1.

We will have occasions to return to Twelver Shī‘ism and the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms in subsequent chapters as I analyze the hagiographical sources, but I must mention here that the

²¹³ See MS 1959/14e, ff. 191-193 (OITAS). On this work, see Bertel’s and Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 98. An untitled work in MS Folder 164 provides the list of the Fourteen Pure Ones slightly differently: 1) Muḥammad Akbar ibn Imām ‘Alī (buried in Baqī’), 2) ‘Abd Allāh ibn Imām Ḥasan (killed at the age of seven years by Ṭalha, buried in Baqī’), 3) ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Imām Ḥasan (killed at ten years of age by ‘Ubayd ibn Azraq Dimishqī, buried in Karbalā), 4) Qāsim ibn Imām Ḥasan (killed at the age of twelve years, buried in Karbalā), 5) Ḥusayn ibn Imām Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (killed at the age of six years by Maṣūūr ibn Aḥmad Yazīd, buried in Rayy), 6) Qāsim ibn Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (killed at the age of nine years by ‘Ubayd ibn Yazīd, buried in Baṣra), 7) ‘Alī ibn Imām Muḥammad Bāqir (killed at the age of six years by Aḥmad Maṣūūr), 8) ‘Abd Allāh ibn Imām Ja‘far Ṣādiq (killed at the age of two years by ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Kūfī, buried in Baghdad), 9) Yaḥyā ibn Imām Ja‘far Ṣādiq (killed at the age of three years, buried in Siyyām), 10) Ṣāliḥ ibn Imām Mūsā Kāẓim (killed at the age of nine years by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad Dimishqī, buried in Rayy), 11) Ṭayyib ibn Imām Mūsā (killed at the age of seven years by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad Dimishqī, buried in Shīrāz), 12) Ja‘far ibn Imām Muḥammad Taqī (killed at the age of four by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm, buried in Qumm), 13) Ja‘far ibn Imām Ḥasan ‘Askarī (killed at the age of one year by Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir ibn Ibrāhīm Dimishqī), 14) Qāsim ibn Imām Muḥammad Maḥdī (killed at the age of three years by Maṣūūr ibn Nāṣir ibn Ibrāhīm Dimishqī). MS Folder 164, ff. 88b-89b (KhRU-IIS). See also *Hāza chahār’dah ma‘šūm*, MS Folder 101i (KhRU-IIS). See also *Chahār’dah ma‘šūm biḥ naẓm (The Fourteen Pure Ones in Verse)*, MS Folder 12, ff. 322-6 (KhRU-IIS), in which the names of some of the figures are different (e.g. the third is ‘Abd Allāh, the fourth is Qāsim ibn Imām Ḥusayn, the eleventh is Qāsim ibn Imām Mūsā, etc.).

phenomenon of both lines of Imāms being praised in an Ismā‘īlī context does not mean the Ismā‘īlīs formally adhered to Twelver Shī‘ism. Shāh Z̤iyāyī praises the first seven of the Ismā‘īlī Imāms in a long *qaṣīdah* (with seventy verses) called *Salām'nāmah* (*The Book of Salutations*). The *qaṣīdah* glorifies the first Imām ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), whom it calls “the sovereign of both worlds” (*shāh-i ‘ālam*) and “the remover of difficulties” (*mushkil'kushā*). After addressing salutations to Imām ‘Alī (*salām ‘alaykum Imāmun amīrā*) and glorifying the successive Imāms up to Imām Ja‘far al-Šādiq (d. 148/765), it proceeds by greeting Imām Ismā‘īl:

Bih Shāh Ismā‘īl, shāh-i muḥibbān
K-ū rahbar-i rāh shud mu‘minī-rā

[Salutations] to Shāh Ismā‘īl, king of lovers
 For he became the guide of the believers²¹⁵

In another *qaṣīdah*, which Bertel’s and Baqoiev believe is by Shāh Z̤iyāyī,²¹⁶ the poet praises Shāh Mustanṣir as “the centre of the universe” (*madār-i markaz-i ‘ālam*) and states that “those who recognize other than him are blind” (*kasī k-ū ghayr-i ū dānad nadārad dīdah-i bīnā*). In the same *qaṣīdah*, the poet says, “whoever knows his [i.e. Imām Mustanṣir’s] *hujjat* (probably a reference to Nāṣir-i Khusraw) will be saved in the next world and will live in paradise.”²¹⁷ The attribution of this poem to Shāh Z̤iyāyī, however, is questionable. The reason Bertel’s and Baqoiev attribute it to Shāh Z̤iyāyī may be because it is followed by another poem that actually belongs to the poet.²¹⁸ Although Bertel’s and Baqoiev do not mention it, their attribution of the poem to Shāh Z̤iyāyī may also be based on the fact that it mentions the year 970/1562 (*bih sāl-i nuḥṣad-u haftād shud*) as the date of its composition. Shāh Z̤iyāyī certainly lived at this time. However, Bertel’s and Baqoiev ignore the pen name of its actual author that is given at the end of the poem, which is Qaṣāmī (قصامی). In fact, the same poem is attributed to Qassāmī (قصاصمی) in another Badakhshānī manuscript in which the date of its composition is given as 330/940 (*bih sāl-i sīṣad-u sī būd*).²¹⁹ Nothing is known about Qaṣāmī or Qassāmī, but it is unlikely that the poem was composed at such an early date, especially given that at the time Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh was not an Imām yet. The year 970/1562 is more likely, and it is possible that Qaṣāmī or Qassāmī was another Ismā‘īlī poet who lived in the 10th/16th century. It is also possible, albeit unlikely, that Qaṣāmī or Qassāmī was another pen name of Shāh Z̤iyāyī, in addition to Z̤iyāyī. Regardless of this poem, but, based on the *Salām'nāmah* and the other poem mentioned earlier, it is still clear that Shāh Z̤iyāyī eulogized both the Ismā‘īlī and Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms.

²¹⁴ Bobrinskoī, “Sakta Ismailīa,” 1.

²¹⁵ *Salām'nāmah*, 1962/17, ff. 15b-20b. Bertel’s and Baqoiev incorrectly describe it as a *qaṣīdah* in praise of the Imām of the Time. They also incorrectly state that Shāh Z̤iyāyī lived in the 18th century. See Baqoiev, *Alfavitnyī Katalog*, 66. A digitized copy of the work is also available in the archives of KhRU-IIS. *Salām'nāmah-i Shāh Z̤iyāyī*, MS Folder 101i (KhRU-IIS). This manuscript was copied by Sayyid Munīr ibn Muḥammad Qāsim in 1357/1938. Interestingly, Maryam Moezzi presents a different version of the *qaṣīdah*, which, instead of Imām Ismā‘īl, lists the names of the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms. See Mu‘izzī, *Ismā‘īlyyah-i Badakhshān*, 180.

²¹⁶ Bertel’s and Baqoiev, *Alfavitnyī Katalog*, 70-1.

²¹⁷ MS 1959/24v, ff. 66a-67b, (OITAS). On this manuscript, see Bertel’s and Baqoiev, *Alfavitnyī Katalog*, 70-1.

²¹⁸ The poem that mentions Shāh Mustanṣir and his *hujjat* is on f. 66 while the other poem is on f. 67 in MS 1959/24v.

²¹⁹ MS Folder 12, ff. 167-9 (KhRU-IIS).

Like Shāh Zīyāyī, Nazmī lauds the Ismā'īlī Imāms in the *Sirāj al-Mu'minīn*, but also calls to the recognition of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms in his other *qaṣīdahs*. The following are some verses of a lengthy *munājāt* in which the poet addresses and praises the Imām Shāh Khalīl Allāh (d. 1232/1817):

Zihī bih yād-i tū nāṭiq lisān-i ahl Allāh

*Bih zāt-i pāk-i tū shud fakhr-i awliyā' Allāh
Zi kunh-i zāt-i tū juz haqq nagasht kas āgāh
Agar chih mā hamagī mujrimīm, rūy'siyāh
Shudast nām-i tū mushkil'kushā-yi bismillāh
Bih haqq-i ān kih tū-yī dar dū kawn sāhib-i jāh...
Barār hājat bardār jurm-i khalq Allāh
Bih 'awn-i haqq zikram Shāh-i dīn Khalīl Allāh
Tū-yī kih 'arsh-i barīn az tū yāftah zīvar
Bih hukmat ast malā'ik muṭī'-u farmān'bar...*

Yaqīn tūrāst, zi ahvāl-i kull(-i) shayī khabar

*Chih bar tamām-i makhluq chūn tū-yī sarvar
Bih zāt-i tūst bih pā nuh sipihr, haft akhtar
Bih faẓl-i Khūdā zikram yā Imām-i dīn'parvar...
Chū dawr-i Ādam(-u) Khātam guzasht tā īn dam*

Bih zāt-i pāk-i tū shud intizām-i īn 'ālam

*Barār hājat bardār jurm-i khalq Allāh
Bih 'awn-i haqq zikram Shāh-i dīn Khalīl Allāh...
Tū nūr-i zāt-u payvastah bā Khūdā-yi tū...
Munazzah az hamah chūn-u ham chirā-yī tū...
Ayā ay Imām-i bih haqq shāh-i kishvar-i īmān
Zi luṭf mushkil-i mā 'āsiyān bi'kun āsān
Barār hājat bardār jurm-i khalq Allāh
Bih 'awn-i haqq zikram Shāh-i dīn Khalīl Allāh²²⁰*

How good, the tongue of God's people speaks in your mention

Your pure essence has become the pride of friends of God
Nothing but truth is known to all of your pure essence
Even though we are all sinners [and] shameful
Your name has become *bismillāh*, the solver of difficulties
In the name of you who is the master of both realms...
Fulfill [our] wishes, remove the sins of God's creatures
With divine help, I praise the King of religion Khalīl Allāh
Because of you, the high Empyrean has become adorned
The angels stand obedient and subservient at your command...

You possess knowledge of certainty, you are aware of the state of every thing

As you are the sovereign over all creatures
Because of you, the nine spheres and the seven stars rotate
By divine grace, I praise, O religion-nurturing Imām...
As the cycles of Adam and the Seal [of Prophets] have now passed

Your pure essence has become the source for the order of the world

Fulfill [our] wishes, remove the sins of God's creatures
With divine help, I praise the King of religion Khalīl Allāh
You are the light of the essence, you are always with God
You are free from every why and wherefore ...
O Imām, for the sake of the King of the realm of faith
With your grace, ease the troubles of us, the rebellious
Fulfill [our] wishes, remove the sins of God's creatures
With divine help, I praise the King of religion Khalīl Allāh

At the same time, Nazmī writes the following in an equally long *qaṣīdah* that glorifies Imām 'Alī and the remaining Twelver Shī'ī Imāms:

*Az pay-i Muṣṭafā 'Alī-rā dān
Ḥākim-i shar'-u dīn-i payghambar
Ba 'd-i shāh-i Najaf Ḥasan-u Ḥusayn
Rahbar bar haqqand, ham sarvar
'Ābidīn Muḥammad Bāqir
Ba 'd-i īshān Imām dān Ja'far
Kāzīm ast zikr-i Rizā-yū Taqī
Pas az īshān Naqīst ham 'Askar
Ba 'd az ān hast Muḥammad Mahdī...
Madh-i īn dah-u dū hamī gūyam
Man bih layl-u nahār-u shām-u saḥar²²¹*

Recognize 'Alī after the Chosen One
As the sovereign of the law and religion of the Prophet
After the King of Najaf (i.e. 'Alī) Ḥasan and Ḥusayn
Are the true leaders, the lords
[Then Zayn al-]'Ābidīn [and] Muḥammad Bāqir
After them, know Ja'far as your Imām
Then mention Kāzīm, Rizā and Taqī
After them Naqī and 'Askar(ī)
After them, Muḥammad Mahdī...
I praise these ten and two
Day and night, evenings and mornings

The above mentioned Qadam Shāh Muṭribī, who most likely lived in the 12th/18th century, has

²²⁰ *Hāza munājāt-i Nazmī*, MS Folder (*Papka*) 22 (KIH). The word *zikram* could be read *zi karam* (with (your) benevolence), as it appears in other manuscripts. Similarly, *khūdā zikram* could be read *khūd zi karam*.

the following poem in honor of ‘Alī in which he calls to the recognition of the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms:

*Az dam-i garm-i Pīr Shāh Nāšir
Chand ḥarfī zi ḥaqq kunam zāhir
Bāsh bā ni ‘mat-i ‘Alī shākir
Kun zabān-rā bih madḥ-i ū qādir...
Kih ‘Alī avval ast ham ākhir
Har chih hast az ‘Alī shavad zāhir
Ḥaqq tu-rā dādah Duldul-u qambar
Ham Ḥasan-u Ḥusayn tīgh-i dū sar
Zayn al-‘Ibād-u Bāqir-u Ja‘far
Kāzim ast-u Rizā-yi dīn parvar...
Ba ‘d-i Mūsā-yu Rizā Taqī-rā dān
Ba ‘d-i ū ham ‘Alī Naqī-rā khvān
‘Askarī-yu Mahdī Imām-i zamān
Virḍ-i ishān hamīn būd bih jahān...
Muṭribī zi gunāh‘kārān ast
Līk umīdam zi Shāh-i mardān ast²²⁴*

With the blessing of Pīr Shāh Nāšir
I will say some words about the truth
Be grateful for the bounty of ‘Alī
Give your tongue strength in his praise
‘Alī is the first and also the last
Everything that is becomes manifest through him
God gave you (i.e. ‘Alī) Duldul and Qambar²²²
Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and the double-tipped sword²²³
There are Zayn al-‘Ibād, Bāqir and Ja‘far
Kāzim and the religion nurturing Rizā
Know Taqī after Mūsā and Rizā
After him call Naqī ‘Alī
‘Askarī and Mahdī, the Imām of the time
This is their litany in the world
Muṭribī is among the sinners
But my hope is on the king of men²²⁵ (i.e. ‘Alī)

However, in a *maṣnavī*, which is also in praise of Imām ‘Alī, Muṭribī refers to the Ismā‘īlī religious hierarchy (*ḥudūd*) (e.g. *ḥujjat*, *dā‘ī*, *mā‘zūn*, *mu‘allim*) and points out that he is the servant of the *ḥujjat* of Shāh Nizār, who is most likely the Ismā‘īlī Imām Shāh Nizār (d. 1134/1722). The *ḥujjat*, who is not named in the *maṣnavī*, may be Šūfī, whom, as was seen before, Yā‘īsī called the *ḥujjat* of Shāh Nizār. Like Yā‘īsī, who, in his poem, referred to “Shāh Nizār’s era of manifestation (*dawr-i kashf-i Shāh Nizār*),” Muṭribī also indicates that Shāh Nizār became manifest (*shud .. āshkār*) in the final era (*dawr-i ākhir*):

*Har kih Qur‘ān‘khvān-u ma‘nī‘dān buvad
Dar ṭalab‘gārī-i haft arkān buvad
Magḥfīrat Qur‘ān-u ḥujjat burhān buvad
Īn dalīl az Nāšir-i Yumgān buvad...
Gar muḥibb-i khānadān-i Shah shavī
Dūst‘tānash-rā chū khāk-i rah shavī...
Ān kih shud dar dawr-i ākhir āshkār
Qātil-i kuḥfār Shāh-i dīn Nizār
Madḥ‘khvān-i ūst jumlah mūr-u mār
Har dam-u har laḥzah dar layl-u nahār
Ḥujjatash-rā az dil-ū jān bandah-am
Sar bih pīsh-i dā‘ī-yān afkandah-am...
Yā ilāhā Muṭribī-rā dast gīr
Gashṭah ast dar band-i dildārī asīr²²⁶*

The readers of the Qur‘ān and knowers of meaning
Are in search of the seven pillars
The Qur‘ān is the mercy and the *ḥujjat* is the proof
These are the Nāšir of Yumgān’s indications
If you become a lover of the family of the King (i.e. ‘Alī)
You become the dust beneath the feet of his friends
He who became manifest in the final era
The slayer of infidels the King of religion, Nizār
All creatures (lit: serpents and ants) sing his praise
Every moment, every night and every day
I am a devoted servant of his *ḥujjat*
I have lowered my head before the *dā‘īs*
O God, hold Muṭribī’s hand
[He] has become captive in the prison of devotion

Rather than seeing the Twelver Shī‘ī and Ismā‘īlī Imāms as rivals, several Ismā‘īlīs considered them as belonging to a single source. Khvājah Aḥrār, for instance, regards both the Twelver and the

²²¹ MS 1960/4, f. 58b (OITAS) (transcribed in the 19th century).

²²² Imām ‘Alī’s slave.

²²³ The famous sword of Imām ‘Alī, *zu-l-faqār*, which, according to some Muslims was double-tipped. See Chapter Six.

²²⁴ MS Folder 12, ff. 133-135.

²²⁵ One of the famous rubrics for Imām ‘Alī.

²²⁶ MS Folder 12, ff. 155-157.

Ismā'īlī Imāms as rightful Imāms.²²⁷ The *Charāgh'nāmāh* also lauds the Ismā'īlī Imāms and Twelver Shī'ī Imāms at the same time. In Badakhshān, the poem of a certain 'Abd Allāh (Sūchānī?) is yet another noteworthy example of such an attitude. As the following verses demonstrate, the poet seeks the intercession of Nāšir-i Khusraw, the Twelver Imāms and the Āghā Khān at the same time, but stresses that the Āghā Khān or the Ismā'īlī Imām is above all (*ghayr-i Āghā Khān nadāram*, literally: I have no one beside the Āghā Khān):

<i>Mūsá-yi Kāzīm panāham</i>	Mūsá-yi Kāzīm, my refuge
<i>Kun shafā'at az gunāham ...</i>	Intercede for me for I have sinned ...
<i>Mahdī hādī-yu Imāmam</i>	Mahdī is my guide and my Imām
<i>Kalb-i Āghā Khān bih jānam ...</i>	I am the dog of the Āghā Khān with a sincere heart...
<i>Nāšir-i Khusraw chū pīram</i>	Since Nāšir-i Khusraw is my <i>pīr</i>
<i>Dar hama jā dastgīram ...</i>	He helps me everywhere ...
<i>Nāšir-i Khusraw chū yāram</i>	Since Nāšir-i Khusraw is my friend
<i>Hamchū gul andar kanāram</i>	He is beside me like flower
<i>Ghayr-i Āghā Khān nadāram</i>	I have no one beside the Āghā Khān
<i>Shukr Mawlānā 'Alī ...</i>	Gratitude to Mawlānā 'Alī ...
<i>Dūst'dār-i hasht-u chahāram</i>	I am the lover of the eight with four
<i>Dushman-i īn sih ħimāram</i>	I am the enemy of the three donkeys ²²⁸

Needless to say, this phenomenon is not unique in Badakhshānī Ismā'īlism. Sunnī Badakhshānīs also praise the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms in their poems, without necessarily adhering to Twelver Shī'ism. For instance, in his *Shish Ganj (Six Treasures)*, Mullā Shāh Badakhshī (d. 1070/1661), a famous Qādirī Šūfī, disciple of the Qādirī Shaykh Miyān Mīr (d. 1044/1635) and spiritual guide of the Mughal Emperor Dārā Shukūh (d. 1069/1659), in addition to composing devotional poems in praise of the Prophet and famous Šūfīs, extols the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms.²²⁹ Similar to the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān, the Ismā'īlīs of Iran, in addition to the Ismā'īlī Imāms, praised the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms. In one of his *qašīdahs*, the 11th/17th century Ismā'īlī poet Maḥmūd of Quhistān celebrates both the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms and the Ismā'īlī Imām of his time, Nūr al-Dahr (Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī) (d. 1082/1671). Most of his *qašīdahs* are in praise of the Qāsim Shāhī Ismā'īlī Imāms, confirming that he was an Ismā'īlī.²³⁰ The Ismā'īlī poet Ibn Ḥusām Khusfī (d. either 875/1470 or 893/1487) also eulogizes the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms in his poetry.²³¹

Considering the current state of scholarship on the history of Twelver Shī'ism in Badakhshān,

²²⁷ Khvājah Aḥrār describes the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms as temporary Imāms who are unlike the permanent Ismā'īlī Imāms. See Chapter Seven. In 1387/1967, an Ismā'īlī from Afghān Badakhshān copied or produced a poetic *Zurya'nāmāh (Genealogy of Imāms)* in which she or he makes a distinction between Twelver Shī'ī and Ismā'īlī Shī'ī Imāms. The *zurya'nāmāh* ends with a verse, which emphasizes the view that, while the Ismā'īlī Imām is permanent, the Twelver Imām is not. See *Zurya'nāmāh*, MS Folder 10 (KhRU-IIS).

²²⁸ Mu'izzī, "Ta'rīkh-i Ismā'īlīyān-i Badakhshān," 228-29. On Shāh 'Abd Allāh Sūchānī, who flourished in the second half of the 19th century, see Ḥabibov, *Az ta'rīkh-i adabi'ati tojik dar Badakhshon*, 132-33.

²²⁹ On him, see *Az ta'rīkh-i ravobiti adabii Badakhshon bo Hinduston*, 62.

²³⁰ Mu'izzī, "Ta'rīkh-i Ismā'īlīyān-i Badakhshān," 221-22. *Ismā'īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 181.

²³¹ Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 118, 39-40. Shāh Zīyāyī mentions Ibn Ḥusām's name in his *Salām'nāmāh*. Shāh Zīyāyī, *Salām'nāmāh*, f. 20a. In a poem, Ḥusāmī (which could be Ibn Ḥusām) pleads to 'Alī to come to his aid in the name of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms. The poem begins with *Shud bih gūsh-i dilam....* MS Folder 12, ff. 173-176 (KhRU-IIS).

it is difficult to explain the reasons for the accommodation of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms in the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī tradition. With the advent of the Ṣafavids (r. 907-1135/1501-1722), who adopted Twelver Shī'ism as the state religion in 907/1501, the Ismā'īlīs of Persia widely practiced *taqiyyah* as Twelver Shī'īs. This easily explains the mention of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms in their works.²³² This does not hold true in Badakhshān, because, unlike the Twelver Shī'ī Ṣafavids, the dynasties controlling Badakhshān belonged to the Sunnī persuasion of Islam. It would have been more practical for them to operate under the guise of Sunnism. However, based on the scarce information available to us, we can suppose that, unlike Ismā'īlism, Twelver Shī'ism seems to have been tolerated by the Tīmūrīd Sunnī rulers in the 10th/16th century. This was primarily related to the Tīmūrīds' alliance with the Twelver Shī'ī Ṣafavids against the Sunnī Shaybānīds. As there is evidence that, in the 10th/16th century, Twelver Shī'ism spread rapidly in eastern Khurāsān (Harāt and its environs, Marv, Qandahār and other places) under the influence of the Ṣafavids, it is possible that its teachings spread in Badakhshān at this time as well. As some Ismā'īlīs were already in the region (see Chapter One), it would have been easier for them to pass for Twelver Shī'īs. Also, as mentioned before, the Ṣafavid monarch Shāh Ṭahmāsp (d. 984/1576) persecuted the Ismā'īlī Imām Murād Mīrzā (d. 981/1574) and his followers,²³³ and during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I (995-1038/1587-1629), the Ismā'īlī Imāms carried out their activities quietly and, along with their followers, practiced *taqiyyah* under the cover of Twelver Shī'ism.²³⁴ This would have impacted their followers in other parts of the world as well.

We know that the Ṣūfī poet Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad Kūhpāya'ī, who, according to Ivanow, wrote eulogies to Imām Abū Zarr 'Alī (Nūr al-Dīn) (d. sometime in 10th/16th century) and Imām Murād Mīrzā (d. 981/1574), was executed at the order of Shāh 'Abbās I in 999/1590.²³⁵ Kūhpāya'ī, whose pen name was Amrī Shīrāzī, was blinded on the charge of heresy during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (d. 984/1576), who, as mentioned before, had Imām Murād Mīrzā executed.²³⁶ Amrī Shīrāzī served Shāh Ṭahmāsp for thirty years before falling out of favour in 973/1565 and was finally being executed as a Nuqtavī heretic in 999/1590.²³⁷ In a poem composed in 987/1579, Amrī Shīrāzī refers to Mahdī, whom he calls Imām Muḥammad.²³⁸ He indicates that this Imām and Mahdī is present

²³² Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 252, n. 29. Ismail Poonawala suggests that the Ismā'īlīs resorted to the cover of Twelver Shī'ism quite early. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 271, n. 2. However, as Virani writes, "thus far no substantial evidence for this has been adduced." Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 118, 39-40.

²³³ Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 436.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 437.

²³⁵ Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad Kūhpāya'ī does not name the Ismā'īlī Imāms in his poetry. As Ivanow writes, "From very elusive incidental allusions it is possible to conjecture that his intention was to praise Nūru'd-dīn and Murād-Mīrzā..." Wladimir Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1933), 108. *Ismaili Literature*, 144. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 277.

²³⁶ Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 43.

²³⁷ The Nuqtavīs interpreted Paradise, Hell, and resurrection spiritually and dispensed with the enjoinder of the *sharī'ah*, which for the Twelver Shī'ī scholars, was tantamount to heresy. See Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 422.

²³⁸ Ivanow most likely refers to this poem, composed in 987/1579, in his description. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, 108. *Ismaili Literature*, 144.

(*mawjūd*) and “as clear as the sun” (*chu āftāb ‘ayyān ast*).²³⁹ As Mu‘izzī writes, Amrī Shīrāzī wrote poetry in praise of the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms, but also eulogized “the Ismā‘īlī Imām whom he called Mahdī.” According to her, the reference here is to an Ismā‘īlī Imām.²⁴⁰ Although it is not clear who this Imām Muḥammad was, it is possible that Amrī Shīrāzī had the Ismā‘īlī Imām of his time, Imām Zū‘l-Faqār ‘Alī (Khalīl Allāh I) (d. 1043/1634) in mind. This, of course, is only a conjecture, as the reference to Mahdī can easily be to the expected Imām of Twelver Shī‘ism. The Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān who regard Amrī Shīrāzī as their co-religionist have preserved some of his poetry.²⁴¹ In *qaṣīdah* with the title of *Min kalām-i Amrī* that is about signs of the emergence of the Imām of the time (*nishān-i zuhūr-i Imām-i vaqt*), Amrī Shīrāzī addresses “the Shī‘ah of sound faith” (*shī‘ah-i pāk-i ‘tiqād*) and again mentions Muḥammad as the Imām of the time (*Imām-i zamān*) who “has emerged” (*kard zuhūr*). Amrī Shīrāzī wrote this *qaṣīdah* in 982/1574, as indicated by the numerical value of the expression of the “fayz-i Muḥammad” in the closing line (... *zi fayz-i Muḥammad bijūy tārīkhash* – find its date in *fayz-i Muḥammad*).²⁴² Since the *qaṣīdah* was composed after the death of the Imām Murād Mīrā and if Muḥammad, referred to in the *qaṣīdah*, is an Ismā‘īlī Imām, this has to be Imām Zū‘l-Faqār ‘Alī (Khalīl Allāh I) who adopted the cover of Twelver Shī‘ism as a form of pious circumspection. This might be the reason Amrī Shīrāzī eulogizes the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms in this *qaṣīdah*, a phenomenon similar to the case of the poets examined above.²⁴³

Like the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs, the Ismā‘īlīs of Iran regard Amrī Shīrāzī as a co-religionist. Daftary is also of the opinion that Amrī Shīrāzī may have been “a crypto-Ismā‘īlī who appeared as a Nuqtawī.”²⁴⁴ It is worth noting that Amrī Shīrāzī wrote a lengthy *qaṣīdah* of 184 distiches in response to a certain Shaykh Āzarī from Darvāz. This *qaṣīdah*, which is found in Badakhshān, points to the existence of intellectual links between Amrī Shīrāzī and a Badakhshānī author.²⁴⁵ At any rate, Amrī

²³⁹ Mu‘izzī, *Ismā‘īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 185.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ See Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 32, 34. Amrī’s poetry is in MS 1963/14 and 1962/10 (OITAS).

²⁴² The poem in question (*Min kalām-i Amrī*), which begins with *Dilā bih zīkr-i Khudā-yi jahān bigushāy zabān* (“O heart, speak the litany of the Lord of the universe”) and has 104 distiches, can be found in MS Folder 13 (copied in 1394/1974) (KhRU-IIS). The date of the transcription is given at the end of another text in the same codex. The other text was copied by the same hand. The year 1071/1660 given at the end of *Min kalām-i Amrī* indicates that the poem may have possibly been copied from an old manuscript.

²⁴³ MS Folder 13, f. 54 (KhRU-IIS).

²⁴⁴ Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 422.

²⁴⁵ Amrī Shīrāzī’s *qaṣīdah*, which begins with *Ayā zamīr-i tū az shams-u az qamar anvar*, is in response to a poem by Shaykh Āzarī who according to Amrī Shīrāzī was from Darvāz (*kīh hast az Darvāz*). We know very little about Shaykh Āzarī, as his works have not been studied yet. He most probably lived during Amrī Shīrāzī’s lifetime. Mu‘izzī, the first scholar to draw attention to Shaykh Āzarī, had seen a treatise titled *Bayān-i sharī‘at (Elucidation of the Sharī‘ah)* by Āzarī. This text was apparently copied in 1043/1633. See Mu‘izzī, *Ismā‘īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 184-5. Unfortunately, she does not indicate where this treatise is located and my attempts at finding it in Badakhshān have not been successful. Mu‘izzī also mentions Amrī Shīrāzī’s *qaṣīdah* in response to Shaykh Āzarī’s poem, but, again, she does not provide any further information about Shaykh Āzarī’s poem. Shaykh Āzarī’s *qaṣīdahs* and *ghazals* are scattered throughout different Badakhshānī manuscripts. The three poems that I have identified show that Shaykh Āzarī may have been a Šūfī with Shī‘ī and Ḥurūfī or Nuqtawī inclinations. He refers to ‘Alī as Imām in one of his *qaṣīdahs* and writes about his evidentiary vision (*vāqī‘ah*) in which he communicates with an angel who explains the spiritual meanings of everything that he sees and knows about (e.g. the Universal Intellect, Ādam, the four women, etc.) in another *qaṣīdah*. The two *qaṣīdahs* can be found in MS Folder 12 and MS Folder 13 (KhRU-IIS). Both are simply titled as *Az Shaykh Āzarī*. The first *qaṣīdah* begins with *Ayā zamīr-i tū majmu‘ah-i qazā-yu qadar* and

Shīrāzī's case sheds light on the experience of non-Twelve Shī'īs and Ismā'īlīs in the adverse circumstances created by the triumph of the Ṣafavids in the 10th/16th century, which saw the poets incorporate Twelver Shī'ī ideas into their own works. It is imaginable that following the Imāms (in Iran and India) and the Ismā'īlīs of Iran, the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān also practiced *taqiyyah* under the guise of Twelver Shī'ism (in addition to Ṣūfism) in this period.

The local *shāhs* of Shughnān and possibly other places may truly have been Twelver Shī'īs²⁴⁶ at this time and may have converted to Sunnism during the reign of the later Sunnī dynasties, and most definitely, during the reign of later Yārīds.²⁴⁷ While the Shaybānīds clearly opposed Shī'ism, subsequent dynasties like the Yārīds likely displayed a more accommodating approach towards the Twelver Shī'īs. As mentioned with regarding the Ismā'īlīs of Central Asia in the 13th/19th century, Biddulph noted that in the “fanatical country they [the Ismā'īlīs] would probably pass themselves off as [Twelver] Shīahs.”²⁴⁸ This is the reason the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān were only known as Shī'īs. Bobrinskoī mentioned in the early 14th/20th century that the Russians were unaware of the presence of Ismā'īlīs in Badakhshān and believed that the Badakhshānīs were [Twelver] Shī'īs.²⁴⁹ This was definitely related to the practice of some form of *taqiyyah*. Bobrinskoī notes about the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs, “... the rule of the sect [Ismā'īlism] prescribing its followers is not only to keep its teachings secret, but even mislead the uninitiated and those from other sects (pretending to be [Twelver] Shī'īs with [Twelver] Shī'īs and Sunnīs with Sunnīs in conversations)...”²⁵⁰

What remains clear is that the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān had incorporated Twelver Shī'ī elements into their tradition and had possibly practiced *taqiyyah* under both Twelver Shī'ism and Ṣūfism. Prolonged practice of *taqiyyah* under the cover of Twelver Shī'ism and Ṣūfism would certainly have had influences on the tradition.²⁵¹ Regarding the influences of *taqiyyah* on the Nizārī

the second with *Namāz-i shām kih az gardish-i qazā-yu qadar*. The third poem that I examined (which begins with *Dar majlis-i kih dar ān ganj-i kibriyā bakhshand*) is also included in MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS). In the first *qaṣīdah*, Shaykh Āzarī asks a series of questions about the significance of the letter *alif* and other letters (*aṣl-i ḥurūf*), the dots (*nuqtahs*), *faṭḥah* (a small diagonal line placed above a letter representing a short “a”) and other diacritical marks. It is this poem (which begins with *Ayā zamīr-i tū majmu'ah-i qazā-yu qadar*) in response to which Amrī Shīrāzī composed his *qaṣīdah*. Note that both *qaṣīdahs* begin with *Ayā zamīr*.

²⁴⁶ A poem attributed to the ancestor of the *shāhs*, Shāh Khāmūsh, invites the hidden Twelver Shī'ī Imām Mahdī to come out of occultation for the time of his emergence has arrived (*vaqt-i khavārij gashtan ast*). This poem, which is titled *Dar bāb-i khavārij-i Ḥaẓrat Shāh Khāmūsh*, also praises the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms. It begins with *Āmad bih gūsh-i jān, vaqt-i khavārij (sic) gashtan ast* – “The inner ear has heard that the time for the emergence has arrived.” The manuscript is in the PC of Farīdūn Shāh in Ghārjvīn, Shughnān. Based on the meaning of the poem, *vaqt-i khavārij gashtan ast* should probably be read as *vaqt-i khavārij kushtan ast*, which means “it is time to kill the Khavārij.”

²⁴⁷ The reason why their differing versions of the hagiography of Sayyid Khāmūsh being both a Sunnī and a Shī'ī can be explained in these terms.

²⁴⁸ Biddulph, *Tribes*, 119.

²⁴⁹ Bobrinskoī, “Sakta Ismail'ia,” 1.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

²⁵¹ The Ismā'īlīs of Vakhān and Ishkāshim used to practice a ritual known as *tūgh'bardārī* (literally, “carrying the standard,” referring to the practice of taking the *tūghs* (an equivalent of *'alam* or “the standard of Imām Ḥusayn”) out of a sacred place where they were kept). They “carried the standard” on some occasions, but mostly for the mourning ritual commemorating the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn (d. 61/680), which was held during the first ten days of the month of Muḥarram of the Islamic calendar, with 'Āshūrā' (the tenth day) marking its climax. The ten days of mourning are locally known as *shaddah*. During this ceremony, the Ismā'īlīs would recite elegies and eulogies (*marṣiyahs*) in honour of Imām Ḥusayn and his

Ismā'īlīs, Daftary remarks,

It is undeniable that taqiyya practices under any form but for extended periods will lead to irrevocable influences on the traditions and on the very religious identity of the dissimulating community. In time, these influences manifested themselves in different forms for the Nizārīs, ranging from total acculturation or full assimilation of Nizārīs of a particular locality into a community or tradition chosen initially as a dissimulating cover, to various degrees of interfacing between 'Nizārī' and 'other' traditions without the actual loss of Nizārī identity.²⁵²

It is evident that, despite taking these precautionary measures, the Ismā'īlīs did not lose their Ismā'īlī identity. The latter was a known fact to their neighbours, including many of the dominant Sunnīs, who persecuted them because of their religious allegiance. If the Ismā'īlīs had adopted a precautionary measure, which they most likely had, then, clearly, it did not prove successful in protecting them from harassment.

As mentioned before, the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī poet Nazmī (d. after 1206/1792) addressed the Imām in a poem, asking him to re-emerge and destroy the "Antichrist of the Age."²⁵³ This poem is similar in tone to the aforementioned poems about the expected return of Imām Mahdī. In Iran, before the revival of Anjudān, the Nizārīs and other Shī'ī and Šūfī-related groups expressed millenarian or Mahdist aspirations. As Daftary writes,

These movements normally entertained millenarian or Mahdist aspirations for the deliverance of the oppressed and the economically underprivileged, who rallied in large numbers ... to support the leaders of these movements, who often came from Shī'ī-Sufi backgrounds.²⁵⁴

companions who were martyred with him in Karbalā. Such *marṣiyahs* are recorded in a text (which begins with *Ay dil shabī kih māh-i Muḥarram 'iyyān shud* – "O heart, the night in which the month of Muḥarram became manifest") a digitized copy of which is preserved in the archives of KhRU-IIS. The text in question is in MS Folder 85 (copied in 1275HSh/1896 by Mīrzā Qadam Shāh son of Sayyid Nuṣrat Shāh) (KhRU-IIS). The largest ritual of *tūgh'bardārī* used to take place in the village of Sikimāl in Afghan Ishkāshim. People in Vakhān and Ishkāshim still keep *tūghs* at sacred places and visit them during 'Āshūrā'. Some people believe that they were brought from Sikimāl by Shāh Mahdī Balāgar'dān (literally, "the one who averts evil"), perhaps a reference to the Twelfth Shī'ī Imām. On *tūghs* at sacred spaces in Badakhshān, see Oshurbekov, "Places, Memories and Religious Identity," 132-4. See also Ioliev, "Popular culture and religious metaphor," 67. The term *shaddah* is of obscure origin. Ioliev has suggested that the word may be "a corrupted version" of *shadda* (Arabic, "strings"), *shahādat* (Arabic, in the sense of "testimony to the unity of God"), *shadīd* (Arabic adjective, "severe," "violent," but according to Ioliev "hardship") and *shudah* (Persian, "[that which has] happened). Ioliev, *The Ismā'īlī-Sufi Sage of Pamir*, 43-4. The last option (*shudah*) should probably be dismissed. *Shaddah* may have derived from *shiddat* (Arabic, in the sense of "severity" and "violence (as of thirst)") referring to the affliction and suffering Imām Ḥusayn and his companions experienced. It is equally possible that it may be derived from the Persian word *shadh*, which means "wounding the head." It could also refer to the vertical poles with metal rings called "the sign" (*shaddah*) at the top of the *nakhl* (Arabic, literally "date palm), which is a large coffin that is carried on the day of 'Āshūrā' as if it was the coffin of Imām Ḥusayn. See 'Alī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat'nāmāh*, 2nd ed. (Tehran, 1377/1999), 14. The *shaddah* holds the fabric that is placed on the *nakhl* during the 'Āshūrā' ceremony. See Peter Chelkowski, "Art for Twenty-Four Hours," in *Islamic Art in the 19th century: Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephen Vernoit, vol. 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 412. These are all possibilities, but it is most likely that *shaddah* is related to the Arabic word *shahādat* (not in the sense of in the sense of "testimony to the unity of God," but in the sense of "martyrdom"), referring to the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn. The *Chahār'dah ma'šūm* in MS Folder 20 (date unknown) (KhRU-IIS) also refers to *tūgh* and *shaddah* in relation to the recognition of the Fourteen Pure Ones. According to it, those who do not know the Fourteen Pure Ones, ... *tūgh* and *shaddah* are illicit (*ḥarām*) to them. It is not known when exactly the Twelver Shī'ī ritual was introduced in Badakhshān.

²⁵² Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 404.

²⁵³ In his *Sirāj al-Mu'minīn*, Nazmī mentions the name of the Imām of his time Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī (d. 1206/1792). Nazmī, *Sirāj al-Mu'minīn*, MS 1960/4ab, f. 48b. See Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 64.

²⁵⁴ Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 426-427.

While we do not know whether the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān supported any Twelver Shīʿī or Ṣūfī leaders, it is quite possible that the millenarian and Mahdist aspirations that are more pronounced in Twelver Shīʿism and various Ṣūfī orders, motivated them to practice *taqiyyah* under these forms of Islam and to adopt and express ideas that are in common with them.

Conclusion

This chapter examined different versions of Badakhshānī hagiographical narratives about Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh (as well as Shāh Kāshān and Shāh Burhān). It critiqued the approach of scholars who search only for “historical facts” in these narratives and argued that these narratives should be treated as hagiography, rather than as sources for “historical” information about their subjects. The attempts of scholars who used them as sources of “historical” information have not been successful, because they have resulted in conflicting, and at times confusing, narratives. If treated as hagiographical narratives, these stories can benefit us by illuminating the world in which they were narrated and written. Studying hagiographical stories of this kind, we should focus not solely on what these stories tell us about the subjects, but on what they convey about the narrators. Elements of the hagiographical stories change, depending on the changing socio-political contexts and the identity of their writers and narrators. The hagiographical narratives considered here play numerous roles; among others, they serve as sites of contestation for the purposes of the legitimation of religious and political authority and as ways of legitimizing the Islamic pedigree of Badakhshān, which they achieve by connecting the region to important Islamic figures through these four men in general and Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh in particular.²⁵⁵

The chapter has also demonstrated that while the Sunnī versions of the hagiography openly portray their subjects as Sunnīs and Ṣūfīs (especially, Shāh Khāmūsh), the Ismāʿīlī accounts present them in more ambiguous terms without mentioning their sectarian identity explicitly. The Ismāʿīlī accounts recorded in pre-Soviet and Soviet times generally tend to describe them as *sayyids*, *pīrs*, dervishes and *qalandars*. Only in Soviet times does one find stories that explicitly portray not only Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān and Shāh Burhān, but also Shāh Khāmūsh (who was generally depicted as a Sunnī and Uvaysī Ṣūfī), as Ismāʿīlī preachers and associate them with an Ismāʿīlī (Fāṭimid) Imām. This, I have argued, should be understood in relation to the changing environment in which the age-long Sunnī domination and threat ceased to exist. It is similar to the story of the Sunnī *shāhs*, who, under the rule of the Uzbek Sunnī (*ata*)*bīgs*, claimed that their ancestor Shāh Khāmūsh came from Bukhārā to convert the local people of Shughnān and Rūshān to Sunnism. As explained in the

²⁵⁵ Some scholars have taken a different approach to these narratives. For example, Jo-Ann Gross explores the geography of sacred knowledge in Badakhshān through such hagiographical narratives. In one of her articles, she briefly explores the foundational narratives about Shāh Khāmūsh. Jo-Ann Gross, "Foundational Legends, Shrines, and Ismāʿīlī Identity in Gorno-Badakhshan, Tajikistan," in *Muslims and Others in Sacred Space* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 164-92.

previous chapter, the Uzbek Sunnī (*ata*)*bīgs* took every measure to convert the Ismāʿīlīs to Sunnism during the short period (1895-1905) when they were in power in Badakhshān. These other elements of the hagiographical narratives should be read in relation to the dictates of the time in which they were told and recorded.

This chapter has also contended that while the Ismāʿīlī accounts of this specific hagiographical tradition portray Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān, Shāh Burhān and Shāh Khāmūsh as *sayyids*, *pīrs*, dervishes and *qalandars*, this does not mean that they regarded or presented them as Ṣūfīs. Although these terms are shared with Ṣūfīs, they also have specific meanings in Ismāʿīlism. However, the shared Ismāʿīlī-Ṣūfī terminology must have still helped the Ismāʿīlīs to express their memories of their foundational figures safely in the hostile milieu of the pre-Soviet Badakhshān. It is quite likely that Ismāʿīlīs practiced *taqiyyah*, because none of the stories point to these figures' association with the cause of the Ismāʿīlī Imāms. Sometimes taking precautionary measures for extended periods of time, in the words of Daftary, “would produce irrevocable influences ... on the very religious identity of the dissimulating group.”²⁵⁶ The Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān practiced dissimulation by “pretending to be [Twelver] Shīʿīs with [Twelver] Shīʿīs and Sunnīs with Sunnīs” and “concealing their faith,” but despite experiencing persecution at the hand of the powerful Sunnīs because of their faith, they did not lose their Ismāʿīlī identity. While praising the Twelver Shīʿī Imāms and other figures associated with Twelver Shīʿism, the poets, examined in this chapter, confirm their loyalty to the Ismāʿīlī Imāms. The reason the Twelver Shīʿī Imāms found their place in the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlī tradition may initially have been related to their practice of *taqiyyah* from at least the 16th century onwards. In this regard, the Ismāʿīlīs must have followed the example of their Imāms. However, the practice of *taqiyyah* had a lasting impact on the tradition itself, as the Twelver Shīʿī Imāms continue to occupy an important place in poems and hagiographical sources produced during the 19th and early 20th century, when the Ismāʿīlīs ceased to practice *taqiyyah*.

In pre-Soviet times, while the Sunnī dynasties had a negative attitude toward the Ismāʿīlīs, they displayed a tolerant attitude towards Ṣūfīs and in certain periods towards Twelver Shīʿism. Ṣūfīs were appointed to prestigious positions in the government and many of them served as spiritual guides and counselors to the rulers.²⁵⁷ Ṣūfism flourished in Badakhshān under the dynasties that ruled the region from the 15th to the late 18th century. Badakhshān was fertile ground for various Ṣūfī orders such as the Kubrāviyyah, Qādiriyyah, Naqshbandiyyah and Chishtiyyah. Due to the intolerance displayed towards the Ismāʿīlīs on the one hand and the tolerance shown toward Ṣūfism by the rulers of Badakhshān, as well as Ṣūfism's close affinity with Ismāʿīlism, it must have been easy for the

²⁵⁶ Farhad Daftary, "Religious Identity, Dissimulation and Assimilation: The Ismaili Experience," in *Living Islamic History: Studies in Honour of Professor Carole Hillenbrand*, ed. Y. Suleiman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 49.

²⁵⁷ On the political and social ascension of the Naqshbandīs as well as the influence of the Kubravī and the Yasavī orders (*silsilahs*) in Central Asia from the beginning of the Shaybānid rule to the mid-19th century see Zarcone, "The Sufi Orders in

Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs to pass themselves off as Ṣūfīs by practicing *taqiyyah*. However, this practice seems not to have succeeded in many instances, because the rulers, who persecuted them on sectarian grounds, knew their identity as “Shīʿīs” or “Ismāʿīlīs”.

The socio-political and religious context of Badakhshān had a bearing on the ways in which the Ismāʿīlīs presented Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the hagiographical sources. It is therefore important to understand this context in order to gain a better understanding of the evolution and nature of the Ismāʿīlī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān and of the reasons our sources portray the saint the way they do. In subsequent chapters, I will introduce and explore Badakhshānī hagiographical sources about the saint. As with the hagiographical narratives about Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān, Shāh Burhān and Shāh Khāmūsh, the agendas, authorial motives and choice of material in these hagiographical sources about Nāṣir-i Khusraw change over time, as they respond to the contemporary socio-political and religious contexts.

Chapter 5

Non-Ismā‘īlī sources

Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s unbelief and impiety
are known to the entire world

Maḥmūd Shabistārī

The task of hagiographers goes beyond simply glorifying saints and strengthening faith in them. Hagiographical works reflect a variety of motives and play various roles. One of their most prominent roles is to provide data on the saints to defend them against charges of heresy, heterodoxy and unbelief.¹ In Chapters Six and Seven, I argue that one of the most important purposes of pre-Soviet Badakhshānī hagiographical works about Nāṣir-i Khusraw was to respond to these types of accusation. Many non-Ismā‘īlī Muslim authors mention Nāṣir-i Khusraw in accounts produced between 5th/11th and 12th/19th centuries.² This chapter briefly examines these in order to demonstrate that, although there are a handful of non-Ismā‘īlī sources that provide a balanced account of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, or praise his intellectual and poetic abilities, spiritual accomplishments and asceticism, the overwhelming majority right from the 5th/11th century down to the 13th/19th century are openly hostile to him and seize the opportunity to criticize and condemn him for his faith. Over the course of more than nine centuries, we come across only one 9th/15th century Shī‘ī author who admires Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s commitment to the “family of the Prophet” and praises him as “the master of faith” (*sarvar-i īmān*).

As with other great figures, Nāṣir-i Khusraw came to be surrounded by numerous anecdotes, his detractors depicting him in a negative and his admirers in a positive light.³ Because of the nature of the accounts and their differing representations of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, I divide them into four categories and examine each category in a separate section. The first section of this chapter, which provides a brief overview of the sources that are hostile toward Nāṣir-i Khusraw, consists of two subsections. The first subsection examines some accounts chronologically, beginning with Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh Abū al-Ma‘ālī’s *Bayān al-adyān* (*A Description of Religions*), completed in 485/1092, and ending with accounts in the legendary biography of Tīmūr (d. 807/1405), which began to be composed in the 11th/18th century. This section demonstrates that these accounts consider Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s religious opinion and doctrines “false” (*bāṭil*), accuse him of espousing doctrines of exaggeration (*ghulūww*) and transmigration (*tanāsukh*), of impiety (*zandaqah*) and heresy (*ilhād*) and even of claiming to be a prophet. Some of the sources examined here criticize him for leading the people of Ṭukhāristān and

¹ John Renard, *Tales of God’s Friends*, 10.

² For a review of some of these sources, see ‘Abd al-Aḥmad Jāvīd, “Zindagī-nāmah-i Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw,” in *Dānā-yi Yungān: Majmū‘ah-i maqālāt-i simīnār-i bayn al-milālī-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw – nakhustmard-i gusturda-i khirad, dānish va adab*, ed. Husayn Farmand (1366HSh/1988), 44-64. For a more comprehensive survey of these sources, see Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” 119-51.

Yumgān in Badakhshān down the path of heresy. This shows that not only Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but also his followers in Badakhshān, known as the Nāṣiriyyah, were criticized as heretics. In this subsection, I argue that the term “Nāṣiriyyah,” used in the sources, refers to the Badakhshānī followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw only. This challenges the general position in scholarship, according to which the sources may have referred to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s followers in the South Caspian region of Ṭabaristān.

The second subsection briefly introduces and discusses several “heretical verses” that have been attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. These were seen as a reflection of his views, as proof of his rejection of bodily resurrection and as evidence that he accused God of injustice and sedition. Such verses were attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw as early as the 9th/15th century. They appear in different recensions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Dīvān* and were included in Taqavī’s edition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Dīvān*, published in 1307/1928, though the editor doubts their authenticity.⁴ In this subsection, I will discuss some prominent scholars’ views on these verses and their positions regarding the attribution to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. I will demonstrate that another poet’s verses were attributed to him by non-Ismā‘īlīs. This indicates that, since Nāṣir-i Khusraw represented heresy in the minds of these non-Ismā‘īlī writers, it was common for them to attribute heretical verses to him. The Ismā‘īlī authors of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s hagiographies then used these heretical verses in their accounts, such as the *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, this being a clear indication that they responded to the charges leveled widely against the saint. It is useful to introduce these verses here, since I will refer to them later in this dissertation.

The second section takes a brief look at the works of a 9th/15th century author who admires Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s commitment to the “family of the Prophet.” I demonstrate that the approach of this author is an exception to the general rule. He rejects the view that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was “an apostate and someone who has gone astray” (*murtadd-u gumrāh*). The two poetic compositions, discussed in this section are the *Lisān al-ghayb* (*The Language of Mystery*) and the *Mazhar al-‘ajā’ib* (*Manifestation of Wonders*). The author of these works, apparently, was a Shī‘ī. He calls himself “the second ‘Aṭṭār,” and scholars refer to him as ‘Aṭṭār-i Tūnī on account of him being from Tūn, a town in Quhistān. Tūn was an important Nizārī Ismā‘īlī centre in the 9th/15th century. It is quite possible that ‘Aṭṭār-i Tūnī, who also praises the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms in the *Mazhar al-‘ajā’ib*, was influenced by the Ismā‘īlī views on Nāṣir-i Khusraw. As a Shī‘ī author, he considered Nāṣir-i Khusraw worthy of imitation in faith. The *Lisān al-ghayb* and the *Mazhar al-‘ajā’ib* seem to be the only pre-modern non-Ismā‘īlī sources that explicitly praise Nāṣir-i Khusraw for his faith, as opposed to, for example, his poetic virtuosity, wisdom, spiritual and ascetic accomplishments.

³ Haravī, "Afsāna-hā va qiṣṣah-hā," 451.

⁴ *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 364-68.

The third section briefly examines Dawlatshāh Samarqandī's *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā* (written in 892/1486) and a Kubravī Šūfī author Majd al-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshānī's *Jāmi' al-salāsīl* (completed in 11th/17th). These non-Ismā'īlī works praise Nāṣir-i Khusraw for his spiritual accomplishments and asceticism and associate him with the famous Šūfī master Abū al-Ḥasan Kharaqānī (d. 435/1033) and Šūfism. The section shows that these sources are unique and can also be seen as exceptions to the general rule concerning the image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. I show that Dawlatshāh's account simply renders Nāṣir-i Khusraw a disciple of Abū al-Ḥasan Kharaqānī. Its primary purpose is to demonstrate the superiority of Kharaqānī's intuitive knowledge over Nāṣir-i Khusraw's dependence on reason. Dawlatshāh refrains from mentioning whether Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself was a Šūfī. Majd al-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshānī, on the other contrary, clearly regards Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Šūfī, which makes him the only author to do so. These are the only two works that overtly link Nāṣir-i Khusraw with a Šūfī master and Šūfism. Majd al-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshānī seems to be the only author who, in the word of Beben, "sunnitized" Nāṣir-i Khusraw. However, the account in the *Jāmi' al-salāsīl* is based on Badakhshānī Shī'ī (most likely Ismā'īlī) hagiographical tradition about Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

The fourth section briefly discusses several non-Ismā'īlī sources that display a balanced approach to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It demonstrates that historians like Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318), Mīrkhvānd (d. 903/1498) and Khvādamīr (d. 942/1535) simply report information about him, refraining from criticism of his faith or praise for his accomplishments. Others, like the poets and Šūfī thinkers, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492) and Mīr 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī (d. 906/1501), also display an impartial attitude toward Nāṣir-i Khusraw. In this section, I demonstrate that these authors praise him for his intellectual, and poetic abilities as well as spiritual discipline and asceticism, but, unlike Majd al-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshānī, clearly see Nāṣir-i Khusraw's faith (*mazhab*) as different from their own. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the general image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the non-Ismā'īlī sources produced between the 5th/11th and 12th/19th centuries.

5.1 Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Target of Criticism and Reproach

We come across a non-Ismā'īlī source that levels an accusation against Nāṣir-i Khusraw very early on. Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself asserts that he was, among many other things, called a heretic (*mulḥid*)⁵ and irreligious (*bad'dīn*, literally "of bad faith").⁶ At the same time, his opponents seem to have appreciated his excellence in wisdom (*fazl*), something that is reflected in later non-Ismā'īlī sources. As Nāṣir-i Khusraw writes in one of his poems,

⁵ Khusraw, *Zād al-musāfirīn*, 3.

⁶ "The simpletons of the [Muslim] community who call me [a man] of bad faith" (*juhḥāl-i 'ummat kih ma-rā bad-dīn khvānand*)." Ibid., 402. *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī). ("You tell me, arise, for you are [a man] of bad faith" (*mar ma-rā gū-yī barkhīz kih bad-dīnī*)), 162:29, 234, ("He calls me [a man] of bad faith today" (*ān hamī gūyad imruz ma-rā bad-dīn*)), 436: 17. See also *Dīvān* (Taqaṣvī), 110, 217, 430, 48.

Ma-rā gūyand bad'dīn ast-u fāzil, bihtar ān būdī
Kih dīnash pāk būdī-yu nabūdī faʿl chandānash

They say he is [a man] of bad faith, but learned, and that it would be better
If his faith was pure and he didn't have wisdom⁷

In his *Bayān al-adyān* (*A Description of Religions*), completed in 485/1092, Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh Abū al-Ma'ālī of Balkh described Nāṣir-i Khusraw, his contemporary and compatriot, as a *ṣāhib al-jazīrah* or master of a region (literally, islands).⁸ He writes that Nāṣir-i Khusraw "misled" the people of Yumgān by establishing his *ṭarīqat* in the region.⁹ He curses Nāṣir-i Khusraw and dubs his followers as the "Nāṣiriyyah" (*al-Nāṣiriyyah*).¹⁰ Following Abū al-Ma'ālī, the Sunnī scholar Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) wrote that "they [al-Nāṣiriyyah] follow Nāṣir b. Khusraw, who was a poet, and many people went astray because of him."¹¹ The Twelver Shī'ī author Sayyid Murtaẓā b. Dā'ī Ḥasanī Rāzī in his *Kitāb tabṣirat al-'awāmm fī ma'rifat maqālāt al-anām* (*Book for the Enlightenment of the Common Folks Concerning the Knowledge of the Treatises for All People*), completed in the 7th/13th century, also criticizes Nāṣir-i Khusraw, writing "but this accursed one was a poet." He also mentions that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was the leader (*ra'īs*) of the Nāṣiriyyah. According to him, he misled a large number of Nāṣiriyyah.¹²

It becomes clear that Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his followers, i.e. the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān, were regarded as deviant. As mentioned, one of the designations for the path of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān is Nāṣirī. As a native of Balkh and contemporary of his subject, Abū al-Ma'ālī was well aware of the existence of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's followers in Badakhshān. His use of the term Nāṣiriyyah clearly refers to a tradition that established in Badakhshān.¹³ Scholars who argue that Abū al-Ma'ālī conflated Nāṣir-i Khusraw's followers with a Zaydī Shī'ī sect active in Ṭabaristān known as the Nāṣiriyyah ignore this fact.¹⁴ They also follow the readings of Charles Schefer and 'Abbās Iqbāl

⁷ *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī), 234.

⁸ As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Fāṭimid *da'wah* organization divided the world into twelve regions or *jazīrah*s at the head of which was a chief *dā'ī* (caller, missionary) with the rank of *ḥujjat* (proof). Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 217-218.

⁹ Based on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's own works, he propagated Ismā'īlism as the *ḥujjat* of Khurāsān. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Zād al-musāfirīn*, ed. Badhl al-Raḥmān, 397. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn*, ed. Corbin and Mu'īn, 15. *Ḥujjat* is also Nāṣir-i Khusraw's poetic pen name. *Dīvān* (Taḡavī), 309, 21, 472, 78. al-Ma'ālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, 55.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 56. Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 20.

¹¹ Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī, *I'tiqādāt firaq al-muslimīn wa'l-mushrikīn*, ed. Ṭaha 'Abd al-Rawūf Sa'd and Muṣṭafā al-Hawwārī (Cairo: Maktab al-kulliyāt al-azharīyah, 1398/1978), 122.

¹² Sayyid Murtaẓā b. Dā'ī Ḥasanī Rāzī, *Kitāb tabṣirat al-'awāmm fī ma'rifat maqālāt al-anām*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl Āshtiyānī (Tehran: Maṭba'a-i majlis, 1313/1934), 184. On the *Kitāb tabṣirat al-'awāmm fī ma'rifat maqālāt al-anām*, see *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindūstānī and Pushtū Manuscripts in Bodleian Library*, ed. Hermann Ethé (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1889), 1024-1025.

¹³ Yumgān of Badakhshān (یمگان بدخشان) appears in the form of *بمکان بدخشان* (به مکان بدخشان) "in Badakhshān" in another manuscript. See Sayyid Muḥammad 'Imādī Ḥā'irī, "Nāṣiriyyah yā firqah-i manṣūb bih Nāṣir-i Khusraw," *Nāmah-i Pārsī: Quarterly of the Center for Expansion of Persian Language and Literature* 2 (1382/2003): 196.

¹⁴ As Alice Hunsberger writes, "The Nasiriyya, in fact, were a local Zaydī sect in the Caspian region whom Abu'l-Ma'ali has wrongly attributed to Nasir Khusraw." Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 20. Beben is also of this opinion. See Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 89. Andrei Bertel's has associated Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Nāṣiriyyah in Badakhshān. Bertel's, "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az 'urafā," 96-118. Andrei Bertel's father, Evgenii Bertel's also referred to the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān as the Nāṣiriyyah. See Evgenii Bertel's, "Nāṣir-i Khusraw," *EII*. The late Pāmīrī scholar Abusaid

Āshtiyānī who, in their critical editions, refer to the followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as “the people of Ṭabaristān” (*ahl-i Ṭabaristān*).¹⁵ Charles Schefer’s edition of the *Bayān al-adyān* was published on the basis of a manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, with a French translation in his *Chrestomathie persane*.¹⁶ ‘Abbās Iqbāl Āshtiyānī’s later edition is also based on the same manuscript, which he considered to be the sole extant manuscript of the work.¹⁷ The manuscript that Schefer and Āshtiyānī used for their editions had only four out of the five chapters of the *Bayān al-adyān* available, which testifies to the fact that the text of this manuscript’s text was incomplete. The Iranian scholar Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh discovered the fifth chapter of the *Bayān al-adyān* in a library in Iran and provided a description of it in two articles published in 1341/1962.¹⁸ Hāshim Rizā included the fifth chapter in the text and prepared a new edition with extensive notes based on Āshtiyānī’s in 1342/1964.¹⁹ More than forty years later, Dānishpazhūh discovered yet another, but this time a complete text of the *Bayān al-adyān* in Iran (in the Library of Āyatallāh Mar‘ashī Najafī in Qum, accession #9286). Together with Qudrat Allāh Pīshnām’zādah, he prepared the newest edition, which was published posthumously in 1375HSh/1997.²⁰ The new and complete edition of the *Bayān al-adyān* mentions “the people of Ṭukhāristān” (*ahl-i Ṭukhāristān*) instead of “the people of Ṭabaristān” (*ahl-i Ṭabaristān*) and refers to Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the “*ṣāhib-i mazhab*” of the people in Ṭukhāristān.²¹

Ṭabaristān, a province to the south of the Caspian Sea, is also known as Māzandarān.²² Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself mentions his visit to the region only twice in his *Dīvān* and mentions nothing of his mission to the region in any of his other published works.²³ As for the name “Ṭukhāristān”, it is used for the region along the southern banks of the middle and upper Oxus river in earlier medieval sources. In other words, it is a region that includes what is known as Badakhshān today.²⁴ In his *Kitāb al-a‘lāq*

Shokhumorov also calls “Pamiri Ismailism” the Nāṣiriyyah. Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 89. Apart from these, Maryam Mu‘izzī mentions that Abū al-Ma‘ālī and other contemporary authors use the term Nāṣiriyyah in relation to the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. Mu‘izzī, “Ta’rīkh-i Ismā‘īlīyān-i Badakhshān,” 154, 57.

¹⁵ Hā‘irī, “Nāṣiriyyah,” 197. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh Abū al-Ma‘ālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, ed. ‘Abbās Iqbāl Āshtiyānī (Tehran: Maṭba‘-i majlis, 1312HSh/1934), 32.

¹⁶ Charles Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1883), 131-71. Based on Abū al-Ma‘ālī’s account and its translation in the *Chrestomathie persane* and following scholars such as Wladimir Ivanow and others, Farhad Daftary also presents the view that Nāṣir-i Khusraw preached Ismā‘īlism in Ṭabaristān. Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 206.

¹⁷ Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh Abū al-Ma‘ālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, ed. ‘Abbās Iqbāl Āshtiyānī (Tehran: Maṭba‘-i majlis, 1312HSh/1934), 32.

¹⁸ Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, “Muqaddimah va taṣṭih-i bāb-i panjum-i Bayān al-adyān va matn-i ān,” *Farhang-i Irānzamīn* 10 (1341/1962): 282-318. He previously wrote about his discovery of the chapter in “Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i kitābkhānah-i khuṣūṣī-i duktur Asghār Mahdāvī,” in *Nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī, daftar-i duvum* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihārān, 1341/1962), 71.

¹⁹ Hāshim Rizā, *Ta’rīkh-i kāmīl-i adyān* (Tehran: Mu‘ssisāh-i Farāhānī, 1342HSh/1964).

²⁰ Abū al-Ma‘ālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh and Qudrat Allāh Pīshnām’zādah (Tehran: Bunyād-i Mawqūfāt-i Maḥmūd Afshār, 1376HSh/1998).

²¹ Abū al-Ma‘ālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, ed. Dānishpazhūh and Pīshnām’zādah, 73.

²² On Māzandarān, see Vladimir Minorskiĭ and Clifford E. Bosworth, “Māzandarān,” *EI2*.

²³ E.g. *Dūstī-i ‘itrat va khānah-i rasūl, kard ma-rā Yungī-yu Māzandarī* (“Love for the Family and House of the Prophet have made me a dweller in Yumgān and Māzandarān”) or *Bargīr dil zi Balkh-u binih tan zi bahr-i dīn, Chūn man gharīb-u zār bih Māzandarān shudam in Dīvān* (Taqavī), 413, 506. Hā‘irī, “Nāṣiriyyah,” 197.

²⁴ On Ṭukhāristān, see Vladimir Barthold and Clifford E. Bosworth, “Ṭukhāristān,” *EI2*.

al-naftsa (*The Book of Precious Gems*), the Persian geographer Ibn Rusta (d. after 300/913) states that the high-lying territories on both sides of the Upper Oxus along with Badakhshān and Shughnān were in upper or eastern Ṭukhāristān.²⁵ In his *Kitāb al-buldān* (*The Book of Lands*), the early Arab historian and geographer Aḥmad al-Ya‘qūbī (d. 283/897) calls Bāmiyān “the first of the districts (*mamālik*) in the nearest, western Ṭukhāristān.”²⁶ The existence of Ismā‘īlī Shī‘īs, who follow the teachings of Shāh Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw ‘Alavī in the mountains of Badakhshān, Hazāra[jāt] and Bāmiyān (*dar jibāl-i Badakhshān, Hazārah va Bāmiyān*), is attested a millennium later in the *Rawzat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī* of Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat (d. 1289/1872).²⁷

One of the most influential Ismā‘īlī works, the *Qandīl'nāmah* or the *Charāgh'nāmah* refers to the follower of the *da‘vah* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as Nāṣirī.²⁸ Inviting respondents to the tradition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the *Charāgh'nāmah* declares, for example, “if you are in search of [becoming] a Nāṣirī, enter the fold of the *da‘vah* of Nāṣir” (“*gar Nāṣirī-rā ṭālibīst, dar da‘vat-i Nāṣir darā*”)²⁹ or “if you become a Nāṣirī with certain faith, you will find assistance from the sovereign of religion” (“*chūn Nāṣirī gardī yaqīn nuṣrat barī az shāh-i dīn*”).³⁰ A Nāṣirī (“a follower of Nāṣir”) is someone who follows the *da‘vat-i Nāṣir* or Ismā‘īlism in Badakhshān. Hence, the followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw

²⁵ Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-a‘lāq al-naftsa*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden:1892), 292, 8.

²⁶ Aḥmad al-Ya‘qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden:1892), 289, 90.

²⁷ Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 20. As Beben rightly observes, Hunsberger misreads the term “Nuṣayrī” as Nāṣiriyyah. Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” 290. The word appears in the form of نصیری rather than ناصرى in Jamshīd Kīyānfār’s edition of the *Rawzat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*. According to Hidāyat, Nuṣayrīs were numerous (*kaṣīr va farāvān*) in the mountains of Hazārah, Band-i Barbar and Badakhshān. They were accusing of divinizing ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (*ū-rā bih ulūhiyat parastārī namūda-and*). Hidāyat, *Rawzat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, 7391. Band-i Barbar (literally, Dam of Barbar), which is also known as Band-i Amīr (Dam of the Prince – a title of ‘Alī (*amīr al-mu‘minīn*, commander of the faithful), is a chain of six lakes in the Hazārajāt mountains in Bāmiyān province. The Hazārahs believe that ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib created six dams for the lakes for an irascible infidel king called Barbar so that he would release the unjustly imprisoned people in return. Other miracles are associated with ‘Alī in this place. See Nancy H. Dupree, “Sacred Geography, Afghanistan,” in *South Asian Folklore: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret A. Mills (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 527. For more information about Band-i Barbar, see “Band-i-Amir or Band-i-Barbar,” in *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan, Mazar-i-Sharif and North-Central Afghanistan*, ed. Ludwig W. Adamec, vol. 4 (Akademische Druck Kahay U. Verlagsanstalt, Graz-Austria, 1979), 118. The word also appears as نصیری in a number of lithographs of the text (which are available on <http://dl.nlai.ir>). Interestingly, Ēl‘chibekov notes that the *Silk-i guhar‘rīz* mentions Nāṣiriyyah (ناصریه) as one of the Shī‘ī sects that divinized ‘Alī. He rightly notes that this should be Nuṣayriyyah (نصیرییه) rather than Nāṣiriyyah (ناصریه). Ēl‘chibekov, *Ierarkhiia*, 96. Gulzār Khān, however, mentions نصیری, not ناصرى. *Silk-i guhar‘rīz*, 92.

²⁸ There are numerous copies of the *Qandīl'nāmah* and *Charāgh'nāmah* in Badakhshān. I have used four copies, which are virtually identical as far as the quoted passages are concerned. The first belongs to Najm al-Dīn from Roshorv, Bartang (a digital copy of which is available at the KhRU-IIS (USBk54)). The second belongs to Tolik from Khorog (its digital copy is in MS Folder 168 at the KhRU-IIS). The third copy, titled *Hāza Charāgh'nāmah-i mubārak*, which was apparently edited for the Ismā‘īlī community of Badakhshān, is in MS Folder 206 (KhRU-IIS). The fourth *Charāgh'nāmah*, copied in 1387/1967, is found in MSGK93 (KhRU-IIS). A fifth copy, *Qandil'nāmah*, MS Folder 50 (either 1217/1802 or 1272/1855) (KhRU-IIS) is slightly different in a number of places.

²⁹ Folder 206, 6. The text in Folder 168, which is quite modern, does not feature the word *Nāṣirī*. Shakarmamadov changes the word *Nāṣirī* to *Nāṣir* in *gar Nāṣirī-rā ṭālibī, dar da‘vat-i Nāṣir darā*. It thus becomes *Nāṣir zih avlād-i nabīst, Haqqā, kih farzand-i ‘Alīst, Gar Nāṣir-rā tū ṭālibī, Dar da‘vat-i Nāṣir darā*. Shakarmamadov, *La‘li kūhsor*, 15. The rhythm of the poetry (*vazn-i shi‘r*) is *baḥr-i rajaz muṣamman sālim* (*mustaf‘ilun, mustaf‘ilun, mustaf‘ilun, mustaf‘ilun* = -----). This verse is reproduced accurately in Bertel’s, *Nāṣir zih avlād-i nabīst, Haqqā, kih farzand-i ‘Alīst, Gar Nāṣirī-rā ṭālibīst, Dar da‘vat-i Nāṣir biyā*. Bertel’s, “Nazariyāt-i barkhī az ‘urafā,” 96-118. See also *Qandil'nāmah*, MS Folder 50 (either 1217/1802 or 1272/1855), f. 164a (KhRU-IIS). *Charāgh'nāmah*, MSGK93 (copied in 1387/1967), 14 (KhRU-IIS). Muḥammadsherozodshoev changes *biyā* (come) to *darā* (enter) in this verse. See Muḥammadsherozodshoev, *Manobe‘i*, 69.

³⁰ MS Folder 206, 5. *Gar* instead of *chūn* in USBk54, 8 and MS Folder 50, f. 164a. Bertel’s, “Nazariyāt-i barkhī az ‘urafā,” 96-118. Reproduced in Cyrillic Tajik in Muḥammadsherozodshoev, *Manobe‘i*, 69.

called the Nāṣiriyyah in Abū al-Ma‘ālī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and Ḥasanī Rāzī’s accounts are none other than the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān.³¹ In all three accounts, they are described as a “misled” group, which had been taken down the path of heresy by the “accursed” Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

The renowned Persian anthologist Muḥammad ‘Awfī Bukhārāī in his *Jawāmi‘ al-ḥikāyāt wa lawāmi‘ al-riwāyāt* (*Collection of Stories and Illustrious Tales*), completed in 625/1228, goes beyond simply cursing Nāṣir-i Khusraw. He associates the saint with al-Muqanna‘, “the veiled prophet” from Khurāsān who fought the Arabs in the 8th century and was regarded as a heretic by Muslims.³² Accusations of heresy went hand in hand with charges of exaggeration. The historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī in his *Ta’rīkh-i guzīdah* (*The Select History*), written in 730/1330, mentions that Nāṣir-i Khusraw, whom he calls a wise man (*ḥakīm*) and a *ḥujjat*, was an advocate of “great exaggeration” (*ghulūww-i ‘azīm*) in Shī‘ism (*mazhab-i shī‘ah*).³³ Nāṣir-i Khusraw continued to be regarded as a heretic and an exaggerator in the subsequent centuries. Like Qazvīnī, in his *Sa‘ādat-nāmah* (*The Book of Felicity*), completed after 717/1317, the Sūfī author Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. after 740/1339),³⁴ among others criticized Nāṣir-i Khusraw by calling him “an enemy of religion” (*dushman-i dīn*), an abandoner (*rāfiṣī*) and an unbeliever (*kāfir*):

Hast az īn qawm Nāṣir-i Khusraw
Kih kunad kuhnah'bid'atī-rā naw
Falsafī aṣl va rāfiṣī-tīn ast
Zīn dū bigzar kih dushman-i dīn ast
Khālī az 'ilm-u ḥikmat-i tawhīd
Kāfir-i mahṣ gashtah bar taqlīd
Jahl-i ū-rā gar-chih fāzilān dānand
Kufr-u fitnah-ash hamah jahān dānand
Az hamah naw 'i 'ilm va faṣl-u hunar
Bī juz az shā'irī chih dāsht dīgar?
 ...
Va 'alā jumlah fitnah-i Nāṣir
*Hast dar jumlah-i jahān zāhir*³⁵

Among this group there is Nasir-i Khusraw
 Who has turned an ancient creed of aberrancy into novelty
 He is a philosopher by essence and an heretic in blood and flesh
 Besides these two, he is an enemy of religion
 Devoid of knowledge and wisdom of [divine] unity
 He has become a pure unbeliever by blind imitation
 His ignorance is known to the learned
 His unbelief and impiety are known to the entire world
 What other skills did he have besides being a poet
 From among all kinds of knowledge, virtue and skill?
 ...
 On the whole, the impiety of Nāṣir-i Khusraw
 Is manifest in the entire world³⁶

Shabistarī then adds that Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s unbelief and deviation from the way of truth are known to the entire world.³⁷ The same hostile attitude continued and in the 10th/16th century, the Shī‘ī

³¹ The historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw, of course, did not create a new sect within Ismā‘īlism.

³² Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 92-93.

³³ Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *Ta’rīkh-i guzīdah*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā‘ī (Tehran: Amīr-i Kabīr, 1362/1983), 753.

³⁴ A text titled *Ba’zī az ta’vīlāt-i Gulshan-i Rāz*, which is an Ismā‘īlī interpretation of Shabistarī’s *Gulshan-i rāz*, comes from Badakhshān. It was transcribed in 1312/1895 and occupies 28 pages, with 14 lines on each page. Henry Corbin has edited and translated it into French on the basis of this manuscript. *Ba’zī az ta’vīlāt-i Gulshan-i Rāz*, ed. and trans. Henry Corbin in idem, *Trilogie Ismaélienne* (Tehran and Paris, 1961). See also Wladimir Ivanow, "An Ismaili Interpretation of the *Gulshani Raz*," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 8 (1932): 69-78. It is perhaps because the *Gulshan-i rāz* (unlike the *Sa‘ādat-nāmah*) demonstrates “the ecumenical humanistic spirit” of Maḥmūd Shabistarī that the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān have considered it to belong to their religious literature. On the *Gulshan-i rāz* in this regard, see Leonard Lewisohn, *Beyond Faith and Infidelity: The Sufi Poetry and Teachings of Mahmud Shabistari* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1995), 28.

³⁵ Shaykh Maḥmūd Shabistarī, *Majmū‘a-i āṣār*, ed. Šamad Muvvaḥid (Tehran: Kitābkhānah-i ṭahūrī, 1371HSh/1993), 176-77. Bertel’s, "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az ‘urafā," 120.

author Shāh Muḥammad Qazvīnī also attacked the saint as “a great exaggerator within the tradition of the abandoners (*rāfiḏ*)” who “considered that false religion to be true.”³⁸

As Ron Sela demonstrates, the accusation that Nāṣir-i Khusraw claimed to prophethood (of a new religious sect that he supposedly invented) and his association with Muḥanna‘ reappear in the legendary biographies of Tīmūr (an extensive corpus that began to be composed at the beginning of the 11th/18th century).³⁹ One narrative paints Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a false prophet, known as Muḥanna‘, who appeared in the city of Shahr-i Sabz (in modern Uzbekistan). According to the author, Nāṣir-i Khusraw claimed to enjoy the support of angel Gabriel, proclaiming himself a messenger (*rasūl*). For these reasons, the clergy (*‘ulamā’*) declared him an infidel. He slaughtered those who did not accept his doctrine in Bukhārā, Samarqand, and Balkh. The narrative then states that Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn (al-Marghīnānī) (d. 593/1197) saw the Prophet in a dream. The Prophet told him to confront Nāṣir-i Khusraw together with Tīmūr, as this would be the only way to defeat Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Burhān al-Dīn and Tīmūr then confronted Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s army. Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s troops dispersed, because they realized that the angel Gabriel was not coming to their assistance. Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself escaped.⁴⁰ Several narratives of the legendary biographies of Tīmūr, as Sela writes, “put forward the Ismā‘īlīs as the symbols of false prophethood.”⁴¹ While the legendary biographies bolster the reputation of Tīmūr, they do so at the expense of Ismā‘īlīs, represented by Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This demonstrates the antipathy of these Central Asian Sunnī authors towards the Ismā‘īlīs in general and Nāṣir-i Khusraw in particular. In addition to Tīmūr, the narratives explicitly contrast the Ḥanafī Sunnī scholar Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī with Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁴²

5.2 Heretical Verses

In the 9th/15th century, others attributed several blasphemous or heretical verses to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. An example of these can be found in ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī’s (d. 898/1492) *Bahāristān (Land of Springtime)*, which he completed in 892/1487.

Hamah jawr-i man az bulghāriyān ast
Kih mādāmam hamī bāyad kashīdan

All this injustice⁴³ is because of the Bulghārīs
For which I constantly sigh

³⁶ A translation of this poem can also be found in Lewisohn, *Beyond Faith and Infidelity*, 26.

³⁷ Shabistarī, *Majmū‘a-i āṣār*, 176-77.

³⁸ Mīr ‘Alī Shīr Navā‘ī and Ḥakīm Shāh Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *Tazkirah-i Majālis al-nafā‘is*, ed. ‘Alī Asghar Ḥikmat (Tehran: Kitāb-furūshī-i Manūchīhrī, 1363/1984), 348-49.

³⁹ Ron Sela, *The Legendary Biographies of Tamerlane: Islam and Heroic Apocrypha in Central Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 112-16. Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 147-50.

⁴⁰ Sela, *The Legendary Biographies of Tamerlane*, 113-14.

⁴¹ The narratives mention another false prophet by the name of Shāh Maṣṣūr, who is introduced as Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s son. The other false prophet recalled is a descendant of one of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s disciples by the name of Ḥakīm Nizārī. *Ibid.*, 114-15.

⁴² Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī is the author of *al-Hidāyah (The Guidance)*, which is one of the most popular handbooks of Ḥanafī law. On him, see W. Hefening, "al-Marghīnānī," *EI2*.

⁴³ The word *jawr* also means “deviating from truth or the right way.” Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 377.

Gunah bulghāriyān-rā nīz ham nīst
Bigūyam, gar tu bitvānī shunīdan:
Khudāyā, īn balā-yū fitnah az tūst
Valīkin kas namīārad chakhīdan
Hamī ārand turkān-rā zi Bulghār
Zih bahr-i pardah-i mardum darīdan
Lab-u dandān-i ān khūbān-i chūn māh
Bad-īn khūbī nabāyist āfarīdan
Kih az 'ishq-i lab-u dandān-i īshān
Bih dandān lab hamī bāyad gazīdan

The Bulghārīs are not to blame, in fact
 I will say it, if you can listen
 O God, all this trouble springs from you
 But no one dares say it
 They bring the Turks from Bulghār
 To rend the veil of men[']s honour]
 The lips and teeth of the moon-like fairs
 Should not have created this beautiful
 For the love of their lips and teeth
 We bite our lips with our teeth⁴⁴

Edward Browne records a different version of the poem, as he heard it in Iran, in his *A Year Amongst the Persians*, published in 1893. He also provides an English translation of the poem:

Ilāhī, rāst gūyam fitnah az tūst
Valī az tars natvānam chakhīdan
Agar rīgī bih kafsh-i khūd na-dārī
Chirā bāyist shaytān āfarīdan?
Lab-ū dandān-i khūbān-i Khaṭā-rā
Bad-īn khūbī na-bāyast āfarīdan
Bi-āhū mī-zanī 'Hey! Hey!' kih bigrīz
Bi-tāzī mī-zanī 'Hey!' bar davīdan

"O God, although through fear I hardly dare
 To hint it, all our trouble springs from Thee
 Had'st Thou no sand or gravel in Thy shoes
 What prompted Thee to bid the Devil be?
 'Twere well an Thou had'st made the lips and teeth
 Of Tartar beauties not so fair to see
 With cries of 'On! Thou bid'st the hound pursue
 With cries of 'On!' Thou bid'st the quarry flee!"⁴⁵

So common was the attribution of these verses to Nāṣir-i Khusraw that "O God, all this trouble springs from you" (*Khudāyā, rāst gūyam fitnah az tūst*) is one of the most famous sayings in Persian that is attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁴⁶ It is included in the *Amṣāl va ḥikam* (*Proverbs and Wise Sayings*) of 'Alī Akbar Dihkhudā (1334HSh/1956) and in the form of "O God, all this trial and sedition springs from you" (*Khudāyā, īn balā-yū fitnah az tūst*) in Aḥmad Bahmanyār Kirmānī's (d. 1334HSh/1955) collection of proverbs and sayings, *Dāstān'nāmāh-i Bahmanyārī* (*Bahmanyār's Book of Parables*).⁴⁷ The verses quoted above are part of a long *qaṣīdah* (87 verses) that is found in many manuscripts of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīvān*. According to Sayyid Naṣr Allāh Taqavī, the reason he included the *qaṣīdah* in his edition is because these verses appeared in all the manuscripts used.⁴⁸ The learned editor, however, expressed his doubts about their attribution to Nāṣir-i Khusraw because of their poetic style and content. As he writes, "considering the weakness (*rakākat*) of the majority of words and the insipid nature (*sakhāfat*) of the meanings, it does not seem to be Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw's."⁴⁹

Apart from Taqavī, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī argues that the verses cannot be Nāṣir-i Khusraw's because they are not written in his style (*sabk-i shi'r*), the spirit of his motive (*rūḥ-i maṭlab*), or the

⁴⁴ Abdurrahmoni Jomī, *Bahoriston*, ed. A'lōkhon Afsarzod (Dushanbe: Maorif va Farhang, 2008), 91. Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 156.

⁴⁵ Edward G. Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1893), 480.

⁴⁶ Among several examples of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's poetry that Ḥājji Luṭf 'Alī Bīg Āzar (d. 1195/1781) brings in the *Ātashkadāh* (*Fire Temple*) (completed around 1193/1779) are these verses. Luṭf 'Alī Bīg Āzar, *Ātashkadāh-i Āzar*, 1031.

⁴⁷ 'Alī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Amṣāl va ḥikam*, vol. 2 (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1352/1973), 721. Aḥmad Bahmanyār Kirmānī, *Dāstān'nāmāh-i Bahmanyār* (Tehran: Dānīshgāh-i Tihrān, 1369/1990), 217.

⁴⁸ *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 364-68. This *qaṣīdah* is further discussed in Chapter Seven.

manner of expression (*naw`-i ta`bīr*). According to Navā`ī, the poem should perhaps be attributed to the Ṣūfī poet `Ayn al-Quzāt Hamadānī (d. 525/1131) who openly (*ṣarīḥ wa bī`pardah*) and boldly (*bī`parvā*) expressed his views on the issues found in the poem.⁵⁰ `Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī also confirms that `Ayn al-Quzāt Hamadānī included (*īrād kardah*) these verses in his *Zubdat al-ḥaqā`iq* (*The Cream of Realities*).⁵¹ In fact, the verses in `Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's *Bahāristān*, except the penultimate verse (*kih az khūbī-i lab-u dandān-i īshān* instead of *kih az `ishq-i lab-u dandān-i īshān*), are found in `Afīf `Usayrān's edition of `Ayn al-Quzāt Hamadānī's work, also known as *Tamhīdāt* (*Preludes*).⁵² The *Tamhīdāt*, which is `Ayn al-Quzāt Hamadānī's most important Persian work and which the author himself names *Zubdat al-ḥaqā`iq fī kashf al-khalā`iq*, does not attribute these verses to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but simply states, "How can one have sins? Have you not heard these verses?" (*kasī-rā chih gunāh bāshad, magar īn bayt`hā nashinīdāt*).⁵³ Muḥammad `Alī Ḥaqīqat Simnānī, who may have used other copies of the *Tamhīdāt*, also confirms that copies of the work include these verses, albeit with slight differences.⁵⁴ At any rate, according to Simnānī, the other verses in the *qaṣīdah* that are included

⁴⁹ See *Dīvān* (Taḥavī), 364-68.

⁵⁰ Muḥammad `Alī Ḥaqīqat Simnānī, "Pazhūhish dar bārah-i yak surūdah manṣūb bih Nāṣir-i Khusraw," *Firdawsī* 18 (1383/2004): 33-36.

⁵¹ Jomī, *Bāhoriston*, 156.

⁵² The *Tamhīdāt* is divided into ten preludes illustrating Ṣūfī life and thought. `Ayn al-Quzāt Hamadānī, *Tamhīdāt*, ed. `Afīf `Usayrān (Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tihārān, 1962), 52.

*Hamah jawr-i man az bulghāriyān ast,
Kih mādāmam hamī bāyad kashīdan
Gunah bulghāriyān-rā nīz ham nīst
Bi-gūyam, gar tu bitvānī shunīdan:
Khudāyā, īn balā-yū fītnah az tūst
Valīk-in kas namī-ārad chakhīdan
Hamī ārand turkān-rā zi Bulghār
Zi bahr-i pardah-i mardum darīdan
Lab-u dandān-i ān khūbān-i chūn māh
Bad-īn khūbī nabāyist āfarīdan
Kih az khūb-i lab-u dandān-i īshān
Bih dandān lab hamī bāyad gazīdan*

⁵³ Ibid. The work, also known as *Zubdat al-ḥaqā`iq fī kashf al-daqa`iq* (*The Extract of the Realities in the Uncovering of Subtleties*), has been translated into French. `Ayn al-Quzāt Hamadani, *Les Tentations Metaphysiques (Tamhidat)*, trans. Christiane Tortel (Paris: Les Deux Oceans, 1992). English translation by Omar Jah as *The Zubdat al-Ḥaqā`iq of `Ayn al-Quḍāh al-Hamadānī* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 2000).

⁵⁴ Simnānī, "Pazhūhish," 34.

*Hamah ranj-i man az bulghāriyān ast
Kih mā-rā ham hamī bāyad kashīdan
Gunah bulghāriyān-rā nīz ham nīst
Bi-gūyam, gar tu bitvānī shunīdan
Khudāyā, īn balā-yū fītnah az tūst
Valīk-in kas namī-ārad chakhīdan
Hamī ārand turkān-rā zi Bulghār
Zi bahr-i pardah-i mardum darīdan
Lab-u dandān-i turkān-i chūn māh
Bad-īn khūbī nabāyist āfarīdan
Kih az dast-i lab-u dandān-i īshān
Bih dandān dast-u lab bāyad gazīdan*

All this injustice is because of the Bulghārīs
For which I constantly sigh
The Bulghārīs are not to blame in fact
I will say it, if you can listen
O God, all this trouble springs from you
But no one dares say it
They bring the Turks from Bulghār
To rend the veil of men[']s honour]
You should not have created this beautiful
The lips and teeth of the moon-like Turks
Because of their lips and teeth
We bite our hands and lips with the teeth

in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīvān* are also attributed to 'Ayn al-Quzāt and 'Umar Khayyam (d. 517/1123). An example of these verses is:

Agar rīgī bih kaḡsh-i khud nadārī
*Charā bāyist shayṭān āfarīdan?*⁵⁵

If you do not have anything up your sleeve
What is then the need for creating Satan?

Regardless of who the real authors of these verses are, over the course of centuries, various authors have attributed them to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the symbol of heresy.⁵⁶ In his *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār va zubdat al-afkār* (*The Essence of the Poems*), completed in 993/1585, Taqī al-Dīn Muḡammad Ḥusaynī Kāshī (d. after 1016/1607) noted that Nāṣir-i Khusraw, among other things, was considered a believer in transmigration (*mazḡhab-i tanāsukh*) and as a materialist (*ṭabi'ī, dahrī*).⁵⁷ As a proof for this, Kāshī writes, people cite the following verses:

Mardakī-rā bih dasht gurg darīd
Z-ū khurdand kargas-u zāghān
Īn yakī rīd bar sar-i kūhsār
V-ān dīgar rīd dar bun-i chāhān
Īn chunīn kas bih ḡashr zinda shavad
Tīz dar rīsh-i mardak-i nādān

Some luckless wretch wolves in the plain devour
His bones are picked by vulture and by crow
This casts his remnants on the hills above
That voids its portion in the wells below
Shall this man's body rise to life again?
Defile the beards of fools who fancy so!⁵⁸

For some, these verses prove Nāṣir-i Khusraw's rejection of the notion of final gathering at the time of the resurrection (*ḡashr*).⁵⁹ These verses, albeit in a slightly modified form, re-appear in the Ismā'īlī hagiographical text, the *Siyāḡhat'nāmāh-i Nāṣir*. I will return to them and the notion of final gathering in the next chapter, where I show how the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs use these verses in a creative way and demonstrate that Nāṣir-i Khusraw did, in fact, believe in final gathering and resurrection of the physical body after death. It is perhaps worth mentioning that Ismā'īlī thinkers, including Nāṣir-i Khusraw, rejected the notion of the revival of the body, for which they were declared to be "unbelievers." For instance, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) asserted that the Ismā'īlīs' denial of a bodily resurrection is *takzīb* (a charge applicable to those who, in the eyes of the accusers, make the Prophet to be a liar, arising from claims that contradict the message of the Prophet) and that warrants the charge of unbelief (*takfīr*).⁶⁰ As Paul Walker shows, the Ismā'īlī philosopher Abū Ya'qūb al-

Other scholars, including Wladimir Ivanow, hold that the verses do not occur in the copies of the *Tamhīdāt* that they had consulted. See Wladimir Ivanow, *Problems in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Biography* (Bombay: Ismā'īlī Society Bombay, 1956), 7-8. See also Yahyā al-Khashshab, *Nasir e Hosrow: Son voyage, sa pensee religieuse, sa philosophie et sa poesie* (Cairo: n.p., 1940), 4, 47.

⁵⁵ Simnānī, "Pazhūhish," 36.

⁵⁶ In his conversation with Andreī Bertel's, the Iranian scholar Mujtabā Mīnuvī also confirmed the view that these verses do not belong to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. They are equally found in Majdūd ibn Ādam al-Ghaznavī Sanā'ī's (d. 525/1131) *Dīvān*. See Bertel's, "Naṡariyāt-i barkhī az 'urafā," 118-19.

⁵⁷ On the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, see Chapter Six.

⁵⁸ *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, fol. 73a.

⁵⁹ Charles Schefer cite these verses in the *Sefer Nameh*, trans. Charles Schefer, 2. The translation is Edward Browne's. Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia: From Firdawsī to Sa'dī*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 243.

⁶⁰ See Farouk Mitha, *Al-Ghazālī and the Ismailis: A Debate on Reason and Authority* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 69.

Sijistānī (d. after 361/971) and other Ismā‘īlīs of his time, believed that there was no bodily resurrection, nor any point in the revival of the body because the pleasures of paradise are not physical but mental. Only the rational soul participates in the resurrection.⁶¹

When it comes to “heretical verses”, Edward Browne recorded verses similar to the above-mentioned ones in the late 13th/19th century in Iran. He includes these verses in his *A Year Amongst the Persians*:

Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih dashṭī mī-guzasht
Mast-i lā ya ‘qil, nah chūn may-khvāragān
Mabrazī dīd-u mazārī rū bih rū
Bāng bar zad, guft, ‘K-ay nazẓāragān!
Ni ‘mat-i dunyā va ni ‘mat-khūr bī
Insh ni ‘mat, insh ni ‘mat-khvāragān!

Dead drunk (not like a common sot) one day
 Nāṣir-i Khusraw went to take the air
 Hard by a dung-deep he espied a grave,
 And straightway cried, ‘O ye who stand and stare,
 Behold the world! Behold its luxuries!
 Its dainties, here – the fools who ate them, there!’⁶²

This poem, too, was so widely attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw that Luṭf ‘Alī Bīg Āzar (d. 1195/1781) included it among some examples of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry in the *Ātashkadah-i Āzar*.⁶³ Although this poem “could be seen as warning of the transitory nature of the world,” it has generally been interpreted as proof of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s “heresy.”⁶⁴ As I demonstrate in Chapter Eight, Soviet scholars writing on Nāṣir-i Khusraw often quote these and similar verses to show Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s “heresy,” a tradition that continued into the 20th century.

5.3 The ‘Aṭṭār of the Age: A Shī‘ī Author’s Admiration

Contrary to the negative attitude towards Nāṣir-i Khusraw observed so far, the *Lisān al-ghayb* (*The Language of Mystery*), attributed to the famous mystic Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār (d. 618/1221), features a short poem that praises Nāṣir-i Khusraw for his commitment to the “family of the Prophet”:

The cry of Nāṣir-i Khusraw when he dwelt in Yumgān
 Arched even past heaven’s nine-storied vault.
 A little corner he took to hide himself away,
 Hearing the Prophet himself had named the very spot.
 True offspring of the Prophet, that man of faith,
 Sworn foe of the foes of the chosen family.
 Not a man to enter into the fighting fields of dogs,
 Like a ruby in Badakhshān he hid himself away.
 Mid the hidden hearts of mountains, he chose the corner of Yumgān,
 So as not to have to look upon the horrid faces of his foes.
 Now I, too, like that great prince, have found a little corner for myself,
 Since in the search for deeper meaning he provided the provisions.⁶⁵

Scholars have noted that the style and religious content of the *Lisān al-ghayb* differ from other

⁶¹ Paul E. Walker, *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abū Yā‘qūb al-Sijistānī* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 136. Nāṣir-i Khusraw also altogether rejected resurrection of the physical body after death.

⁶² Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, 480.

⁶³ Luṭf ‘Alī Bīg Āzar, *Ātashkadah-i Āzar*, 1031.

⁶⁴ Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 264.

works by ‘Atṭār. The studies of Maḥmūd Shīrānī, Sa‘īd Nafīsī and Hellmut Ritter show that this work was produced around the middle of the 9th/15th century. Sa‘īd Nafīsī concludes that it is the work of a Shī‘ī poet from Tūn who calls himself “the second ‘Atṭār” or “the ‘Atṭār of the age.”⁶⁶ The content of the poem makes it clear that it was written by a Shī‘ī author; for example, it explicitly renounces Abū Bakr and Uthmān and heaps praise on Imām ‘Alī, mentions ‘Atṭār’s conversion from Sunnism to Shī‘ism and so on.⁶⁷ Tūn in Quhistān has been a centre for the Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs from 5th/11th century to the present day.⁶⁸ Considering this and also the fact that the author praises Nāṣir-i Khusraw, ‘Atṭār-i Tūnī may have been influenced by the Ismā‘īlī views on Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

The *Mazhar al-‘ajā‘ib* (*Manifestation of Wonders*) is another poetic work attributed to ‘Atṭār. According to Nafīsī (with whom Ritter agrees) its style and content are similar to those of the Shī‘ī poet who wrote the *Lisān al-ghayb*, i.e. ‘Atṭār-i Tūnī work.⁶⁹ The title of the work is an epithet of ‘Alī, whom the work glorifies. It is replete with legends about ‘Alī and praises the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms.⁷⁰ The *Mazhar al-‘ajā‘ib* also praises Nāṣir-i Khusraw and describes him as a “master of faith” (*sarvar-i imān*), “the gatekeeper (*darbān*) of ‘Alī” and as someone who has found his path to “truth” (*Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih haqq chūn rāh yāft*).⁷¹ In a section on “the evil folks” (*ahl-i sharr*), which include the *nāṣibīs* (those who hate the Prophet’s family), and the Khavārij (see below), the author of the *Mazhar al-‘ajā‘ib* writes:

Nāṣir-i Khusraw zi sirr āgāh būd
Nah chū tū ū murtadd-u gumrāh būd
Nāṣir-i Khusraw kih andūhī girift
Raft-u manzil dar sar-i kūhī girift
Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih haqq pay burdah būd
Az miyān-i khalq bīrūn raftah būd
Yār-i ū yak ghār būd-u tār būd
*Ū bih nūr-u nār-i haqq dar kār būd*⁷³

Nāṣir-i Khusraw was aware of the mystery
 He wasn’t an apostate and deviant like you
 Nāṣir-i Khusraw who was sorrowful
 Left and settled on the top of the mountain
 Nāṣir-i Khusraw has found his path to truth
 [He] has left the company of the people
 He had a cave and darkness⁷² as his friend
 He was occupied with the light and fire of Truth

In the following verses, the author of the *Mazhar al-‘ajā‘ib* admonishes heedless people (*ahl-i ghaflat*) to follow the Prophet and ‘Alī, as Nāṣir-i Khusraw did:

⁶⁵ Ibid., 21.

⁶⁶ Sa‘īd Nafīsī, *Justujū dar aḥvāl va āṣār-i Farīd al-Dīn ‘Atṭār-i Nīshābūrī* (Tehran:1320/1942), 105ff, 14, 22-23, 28, 32. Maḥmūd Shīrānī, "Taṣnīfāt-i Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn ‘Atṭār," *Urdū* 7 (1927): 1-97. Hellmut Ritter, "Philologika X: Farīdaddīn ‘Atṭār I," *Der Islam* XXV (1939): 1-76. "Philologika XIV: Farīdaddīn ‘Atṭār II," *Oriens* XI (1958): 1-70. "Philologika XV: Farīdaddīn ‘Atṭār III. Der Dīwān (Mit Vergleich einiger Verse von Sanā‘ī and Ḥāfiz)," *Oriens* XII (1959): 1-88.

⁶⁷ Hellmut Ritter, "‘Atṭār," *EI2*.

⁶⁸ As Bosworth notes, in 5th/11th century, the Ismā‘īlī *dā‘īs* from Alamūt were active in Tūn and other places in Quhistān, and the region became, and remains today, a centre for Ismā‘īlism. C.E. Bosworth, "Tūn," *EI2*. See also Aubin, "Un santon Quhistānī de l’époque Timouride," 185-204. Bosworth, "The Ismā‘īlīs of Quhistān," 221-29.

⁶⁹ See Nafīsī, *Justujū*, 126ff. Hellmut Ritter, "‘Atṭār," *EI2*.

⁷⁰ Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn ‘Atṭār, *Mazhar al-‘ajā‘ib*, ed. Taqī Ḥātāmī ibn Marḥūm Ibn Mīrzā Yūsuf Mustawfī (Tehran: Kitābforūshī-i Islāmiyyah, 1343HSh/1964), 16-18.

⁷¹ ‘Atṭār, *Mazhar al-‘ajā‘ib*, ed. Taqī Ḥātāmī, 52, 130-31.

⁷² Considering the context, the word *tār*, which I have translated as “darkness” here, could also mean “spider’s web” (*tār-i ‘ankabūt*). It is used together with the word cave (*ghār*) and this is reminiscent of a spider weaving its web to conceal the Prophet (together Abū Bakr) from his enemies. The same element is found in the Ismā‘īlī hagiography examined in Chapter Seven.

⁷³ ‘Atṭār, *Mazhar al-‘ajā‘ib*, ed. Taqī Ḥātāmī, 87.

Rav chū Nāṣir ḥikmat-i ḥaqq-rā bidān
 Tā shavī chūn zar-i khāliṣ bī-gumān
 Tū birūn raw hamchū Nāṣir mard-vār
 Z-ān kih bāshad ū ma-rā khūd yār-i ghār
 Rav sū-yi ghār-u kun az mardum kanār
 Hamchū Nāṣir shaw zi 'ishqash bī-qarār⁷⁴

Go and seek wisdom like Nāṣir
 So you become pure gold
 Go out bravely like Nāṣir
 For he himself is my friend of the cave
 Go to a cave and recluse yourself from the people
 Become restless like Nāṣir because of your love
 for it [i.e. the cave]

5.4 Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the Ṣūfīs

Aside from the author of the *Lisān al-ghayb* and the *Mazhar al-'ajā'ib*, there were others who displayed a positive attitude towards Nāṣir-i Khusraw. They do not pass judgments on his faith, but praise his poetic ability, accomplishments in the esoteric sciences, ascetic practices, and other qualities. In his *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā* (written in 892/1486), Dawlatshāh Samarqandī describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a wise man (*ḥakīm*) and an ascetic (*ahl-i riyāḏat*) whose faith in “the threshold” of the famous Ṣūfī Abū al-Ḥasan Kharaqānī (d. 435/1033) was great. He mentions the grave of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Yumgān and the immense faith of the people of Kuhistān in him.⁷⁵ He presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as Kharaqānī's spiritual disciple, a narrative apparently introduced here for the first time.⁷⁶

Andreï Bertel's has argued that the Ṣūfīs chose to “sanitize” (*obezvredit*) Nāṣir-i Khusraw, whose “heretical” works were well known and whose personality was surrounded by legends, and created their own version that appears in the *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā*.⁷⁷ Beben shares this opinion, but also writes: “Dawlatshāh's account is a critical signpost in the process of the “Sunnification” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's legacy and his adoption within the Ṣūfī traditions of the eastern Islamic world. Any overt reference to Nāṣir-i Khusraw's affiliation with Ismā'īlism has here been scrubbed.”⁷⁸ Obviously, the *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā* does not mention Nāṣir-i Khusraw's affiliation with Ismā'īlism and associates him with Kharaqānī. It is different from that of 'Aṭṭār-i Tūnī and the hostile sources examined above. Dawlatshāh neither praises Nāṣir-i Khusraw's faith as 'Aṭṭār-i Tūnī does, nor castigates him, as do the hostile sources. His purpose is to glorify Kharaqānī and his mystical knowledge at the expense of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's rational approach to faith. Although Dawlatshāh makes Nāṣir-i Khusraw Kharaqānī's student, he does not indicate whether he considers him a Ṣūfī. Reporting the views of others about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Dawlatshāh notes, without providing his own judgment, “Some say he was a monotheist and a gnostic, while others accuse him of being a naturalist and a materialist and of subscribing to the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. And God knows best.”⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Ibid., 184.

⁷⁵ Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*, ed. Fāṭimah 'Alāqah, 108-11.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 107-113.

⁷⁷ Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 159.

⁷⁸ Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 135.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 107-113.

Apart from the *Tadhkirat al-Shu‘arā*, there is one Sunnī-Şūfī hagiographical text titled *Jāmi‘ al-salāsīl* (completed in 11th/17th) by the Kubravī author Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī Badakhshānī that explicitly associates Nāşir-i Khusraw with Şūfism.⁸⁰ This work is also unique in this regard, as we do not know of any other sources that overtly link Nāşir-i Khusraw with Şūfism or Şūfī teachers or, in the words of Beben, “sunnitize” him. According to Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī Badakhshānī, Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aţţār (i.e. ‘Aţţār-i Tūnī) considered Nāşir-i Khusraw to be among the Şūfīs in his *Kitāb-i maţhar*.⁸¹ The reference here is clearly to the *Maţhar al-‘ajā‘ib*, which, as mentioned, was attributed to Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aţţār. The *Maţhar al-‘ajā‘ib* clearly depicts Nāşir-i Khusraw as a deeply spiritual and ascetic person, but it does not describe him as a Şūfī. The author of the *Maţhar al-‘ajā‘ib* mentions in the *Lisān al-ghayb* that Nāşir-i Khusraw converted from Sunnism to Shī‘ism.⁸² Apart from the *Kitāb-i maţhar*, Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī Badakhshānī mentions *Zād al-qiyāmah* (*Provisions for the Resurrection*), which is the main source for his information about Nāşir-i Khusraw.⁸³ The *Zād al-qiyāmah* is the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. In the next chapter, I argue that it was most probably the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs who were behind the creation of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* sometime in the 10th/16th century. They presented Nāşir-i Khusraw as an acceptable figure to Sunnīs and other Muslims, including Twelver Shī‘īs and Şūfīs. Hence, the information in the *Jāmi‘ al-salāsīl* about Nāşir-i Khusraw most probably comes from the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī tradition.

5.5 Non-Ismā‘īlī Non-Polemical Accounts of Nāşir-i Khusraw

Some non-Ismā‘īlī authors mentioning Nāşir-i Khusraw simply provide impartial reports about him. In his *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh*, the Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318) writes that Nāşir-i Khusraw hailed from Balkh, but, having been attracted to the fame of al-Mustansir, went to Egypt, where he lived for seven years, performing the pilgrimage every year. After his final pilgrimage, he returned to his homeland Khurāsān, where he carried on the *da‘wah* for the ‘Alid caliphs of Egypt. Rashīd al-Dīn further adds that people made an attempt on Nāşir-i Khusraw’s life, a situation that forced him to become a fugitive in the highlands of Yumgān, where he remained for twenty years content to subsist on water and herbs.⁸⁴ Later historians such as Mīrkhvānd (d. 903/1498) and Khvāndamīr (d. 942/1535) mainly reiterate Rashīd al-Dīn’s (as well as Qazvīnī’s) account.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Daniel Beben examines this source in detail. Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 199-226.

⁸¹ Ibid., 214. Hellmut Ritter, “‘Aţţār,” *EI2*. The verses about Nāşir-i Khusraw in the *Maţhar al-‘ajā‘ib* were mentioned above in this chapter.

⁸² “‘Aţţār,” *EI2*.

⁸³ The Persian text on Nāşir-i Khusraw from the *Jāmi‘ al-salāsīl* is reproduced in Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 441-43.

⁸⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh and Muḥammad Mudarrasī Zanjānī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i ‘ilmī va farhangī, 1388/2009), 75-76.

⁸⁵ Qazvīnī, *Ta‘rīkh-i guzīdah*, 753. Charles Schefer, *Sefer Nameh*, 2. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Maḥmūd Ṭarzī, *Nāşir-i Khusraw-i Balkhī* (Kābul: Bayhaqī, 1355/1976), 4. ‘

The poets and Sūfī thinkers, ‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (in his *Bahāristān*, completed in 893/1487) and Mīr ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī (in his *Nasā’im al-mahabbah* or *Breezes of Love*, completed in 901/1495), also display an unbiased, dispassionate attitude toward Nāṣir-i Khusraw. According to Jāmī, he was skilled in the poetic arts (*ṣanā’at-i shi’r*) and accomplished in sciences of wisdom (*funūn-i ḥikmat*), but was accused of inclinations towards impiety (*zandaqah*) and heresy (*ilhād*).⁸⁶ Navā’ī also includes Nāṣir-i Khusraw in his hagiographical work.⁸⁷ According to him, Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was in Badakhshān, was an individual of boundless spiritual discipline, and the people of Kuhistān referred to him as Shāh Nāṣir and were all his followers (*murīds*). He describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an individual accomplished in the esoteric sciences on account of his ascetic practices, but notes, “this group is critical of his *mazhab*,” because of some verses in his *Rawshanā’īnāmah*.⁸⁸

Jāmī also takes a balanced approach to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Like Dawlatshāh, Jāmī reports Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s involvement in wisdom, but, unlike Dawlatshāh, he does not seek to distance Nāṣir-i Khusraw from rational sciences (*funūn-i ḥikmat*). In fact, unlike other Sūfīs (e.g. Shabistarī who criticized Nāṣir-i Khusraw for his “philosophical” teachings), Jāmī simply praises Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s mastery of wisdom.⁸⁹ His short report, quoted in Beben, does not contain anything indicating the “sunnification” program in respect to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Also, as mentioned above, Jāmī attributes a blasphemous poem to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Navā’ī’s case is somewhat different. While he definitely regards Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint and includes him in his hagiography of other Muslim saints, he mentions “his *mazhab*” in the account, which suggests that he did not consider Nāṣir-i Khusraw to be a Sūfī. In other words, by pointing to “his [Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s] *mazhab*,” Navā’ī indicates that Nāṣir-i Khusraw belongs to a different school. Like Jāmī, Navā’ī reports that it is others who criticize Nāṣir-i Khusraw for “his *mazhab*,” but he himself does not take any issues with Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s intellectual legacy. While it is true that Jāmī and Navā’ī do not explicitly associate Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Ismā’īlism, they do not seem to “sunnify” him the way Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī Badakhshānī does in the *Jāmi’ al-salāsil*.

The Twelver Shī’ī author Qārī Raḥmat Allāh b. ‘Āshūr Muḥammad Bukhārī (d. 1311/1893), whose pen name was Vāziḥ and who is famous for his *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb fī tazkirat al-aṣḥāb* (*A Gift for the Lovers of Literature in the Form of an Anthology of Literary Masters*), praises Nāṣir-i Khusraw for his knowledge, discernment, virtue and nobility and refers to the fame of Badakhshān because of him:

Diḡar muḥīṭ-i kamālāt, Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw

⁸⁶ Jomī, *Bahoriston*, 91. Bertel’s, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 156.

⁸⁷ Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” 144.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁸⁹ Ṭarzī incorrectly mentions that Jāmī describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teachings as heretical and irreligious (*mulḥidānah va ghayr-i dīnī*). Ṭarzī, *Nāṣir-i Khusraw-i Balkhī* 4. Ṭarzī translates portions from Charles Schefer’s Introduction to his edition of the *Safar’namah*, but the French scholar writes, “mais on l’accuse d’avoir eu des opinions religieuses erronées et d’avoir été enclin à l’irréligion et à l’impiété.” Schefer, *Sefer Nameh*, 6.

*Kih khuftah hamchūn 'arūs ast dar kanār-i Badakhshān
Sipīhr-i dānish-u bīnīsh-i jahān-i faẓl-u sharāfat
Kih az-ū baland būd nām-u i 'tibār-i Badakhshān*⁹⁰

The other possessor of perfections, Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw
Who is sleeping like a bride in the arms of Badakhshān
The sun of knowledge and discernment in the world of virtue and nobility
Because of him the name and reputation of Badakhshān became well known

It is worth mentioning that various elements of the data in the non-Ismā'īlī sources appear in the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiographical sources. Some of these are the heretical verses attributed to him. Apart from them, other Sunnī sources provide stories of legendary nature about Nāṣir-i Khusraw very early on.⁹¹ For instance, the Persian scholar Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazvīnī (d. ca. 682/1283) provides an account that he had apparently heard from a certain Amīr Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū al-Mu'ayyad b. al-Nu'mān in his *Āthār al-bilād wa akhbār al-'ibād* (*Monuments of the lands and historical traditions about their people*) (completed in 674/1275-76) about Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁹² According to this account, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a king of Balkh, who after having been driven away by his rebellious subjects, took refuge in Yumgān where he surrounded himself with astonishing buildings, bathhouses, palaces, gardens and "talismans and magical contrivances."⁹³ The themes of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a ruler of Balkh⁹⁴ and specific wondrous deeds like building bathhouses reappear in Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which include the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*.⁹⁵ Qazvīnī, for instance, mentions the bathhouses built by Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* is the only source that mentions that.⁹⁶ Also, Qazvīnī

⁹⁰ Quoted in Bertel's, "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az 'urafā," 114. On Qārī Raḥmat Allāh b. 'Āshūr Muḥammad Bukhārī, see C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Biobibliographical Survey*, vol. 2, part 1 (London: Luzac, 1972), 165-62. See also Kimura Satoru, "Sunni-Shi'i relations in the Russian protectorate of Bukhara, as perceived by the local 'ulama," in *Asiatic Russia: Imperial Power in Regional and International Contexts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 202-03.

⁹¹ Alice Hunsberger investigates the myths, stories and writings about Nāṣir-i Khusraw produced by his contemporaries and others. Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 17-32. On the myths also see Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 148-60.

⁹² On *Āthār al-bilād wa akhbār al-'ibād*, see Clifford E. Bosworth, "Āthār al-belād," *EI*.

⁹³ Edward G. Browne, "Nasir-i-Khusraw: Poet, Traveller, and Propagandist," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1905): 325-26.

⁹⁴ According to Maryam Mu'izzī, it is possible that the Ismā'īlī Nāṣir-i Khusraw was confused with another figure named Nāṣir-i Khusraw, a ruler (*malik, amīr*) in the region during the Saljūqid period. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Mu'ayyad Samarqandī, for instance, has a poem in praise of a certain ruler named Nāṣir al-Dīn Khusraw. This poem is found in Muḥammad 'Awfī Bukhārī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and S. Nafīsī E.G. Browne (Tehran: 1335/1957), 504. Based on this poem, Maryam Mu'izzī posits that the figure praised and referred to in the poem may be the Ismā'īlī Nāṣir-i Khusraw who may have held a government position upon his return from Egypt and before the Sunnīs rose against him, when he was forced to escape to Badakhshān (between 447/1055 and 453-1061). See Mu'izzī, *Ismā'īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 121-22. This theory, however, seems implausible. Nāṣir-i Khusraw does not mention anything about his engagement in any government position upon his return from Egypt in any of his works. An examination of his own works shows that he was involved in the Ismā'īlī *da'wah* activities in Khurāsān and Badakhshān. See Taqī'zādah, "Muqaddimah." Mu'izzī also quotes another Saljūq poet by the name of Dihqān 'Alī Shaṭranjī who mentions a figure named Nāṣir-i Khusraw as adopting the title (*laqab*) of Ḥamīd al-Dīn. This poem is also found in Bukhārī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, 392. The figure referred to in this poem is most probably our Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as the title of Ḥamīd al-Dīn appears in his *Safar'nāmah*. Khusraw, *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, 1. *Safar'nāmah*, ed. Nādir Vazīnpūr (Tehran: Riyāsāt-i Nashrāt, 1370/1991), 1. However, the poem does not refer to him as a ruler.

⁹⁵ Zakariyyā al-Qazvīnī's account is found in Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khusraw i Ismailizm*, 153-155.

⁹⁶ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 31. *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 17.

describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a ruler (*malik*) of Balkh, which is somewhat similar to the accounts of *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, where he is depicted as the son of the ruler (*amīr*) of Balkh or the son of a king (*pādshāh*).⁹⁷ Apart from these, Qazvīnī writes about the mysterious sounds of animals that come from the garden, and that detail is found in the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*.⁹⁸ None of the elements of the legend in *Athār al-bilād wa akhbār al-'ibād*, however, are found in any other sources.⁹⁹ Qazvīnī's informant, Amīr Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū al-Mu'ayyad b. al-Nu'mān apparently visited Yungān in Badakhshān. It is quite possible that this person, who is otherwise unknown, had conversed with the people of Badakhshān about Nāṣir-i Khusraw and received his information from them. The fact that these examples do not occur in any other sources is noteworthy and suggests that the hagiographical tradition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw has a history in Badakhshān, much longer than previously thought. Unfortunately, we do not have any written Badakhshānī hagiographical sources about Nāṣir-i Khusraw before the 10th/16th century. The earliest hagiographical work about Nāṣir-i Khusraw that was produced in Badakhshān is the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. The next chapter will introduce and analyze this work.

Conclusion

Although there are a few sources that portray Nāṣir-i Khusraw in a positive manner and report on him without any prejudice, the majority of the non-Ismā'īlī sources, produced between the 5th/11th century and the 13th/19th the 5th/19th century condemn him for his faith. The few sources with a positive attitude remain an exception to the general rule: Nāṣir-i Khusraw has always been a symbol of heresy and irreligion in the minds of many Muslim authors. As Wladimir Ivanow points notes, “the name of Nasir merely conveyed to the educated Persian an idea of a superheretic and super-magician ...”¹⁰⁰ It is important to realize this, because the creation and evolution of the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiographies in the pre-Soviet time (e.g. the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, etc.) is in many ways tied with these non-Ismā'īlī traditions. One of the main reasons for their creation was to respond to these deep rooted and widely spread accusations.

⁹⁷ Nāṣir-i Khusraw's ancestors as “rulers of Balkh” (*amīr-i Balkh-rā giriftand*) in *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 1. Rahmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbār*, 5. “Son of a king” (*farzand-i pādshāh*) in *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 10.

⁹⁸ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 51. Rahmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbār*, 25.

⁹⁹ See Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khusraw i Ismailizm*, 153-155.

¹⁰⁰ Ivanow, *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, 3-4.

Chapter 6

Early Badakhshānī Hagiographies: Late 16th Through Early 18th centuries

This chapter aims to examine and analyze the *Risālat al-nadāmah fī zād al-qiyāmah* (*Provisions of Repentance for the Journey to the Resurrection*), the earliest Badakhshānī hagiographical work about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, produced sometime in the 10th/16th century. The *Risālat al-nadāmah* is narrated through the voice of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the form of an autobiography. Andrei Bertel's, Maryam Mu'izzī, Rizā Haravī and Daniel Beben consider it to be a by-product of an attempt at the “sunnification” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his dissociation from heresy and Ismā'īlism. This suggests that its author(s) were Sunnīs who had these particular agendas in mind.¹ In this chapter, based on internal evidence of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, I argue that this scholarly opinion is erroneous and that the original authors of the text were the Shī'īs of Badakhshān, and most likely, Ismā'īlīs.

The first section of the chapter introduces the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, various recensions of which appear in numerous sources beginning from late 10th/16 until the late 13th/19th centuries. These sources come from Iran, Central Asia and India. Their widespread geographic distribution testifies to the work's immense popularity. The second section briefly introduces the contents of the work. The third section discusses the authorship of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and then proceeds to closely analyze its contents. Following that, fourth section of this chapter reflects on its particular agendas. It demonstrates that one of the most important goals of the text is to respond to accusations of heresy leveled against Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It attempts to present an image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw that would be acceptable to other Muslims, including Sunnīs. Notably, the *Risālat al-nadāmah* criticizes fanaticism in religion. Other aims that it shares with later Badakhshānī hagiographical sources include straightforward glorification of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, increasing devotion toward him and asserting his spiritual authority by establishing his descent from the Prophet Muḥammad and attributing wondrous deeds to him.

Daniel Beben argues that the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān appropriated into their own hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw elements from the Ṣūfī narratives in which he was “sunnified,” and from the pseudo-autobiography (i.e. the *Risālat al-nadāmah*) of the saint. In other words, they “re-Islamicized” Nāṣir-i Khusraw. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Jāmī and Navā'ī's accounts, while not completely transparent, seem simply to demonstrate a tolerant attitude, rather than an attempt to “sunnify” Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Dawlatshāh certainly makes the saint a disciple of a Ṣūfī

¹ Maryam Mu'izzī, for instance, writes that these accounts present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Sunnī (*fard-i ahl-i tasannun*). Mu'izzī, "Ta'rīkh-i Ismā'īlīyān-i Badakhshān," 156. *Ismā'īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 118-19. Bertel's has also noted that all these accounts regard Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an “orthodox” Muslim (*pravovernyi musul'manin*), by which he means “Sunnī,” as he describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as “an heretic” (*eretik*). Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 152. Haravī, "Afsāna-hā va qiṣṣahā," 451-64. Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 162.

shaykh, and Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī Badakhshānī’s account in the *Jāmi‘ al-salāsīl* is indeed a Sunnī-Şūfī hagiography of Nāşir-i Khusraw. However, the later Ismā‘īlī hagiography of Nāşir-i Khusraw, for example, the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāşir* has very little in common with the Sunnī hagiographical accounts. Instead, it shares numerous similarities with the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, which served as a source for the *Jāmi‘ al-salāsīl* itself.² For this reason, I argue that the account in the *Jāmi‘ al-salāsīl* should be seen as an attempt at the “sunnification” of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiographical tradition about Nāşir-i Khusraw. I also argue that the later Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiography should be seen as a continuation of the Shī‘ī-Ismā‘īlī hagiographical tradition presented in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. Apart from the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāşir* borrows elements from other Ismā‘īlī sources, including the *Qişşah-i Nāşir-i Khusraw* (dated 1078/1667) and Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* (dated 1151/1738). This demonstrates that elements that appear in the later Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiographical tradition of Nāşir-i Khusraw have a long history. The fifth section of this chapter reflects on the *Qişşah-i Nāşir-i Khusraw*.

The sixth section examines a transition in the Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition about Nāşir-i Khusraw in the second half of the 11th/17th and the beginning of the 12th/18th century on the basis of Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band*. The *Haft band*, likely written around this time, unequivocally portrays Nāşir-i Khusraw as a Shī‘ī saint. Historically, this period saw the establishment of the rule of Mīr Yār Bīk (1068-1118/1657-1706) and his immediate successor, when aggression towards Shī‘īs is not recorded in our sources. This environment, together with the fact that the Ismā‘īlī (both Qāsim Shāhī and Muḥammad Shāhī) Imāms still practiced *taqiyyah* under the cloak of Twelver Shī‘ism, shaped the way in which Nāşir-i Khusraw is presented in the *Haft band*. In this section, I attempt to show that the references to the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms in the *Haft band*, similar to their presence in the other works of other Ismā‘īlī authors examined in the previous chapter, do not mean Ḥusaynī was a Twelver Shī‘ī. It is roughly during the first half of the 18th century that another poet by the name of Mahjūr composed his *Dar manqabat-i Sayyid Nāşir, az Mahjūr bih tarz-i Kāshī* (*On the Virtues of Sayyid Nāşir by Mahjūr in Kāshī’s Style*). Similar to Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band*, Mahjūr’s *Dar manqabat-i Sayyid Nāşir* also regards Nāşir-i Khusraw as a Shī‘ī saint. The sixth section ends with a translation of the *Dar manqabat-i Sayyid Nāşir*.

6.1 *Risālat al-nadāmah fī zād al-qiyāmah*

A first known recension of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* appears in the *Khulāşat al-ash‘ār* (*The Essence of the Poems*) of Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥusaynī Kāshī (d. after 1016/1607 or 1608). The first version

² With the exception of “Narrative of the Four Pillars”, there is nothing else that connects the Şūfī hagiography with the Ismā‘īlī hagiography. The “Narrative of the Cave,” which comes from the pseudo-autobiography and other accounts (e.g. Rashīd al-Dīn), is found in the Ismā‘īlī hagiographies. "The Legendary Biographies," 226-27, 324-43, 68.

of the *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār* was completed in 993/1585, and the enlarged second version, in 1016/1607.³ Kāshī claims to have provided a translation (*tarjumah*) of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, which was originally written in Arabic.⁴ As mentioned by Sayyid Ḥusayn Taqī‘zādah, Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat (d. 1288/1870) indicated that the *Risālat al-nadāmah* in the *Tazkirah-i ‘Irfān* (*Memorial of Gnosis*) of a certain Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥusaynī Fārisī.⁵ In his *Introduction* to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Dīvān*, Rizā Qulī Khān claims that Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥusaynī translated the *Risālah* from Arabic into Persian.⁶ Since Taqī al-Dīn Kāshī claimed to have been the translator, Rizā Qulī Khān may have referred to him as Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥusaynī. However, Rizā Qulī Khān gives the title as *Tazkirah-i ‘Irfān*.⁷ I am not aware of a treatise by this name, written by Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥusaynī Fārisī. It is also possible that Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat may have meant the *Tazkirah-i ‘arafāt al-‘ashiqīn va ‘arāṣāt al-‘arīfīn* (*A Treatise on the Places of Assembly for the Lovers and the Open Spaces for the Mystics*), completed between 1022/1613 and 1024/1615, by Taqī al-Dīn Awḥādī Balyānī (d. after 1042/1632-33), who also preserves a version of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* in this treatise.⁸ Either way, the *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār* seems to be the first source that contains the *Risālat al-nadāmah*.

A shorter version of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* is found in the *Haft Iqlīm* (*The Seven Climes*) of the Persian biographer Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī (d. sometime in the 11th/17th century), completed in 1002/1594.⁹ Yet another version appears in the *Ātashkadah* (*Fire Temple*) of Ḥājji Lutf ‘Alī Bīg Āzar (d. 1195/1781), completed shortly before his death around 1193/1779.¹⁰ It also appears in other works such as the *Jāmi‘ al-salāsīl* (*Compendium of Spiritual Genealogies*) of Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī Badakhshānī (completed in 1050/1640-41) and in the anonymous *Tazkirah-i Chahār Shaykh-i Sākin-i Badakhshān* (*A Treatise on the Four Shaykhs of Badakhshān*) (dated 1158/1745), which is based on Amīn Aḥmad

³ On Kāshānī, see F. C. de Blois, “Taqī al-Dīn,” *EI2*. The volume containing the *Risalah* has not yet been published, but a translation of Kāshī’s preface to it is found in Daniel Beben, 438-440. Copies of the *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār* are kept at the British Museum (BM MS Or. 3506, ff. 73a-103b) and at the Kitāb-khānah-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī in Tehran (MS4146, 355-71). I am grateful to Zeinab Farokhi for kindly sharing a copy of MS4146 and to Daniel Beben for sharing BM MS Or. 3506 with me.

⁴ *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, f. 73b.

⁵ See Taqī‘zādah, “Muqaddimah,” 79, n. 3.

⁶ Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat’s text (based on which lithograph editions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Dīvān* were published in 1864, 1889, 1896 and 1900) can be accessed here: <http://dl.nlai.ir/UI/5c1ddf2d-da98-43ac-b062-2dc113e2e490/Catalogue.aspx> (accessed 30 July 2016).

⁷ Or, a memorial known as *Gnosis* (*tazkirah-i ma‘rūf bih ‘irfān*). See also Taqī‘zādah, “Muqaddimah,” 79, n. 3.

⁸ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Dīvān-i ash‘ār*, ed. Ibn al-Ḥusayn ‘Askar Urdūbādī (Tabrīz, 1280/1864), 2-11. Awḥādī Balyānī, *Tazkirah-i ‘arafāt al-‘ashiqīn va ‘arāṣāt al-‘arīfīn*, ed. Muhsin Nāji Naṣrābādī, vol. 7 (Tehran: Asāṭīr), 1026-34. On Taqī Mu‘īn al-Dīn al-Balyānī al-‘Iṣfahānī or Awḥādī and the *‘Arafāt al-‘arīfīn* [or *al-‘ashiqīn*] wa-*‘arāṣāt al-‘ashiqīn* [or *al-‘arīfīn*], see Charles A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bibliographical Survey*, vol. 2/1 (London: Luzac, 1958), 809-11. J.T.P. de Bruijn, “Taqī Awḥādī,” *EI2*.

⁹ Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Tazkirah-i Haft Iqlīm*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Rizā Ṭāhirī, vol. 2 (Tehran: Surūsh, 1378/1999). On Rāzī, see E. Bertel’s, “Rāzī,” *EI2*.

¹⁰ Lutf ‘Alī Bīg Āzar, *Ātashkadah-i Āzar*, ed. Ḥasan Sādat Nāṣirī, vol. 3 (Tehran: Amīr-i Kabīr, 1336/1957), 1009-32.

Rāzī's *Haft Iqlīm*.¹¹ We also find it in the *Majma' al-awliyā'* of an anonymous author from Harāt, composed in the first half of the 11th/17th century, the [Bombay] undated (*ca.* 1860) of Nāšir-i Khusraw's *Dīvān*, titled *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Nāšir-i Khusraw-i 'Alavī ma'a savānih-i 'umrī* (*Nāšir-i Khusraw's Dīvān with Life Story*) lithographed by Mirzā Muḥammad Malik al-Kātib and in the introduction to Ibn al-Ḥusayn 'Askar Urdūbādī's Tabrīz lithograph of the *Dīvān*, dated 1280/1864.¹²

This hagiographical work, in addition to *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, is orally known as the *Sarguzasht-i Nāšir-i Khusraw* (*The Story of Nāšir-i Khusraw*) and the *Safar'nāmah-i Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw* (*The Book of Travels of Nāšir-i Khusraw*) in Badakhshān. This why Andrei Bertel's and Mamadvafo Baqoev call it the *Sarguzasht-i Nāšir-i Khusraw* and Sardori Azorabek names it the *Safar'nāmah-i Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw* (referred to as *Safarnomai Ḥazrati Sayyid Nosiri Khusravi quddusi sara* (sic) in this study) in his Tajik edition of the text.¹³ The earliest Badakhshānī copy of the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* that I have identified is dated 1078/1667.¹⁴ A shorter version of the same recension that was discovered in Badakhshān is dated 1144/1732.¹⁵ Bertel's and Baqoev divide the latter into two treatises, naming the first part *Sarguzasht-i Nāšir-i Khusraw* and the second part as the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*.¹⁶ The first part contains Nāšir-i Khusraw's pseudo-autobiography and the second part contains his advice for his brother Abū Sa'īd and the latter's description of the saint's final hours and burial. I treat it as a single source and refer to the Badakhshānī version as the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* throughout.¹⁷

The version published by Sardori Azorabek as the *Safarnomai Ḥazrati Sayyid Nosiri Khusravi quddusi sara* (sic), is shorter than the one included in Taqī Kāshī's *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, but longer than Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī's recension in his *Haft Iqlīm*.¹⁸ Although Azorabek does not mention the source for

¹¹ *Tazkirah-i Chahār Shaykh-i Sākin-i Badakhshān*, MS IVANUZ 2082/II (SVR vol. 3, 366, no. 2696), ff. 535a-538b. I thank Daniel Beben for sharing copies of the British Museum *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār* (BM MS Or. 3506, ff. 73a-103b) and the *Tazkirah-i Chahār Shaykh-i Sākin-i Badakhshān* with me.

¹² Mirzā Muḥammad Malik al-Kātib, ed. *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Nāšir-i Khusraw-i 'Alavī ma'a savānih-i 'umrī* (Bombay: : [1860?]). On the *Majma' al-awliyā'*, see Haravī, "Afsāna-hā va qiṣṣah-hā," 451-64. For more information on these works, see Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 151-52, 67. Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 144-59. According to 'Abd al-Aḥmad Jāvīd, the author of the *Majma' al-awliyā'* is Khājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Ḥasan Sijzī who wrote this work in 1043/1633. Jāvīd, "Zindagī'nāmah-i Ḥakīm Nāšir-i Khusraw," 44-64. This cannot be Khājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Ḥasan Sijzī, the eponymous founder of the Chishtī (Sūfī) order in India, who died in 633/1235, four centuries before the *Majma' al-awliyā'* was composed.

¹³ Rahmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 55-69. Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 64-65. Taqī'zādah also calls it *Sarguzasht-i shakhshī*. See Taqī'zādah, "Muqaddimah," 79.

¹⁴ The text in question is in MS Folder 232, 84-101 (KhRU-IIS). The same recension is found in MS Folder 207 (this recension was most probably copied in 1310/1892 in Shidz, Rūshān, as this colophon comes at the end of another text that follows the recension), ff. 95a-117a (KhRU-IIS). The same manuscript also contains the *Kalām-i pīr*. MS Folder 207 (the *Kalām-i pīr* was copied in 1328/1910 by 'Abd al-Rasūl), ff. 183a-277a.

¹⁵ Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 64-65 (#137, (MS 1959/24a). There is a typo in the catalogue. The date of the transcription is on page 65b of the codex in which the text appears, not on page 65a as the catalogue indicates.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 58-59 (#119, MS 1959-24b), 64-65 (#137, MS 59-24a).

¹⁷ The *Risālah* was published in Tajik in Nāšir-i Khusraw, *Kullīyet*, ed. Aliqul Devonaqulov (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1991), 571-94. This edition is poorly executed and contains numerous mistakes (e.g. instead of Mūsá's Tawrāt (Mūsá's Torah), it has "turbat-i Mūsá" (Mūsá's Turbat) or instead of *malāhidah* it has *alāhidah* in the text). It omits all the Qur'ānic verses quoted in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and takes the liberty in correcting and adding words.

¹⁸ Rahmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 55-69.

his published text and includes numerous errors in it, it is possible to trace it back to the *Ātashkadah* through the text of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* included in Malik al-Kātib's lithograph edition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīvān*.¹⁹ I believe that it is based on the *Ātashkadah* not only because of conspicuous resemblance between the two, but also because it includes the last paragraph, where Luṭf 'Alī Bīg Āzar opines on the nature of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* in a section that is not part of the original. The *Ātashkadah*, however, is not the direct source for Azorabek. Although the text in Malik al-Kātib's edition is largely based on the *Ātashkadah*, in the last paragraph of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* the sentence "[as the purpose of this] treatise is to relate the poetry" (*[chun maqṣūd-i aṣlī az īn] tazkirah naql-i ash 'ār ast*)²⁰ has been changed to "as the purpose is to publish Ḥakīm Nāṣir's *Dīvān*" (*chūn maqṣūd-i aṣlī taḥrīr-i dīvān-i Ḥakīm Nāṣir būd*).²¹ The *tazkirah*, of course, refers to the *Ātashkadah* and the *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Nāṣir* to Malik al-Kātib's edition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīvān*.²² The last sentence of the *Safarnomai Hazrati Sayyid Nosiri Khusravi quddusi sara* (sic) corresponds to the Bombay edition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīvān*,²³ which likely predates even the earliest edition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīvān* lithographed by Ibn al-Ḥusayn 'Askar Urdūbādī's Tabrīz lithograph of 1280/1864.²⁴ The *Risālat al-nadāmah* is titled *Savāniḥ-i 'umrī* or *Life Story* Malik al-Kātib's lithograph edition.²⁵ Some Ismā'īlīs that I interviewed in Badakhshān indicated that *Savāniḥ-i 'umrī* is another name of the *Safar'nāmah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* or the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*.

Jo-Ann Gross examined Azorabek's edition as a source that "records popular perceptions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw," and reflects "certain cultural aspects of the tradition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān."²⁶ She pays particular attention to the accounts in the funerary narrative that parallel the oral tradition in Badakhshān. According to her, "the writer of the *Safarnoma*," upon which Azorabek's edition is based, is the learned Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī scholar and scribe Sayyid Shāh'zādah Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Farrukh Shāh (d. 1353/1935), who may have come across and copied the work from the

¹⁹ For example, Azorabek writes *mukhliqah* rather than *mukhtalifah*, *marsuf* (*marṣūf*), rather than *masruf* (*maṣrūf*), *saīri kabir* (*sayr-i kabīr*), instead of *sirri kabir* (*sirr-i kabīr*), etc. These are some of the mistakes that occur on the first page, but the text is replete with them. Also, some of Azorabek's definitions for certain concepts are incorrect. For instance, he defines *nāsikh* as the physical world and *mansūkh* as annihilation (*fanā*), which, in fact are "abrogating" and "abrogated" verses of the Qur'ān. Sardori Azorabek, "Safarnoma'-i Nosiri Khusravi Quddusi Sara," 55.

²⁰ Āzar, *Ātashkadah*, 1029.

²¹ al-Kātib, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, 13. Folder 163, (KhRU-IIS).

²² Luṭf 'Alī Bīg Āzar's recension of the *Risālah* is found in an old (but undated) Badakhshānī manuscript digitized in MS 38 (KhRU-IIS). It is also in MS Folder 66 (KhRU-IIS). However, these manuscripts do not seem to have served as the direct source for the *Safarnomai Hazrati Sayyid Nosiri Khusravi quddusi sara* (sic).

²³ *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 69.

²⁴ al-Kātib, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, 2. It is not certain, but the [Bombay] *Dīvān* was most probably lithographed in 1860. See Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, 134.

²⁵ al-Kātib, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, 13. The *Risālat al-nadāmah* appears on pages 2-14 of the edition. The *Dīvān* and the *Savāniḥ-i 'umrī* are lithographed together with *Risālah dar taskhīr-i kavākib* (15-25), which is a brief astronomical treatise in seven chapters (*faṣl*). According to Daftary, the attribution of this treatise to Nāṣir-i Khusraw is very doubtful. Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, 137.

²⁶ Gross, "The Motif of the Cave," 142.

Tabriz *Dīvān* or the *Ātashkadah* in Bombay “where he spent seven years studying in a *madrasa*.”²⁷ Earlier in a footnote, however, Gross mentions that she has not seen the original copy of the manuscript on which the Cyrillic edition is based, but was informed by Umed Muḥammadsherzodshoev, the grandson of Shāh'zādah Muḥammad, that the “The handwriting of the second manuscript published together with *Bahr ul-akhbor, Safarnomai Hazrati Sayyid Nosiri Khusravi Kuddusi Sara...* is unknown.”²⁸ It is therefore not clear whether Shāh'zādah Muḥammad is the scribe of the *Safar'nāmah-i Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw*. Perhaps, since it was published together with the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāšir* in the *Bahr ul-akhbor* (see below), Gross believed that the same scribe copied both manuscripts.

A digital copy of the Malik al-Kātib's lithograph edition of the *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Nāšir* (MS Folder 163) is kept in KhRU-IIS, demonstrating that it was available in Badakhshān. There is also another copy of *Risālat al-nadāmah* that was transcribed by Nawrūz Shāh ibn Naẓar Shāh in 1385/1965. This one is also based on the *Ātashkadah* and the *Savāniḥ-i 'umrī* and carries the title reading precisely *Safar'nāmah-i Hazrat Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw quddisa sirruhu*.²⁹ At any rate, Gross uses the *Safarnomai Hazrati Sayyid Nosiri Khusravi quddusi sara* (sic), which, in effect, is a version of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* included in the *Ātashkadah*, as a source for shedding light on the popular perception of Nāšir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān.³⁰ As she argues, there is an inherent relationship between the text and the oral tradition, between textuality and orality in the narrative traditions of Badakhshān. Her research is particularly revealing of the fact that elements of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* agree with the oral tradition of the Ismā'īlīs, which further supports my argument that the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs should be seen as the authors of the text.

The subject of Gross's study is the published version of the *Ātashkadah*, not the earlier versions of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* available in Badakhshān, which, as mentioned, are called the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*.³¹ As noted by Bertel's and Baqoev and, later, by Beben, the beginning of the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* corresponds to the beginning of the first chapter of the *Kalām-i pīr* (a work that contains a hagiography of Nāšir-i Khusraw), but the remainder of the text differs from it and is in some ways different from the other versions of the text

²⁷ Ibid., 141.

²⁸ Ibid., 138.

²⁹ This text is part of a codex that contains other texts, including the *Pandiyāt-i javān'mardī, Farmān az zabān-i 'Alī, Kalām-i Shāh Gharīb Mirzā, Bayānāt-i ākhirzamān* and others. Its temporary access number USBk8, ff. 54a-83a, (KhRU-IIS). The KhRU-IIS has digitized copies of *Safar'nāmah-i Hazrat Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw* that belong to the private collections of Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān (in Afghanistan). One of these copies titled *Safar'nāmah-i Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw*, transcribed in 1407/1986 by Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh, is in MS Folder 21 (KhRU-IIS).

³⁰ Jo Ann-Gross states that Kāshānī's and Luṭf 'Alī Big's recensions were apparently unknown to the editor of the 1992 (?) Tajik edition of the *Safarnoma*, highlighting the local roots of the tradition of Nāšir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān as well as his unfamiliarity with the textual tradition. Gross, "The Motif of the Cave," 138. “Except for minor narrative differences and the use of some terminology, there is little variation between the *Ātashkadah* and the *Safarnoma*, while there are more substantive differences in the *Risālah* in the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*.” Ibid., 140, n. 26.

³¹ Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 64-65 (#137). There is a typographical error in the catalogue. The date of the transcription is on page 65b of the codex in which the text appears, not on page 65a as the catalogue indicates.

that are found in the *Haft Iqlīm*, the *Ātashkadah*, the one included in the Tabrīz edition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīvān* and the version that Bertel's calls the Pāmīrī *Safar'nāmah*.³² The Pāmīrī *Safar'nāmah* is the *Safar'nāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (MS A907, dated 1284/1867) in the Semēnov collection in St. Petersburg, which Ismā'īlīs from Shughnān gave to Aleksandr Semēnov in Tashkent in 1916.³³ Semēnov confirms that the Ismā'īlīs called it *Safar'nāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, though it is simply called *Risālah* in the manuscript.³⁴ In 1959, Bertel's suggested that this legendary *Safar'nāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* could be the most ancient of the pseudo-autobiographies, as he believed that the earliest of these narratives must have been written in Pamir (Badakhshān).³⁵ Although Bertel's promised to devote a separate work to all the known pseudo-autobiographies and the hagiographies, he apparently never did that before he passed away in 1995.³⁶ The Soviet expedition to Gorno-Badakhshan (1959-1963) acquired the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* (dated 1144/1732), copies of which are more than a century older than the *Safar'nāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*. The recently discovered longer version of the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, dated 1078/1667, is more than two centuries older than the *Safar'nāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*. The *Safar'nāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* is unavailable to me, but according to Semēnov it agrees with the beginning of the first chapter of the *Kalām-i pīr* and the *Ātashkadah*. Similar to the *Ātashkadah*, but unlike the *Kalām-i pīr*, the *Safar'nāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* adds details such as Nāṣir-i Khusraw's becoming a *vizier* of the Fāṭimid caliph, then his escape to Baghdād, his arrival in Alamūt, his fleeing to Nīshāpūr, and his arrival in Badakhshān.³⁷ It resembles the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* even more closely, and it is possible that it was either copied from it or both were copied from a common, earlier source.³⁸

To sum up, the earliest version of the text, known as the *Risālat al-nadāmah fī zād al-qiyāmah*, appears in the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār va zubdat al-afkār* (*The Essence of the Poems*) of Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥusaynī Kāshī in the late 10th/16th century. The earliest Badakhshānī copy of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, is titled *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, is dated 1078/1667, with an abbreviated Badakhshānī version, dated 1144/1732. Among Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs, the work is also

³² Ibid. Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 318-19.

³³ Semēnov, "Opisanie ismailitskikh rukopisei," 2188-89.

³⁴ Ibid., 2189. "Iz oblasti religioznykh verovanii shughnanskikh ismailitov," *Mir Islama* 1 (1912): 550.

³⁵ Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 149-50.

³⁶ Ibid., 153.

³⁷ Semēnov, "Opisanie ismailitskikh rukopisei," 2189.

³⁸ Below is the beginning of the *Safar'nāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (which is in Semēnov, *Opisanie*, 2189) followed by the beginning of the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* (p. 5a):

«بعده ميگويد عبد المقرّ بخطاء الكبير و المستغرق من بحر ذنوبه الغزير الفارق المقالات المستغرق بجهالات المهلك ابو المعين ناصر ابن خسرو ابن حارث ابن حسين ابن محمد تقى رضا بن موسى بن جعفر الصادق بن محمد باقر بن على نقى بن امام زين العابدين بن جسين شهيد بن حضرت على كرم الله وجهه و أمه حضرت بى بى فاطمه دختر رسول الله صلعم.»

known as the *Sarguzasht-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (*The Story of Nāṣir-i Khusraw*) and the *Safar'nāmah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (*The Book of Travels of Nāṣir-i Khusraw*). The text published by Azorabek and titled *Safar'nāmah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* is a different version. It is based on the *Savāniḥ-i 'umrī* (*Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Dīvān with Life Story*), which, in turn, is based on the *Ātashkadah* (*Fire Temple*) of Ḥājji Luṭf 'Alī Bīg. In the analysis presented in this chapter, I will therefore use the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* (both the ones copied in 11th/17th century and the one copied in the 12th/18th century), the earliest version of the hagiography in Badakhshān, in conjunction with the other three variants of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* that appear in the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār* of Taqī al-Dīn Kāshī, the *Haft Iqlīm* of Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, and the *Ātashkadah* of Ḥājji Luṭf 'Alī Bīg Āzar.

6.2 Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*

As the accounts in the aforementioned sources have been studied elsewhere, my purpose here is not to introduce the accounts in the mentioned sources in detail.³⁹ For our purposes, I only need to mention at this point that the *Risālat al-nadāmah* is presented through the voice of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who distances himself from “the heretics” (*malāḥidah*). Pseudo-Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes his education, which includes lessons in magic and sorcery, and explains how he became a *vizier* of the Fāṭimid caliph. Because of courtly intrigues and jealousy, the courtiers incite the caliph against him. As a result, he is forced to escape to Baghdād and becomes the *vizier* of the Sunnī 'Abbāsīd caliph, who sends him as an envoy to the “heretics” of Kuhistān to win over their ruler to the 'Abbāsīd cause. Nāṣir-i Khusraw's fame as a man of learning precedes him, and the Kuhistānī ruler does not permit him to leave, appoints him his *vizier* and gives his brother Abū Sa'īd an elevated position in the government. The heretical ruler also compels him to write a commentary (*tafsīr*) on the Qur'ān in accordance with the religion (*mazhab*) of the “heretics.” When Nāṣir-i Khusraw requests leave, the ruler imprisons him for some time. This leaves Nāṣir-i Khusraw no choice but to inflict pain on the ruler by thaumaturgical means. Telling the ruler's son that the remedy for the illness is a plant in the mountains of Damascus, Nāṣir-i Khusraw leaves the lands of the “heretics” and destroys their army, again, by thaumaturgical means. Together with his brother, he then flees to Nīshāpūr where his disciple is murdered for quoting his views in a debate with local scholars. The adverse circumstances in the city force him to flee once again, this time to Badakhshān, where he receives protection from the *amīr* 'Alī ibn Asad for some time.⁴⁰ He is later persecuted by a zealous scholar named Naṣr Allāh and

«قال العبد المستغفرين بخطايا [sic] الكسر معترف [sic] من بحر ذنوب العزير العارف المقالات المعسرف [sic] بجهالات لمهتلك [sic] في بطلان المسنهلك [sic] في عصيان لمعتصد [sic] في غيبي [sic] احوال ابو المعين ناصر بن خسرو بن حارث بن علي بن حسين ابن محمد تقى رضى [sic] بن موسى كاظم بن جعفر صادق بن محمد الباقر بن زين العابدين بن جسين شهيد بن علي بن ابى طالب غفره الله ورحم [sic] الله اجمعين.»

³⁹ Schefer, *Sefer Nameh*, 1-17. Edward Browne, “Nasir-i-Khusraw: Poet, Traveller, and Propagandist,” 313-52. Haravī, “Afsāna-hā va qiṣṣah-hā,” 451-464. Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm. Ṭarzī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw-i Balkhī*, 1-11. Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*. Beben, “The Legendary Biographies.”

⁴⁰ 'Isa ibn As'ad al-Alawi in Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 28.

flees to Yumgān. The *Risālat al-nadāmah* tells of his final years in Yumgān. Its final part, supposedly by his brother Abū Saʿīd, describes his last moments, when he tells Abū Saʿīd of his faith in the unity of God, the legitimacy of the Prophet Muḥammad, the superiority of the Prophet above all others, the legitimacy of the rightly guided caliphs after the Prophet, the Day of Resurrection and God’s power to raise the dead from their graves. He also instructs his brother to distribute some of his books and to burn others, including the “sorcery of heresy” (*siḥriyāt-i mulḥidiyyah*), and to arrange his funeral. Different adaptations of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* add varying details to this basic narrative.

6.3 Authorship and Provenance of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*

While the true author of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* is unknown, it is clearly not Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s clear.⁴¹ According to the German orientalist Carl Hermann Ethé (d. 1918), pseudo-autobiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw appeared and spread in India in the second half of the 10th/16th century during the reign of Mughal Emperor Shāh Akbar (r. 972-1014/1564-1605), due to the popularity of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry and the fact that this was a period of freethinking.⁴² This, however, is based on Ethé’s assumption that the shortest version of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* found in the *Haft Iqlīm* of Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī (who is said to have visited India), predates by fourteen years the one that appeared in the *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār* in 1016/1607.⁴³ However, although it is true that Kāshī completed the extended version of the *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār* in 1016/1607, he had already finished the fifth volume (*mujallad*), which contains the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, in 993/1585.⁴⁴ This means that the version in the *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār* predates that of in the *Haft Iqlīm*, completed 1002/1594, by nine years.

The Iranian scholar Sayyid Ḥasan Taqīʿzādah (d. 1970) thought that the legendary pseudo-autobiography, which he calls *Sarguzasht-i jaʿlī* or *The Forged Story* and *Sarguzasht-i afsānah-ī* or *The Legendary Story*, emerged much earlier than Ethé’s estimate. He argued that the existence of a significant portion of this pseudo-autobiography in a manuscript copied in 714/1314 and preserved in the India Office Library in London, which also contains a collection of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry as well as reference to parallel legends in the *Athār al-bilād* (completed in 674/1275-76), indicate that the

⁴¹ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, [*Safarʿnāmah*, ed. and trans. as] *Sefer Nameh. Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau en Syrie, en Palestine, en Égypte, en Arabie et en Perse, pendant les années de l’hégire 437–444 (1035-1042) (Publications de l’École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, 2e série*, trans. Charles Schefer (Paris: Leroux, 1881). Carl Hermann Ethé, "Nāṣir bin Khusrau’s Leben, Denken und Dichten," in *Actes du sixième Congrès international des Orientalistes* (Leiden: Brill, 1885), 174-76. Taqīʿzādah, "Muqaddimah," 79. See also the introduction in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarʿnāmah* (lithographed edition), ed. Khvājah Alṭāf Ḥusayn Anṣārī Ḥālī (Delhi: 1299/1882). Scholars like ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Rustāqī still regarded the *Risālat al-nadāmah fī zād al-qiyāmah* to be the work of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and used it as a source of information about him. ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Rustāqī, *Charāgh-i anjuman* (Kābūl: 1309HSh/1930).

⁴² "Es ist dies zweifellos eine Fälschung, und zwar, wie ich vermuthe, der zweiten Hälfte des zehnten Jahrhunderts der Hijrah, aus der Zeit Kaiser Akbars..." Ethé, "Nāṣir bin Khusrau’s Leben, Denken und Dichten," 175.

⁴³ "Da nun die kür zeste und daher wohl älteste Redaction dieser Autobiographie sich in dem A. H. 1002 vollendeten Haft Iqlīm... Schon 14 Jahre danach, in der AH 1016 vollendeten zweiten und bedeutend vermehrten Ausgabe von Takī Kāshīs *Khulāṣat-ulashʿār* u. *Zubdat-ulafkār* erscheint dieselbe Autobiographie in einer äusserst weitschweifigen, rhetorisch aufgeputzten Redaction..." Ibid.

⁴⁴ See Charles A. Storey’s description of the *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār* in Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bibliographical Survey*, 2/1, 803-05.

legendary biography came into being quite early.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, he does not provide any further details about this manuscript, which I have not been able to trace. He mentions that there were early legends that attributed “magic” (*sihr-u jādū*), theurgy (*tilismāt*) and the power of subjection (*taskhīr*) to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. According to this scholar, these legends circulated even during Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s lifetime, given that the poet himself mentions in his *Dīvān* that “magic” was attributed to him.⁴⁶ It is true that stories of a legendary nature about Nāṣir-i Khusraw emerged long before the 11th/16th century, but, as Bertel’s observes, they have nothing in common with the *Risālat al-nadāmah*.⁴⁷ For this reason and because we do not come across any references to the *Risālat al-nadāmah* in previous periods, we can conclude that it was most likely composed in the 11th/16th century, when it begins to acquire popularity.

Bertel’s has suggested that the earliest versions of the fanciful biographies and pseudo-autobiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw were created in Yumgān by someone from among his relatives or disciples, who declared him a saint and presented his tomb as a place for pilgrimage (*oblāviv ego sviātym, a ego mogilu - mestom palomnichestva*).⁴⁸ As mentioned above, Bertel’s suggested that the *Safar'nāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, which he also called the *Pāmīrī Safar'nāmah*, could be the most ancient version of the pseudo-autobiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁴⁹ Its creation in Badakhshān can also be supported by the fact that the part of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* that is about Badakhshān provides specific names, in contrast to previous anonymous scholars (*‘ulamā’*), nobles (*fuṣṣalā’*), sages (*ḥukamā’*), jurists (*fuqahā’*) and ministers (*vuzarā’*). This is a clear indication that its author (or authors) was (were) more familiar with this area. For example, the text mentions Jahān Shāh ibn Gīv, Sayyid Murtaṣā ‘Alī ibn Asad ‘Alavī, Naṣr Allāh Qāzī and Naṣr al-Dīn, which are mentioned below and in Chapter Seven.⁵⁰ Beben, who has studied the *Risālat al-nadāmah* much more extensively than any other scholar, makes two compelling arguments in his dissertation: First, he argues that the pseudo-autobiographical narrative, which appeared contemporaneously with other hagiographical sources, reflects a clear agenda among certain “constituencies,” likely connected with Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s shrine, to dissociate Nāṣir-i Khusraw from the “taint” of Ismā‘īlism and from accusations of heresy and to claim him as an “orthodox” (Sunnī) Muslim and a Ṣūfī saint.⁵¹ Second, he argues that, in their hagiography of the saint, the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān appropriated elements from the Ṣūfī narratives of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his pseudo-autobiography. According to Beben, the Ismā‘īlīs

⁴⁵ Sayyid Ḥasan Taqī’zādah writes this in his introduction (*muqaddimah*) to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Dīvān*. His narrative is augmented by Mujtabā Mīnuvī, with additional notes by ‘Alī Akbar Dihkhudā in their introductions and commentaries on the Ḥājjī Sayyid Naṣr Allāh Taqavī’s edition of the *Dīvān-i ash‘ār-i Ḥakīm Abū Mu‘īn Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāṣir-i Khusraw Qubādiyānī* (Tehran: 1305/1926). See Taqī’zādah, “Muqaddimah,” 58.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 59. The verses in question are 6:20, 266:14 and 272:3 in the *Dīvān*.

⁴⁷ See Bertel’s, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 153-55.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁵⁰ *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 14b.

⁵¹ Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” 162.

“engaged with, appropriated, and reinterpreted elements of the Sunni Muslim traditions” about Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁵² This, he argues, indicates that the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān did not possess textual hagiographical narratives about Nāṣir-i Khusraw before the end of the 18th century, which marks the emergence of the first example of a hagiography (included in the *Kalām-i pīr*, which is discussed below) bearing Ismā‘īlī characteristics. He argues that the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān “re-Ismailicised” Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Beben’s arguments are convincing, even given the fact that the absence of extant manuscripts today is not necessarily evidence against an earlier tradition. Yet, there are several features of Beben’s arguments that call for greater scrutiny.

The similarities between the beginning of the text in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* (dated 1144/1732 and referred to as *Sarguzasht-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*) and the beginning of the hagiography in the *Kalām-i pīr*, lead Beben to believe that this version of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* is the source of the account in the *Kalām-i pīr*.⁵³ As he argues, “the earliest appearance of the pseudo-autobiographical narrative of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (i.e. the *Sarguzasht-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*) in an Ismā‘īlī source that I have identified is found in the Bertel’s and Bakoev collection in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan.”⁵⁴ As the *Sarguzasht-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* is dated 1144/1732, Beben argues that “the production of the *Kalām-i pīr* must be dated to after 1144/1732-33” and probably to the late 18th century, as the earliest extant copy of the *Kalām-i pīr* (IIS MS 62) was made in 1207/1793.⁵⁵ This variant of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* in the *Sarguzasht-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, however, is not its “earliest appearance” in an Ismā‘īlī source. The earliest appearance of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* is found in the aforementioned manuscript (MS Folder 232), dated 1078/1667 and composed some sixty-five years before MS 1954/23 (in the Bertel’s and Baqoev) that contains the *Sarguzasht-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*. For this reason, the text copied in 1144/1732 (i.e. the *Sarguzasht-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*) cannot be used as evidence for the date of the composition of the *Kalām-i pīr*. It is possible that both the *Kalām-i pīr* and the text copied in 1144/1732 were based on the text of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* copied in 1078/1667. Similarly, the evidence that most copies of the *Kalām-i pīr*, conclude their lists of Ismā‘īlī Imāms with Imām Khalīl Allāh (who held the office of the imamate from 1206/1792 to 1232/1817), cannot serve as a basis for the dating of the composition of the work. As Beben himself mentions, “some later copies extend the lineage down to the descendants of Imām Khalīlullāh; for example, KhRU MS 36 (copied in 1337/1919) ends with Imām Shāh Ḥasan (d. 1298/1881).”⁵⁶ It is therefore quite possible that the hagiographical account in the first chapter of the *Kalām-i pīr* (IIS MS 62), produced in

⁵² Ibid., 12, 162, 76.

⁵³ Ibid., 44.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 313.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 319.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 320.

1207/1793, may be based on the earlier copy of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, dated 1078/1667.⁵⁷ Although the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (completed before 1078/1667) is a hagiography of Ismā‘īlī Imāms (Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh, Imām Nizār, Imām Hādī and Imām Muhtadī), it features Nāṣir-i Khusraw and already contains certain elements that appear in later Ismā‘īlī hagiographical texts (e.g. the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, examined in Chapter Seven). Thus, Nāṣir-i Khusraw appears in a textual hagiographical narrative composed prior to the 18th century. This demonstrates that the Ismā‘īlīs did not “re-Ismailicise” Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the late 18th century, but, on the contrary, that there was a prior Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiographical tradition that featured him as a subject. In fact, as I argue in the following paragraphs, the *Risālat al-nadāmah* itself belongs to the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiographical tradition.

In his discussion of the *Jāmi‘ al-salāsil*, Beben states that the hagiography bolsters the reputation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw among the Sunnī community and legitimates his position as “an ‘orthodox’ Sunnī Muslim.”⁵⁸ In several places, he discusses the process of “sunnification” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but in relation to the hagiography, not the pseudo-autobiography.⁵⁹ When it comes to the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, Beben’s conception of an “orthodox” Sunnī Muslim is not that straightforward and, as he points out, “despite its clear anti-Ismā‘īlī polemic, the pseudo-autobiography does not seek to situate Nāṣir-i Khusraw within the bounds of what modern observers may consider strict Sunni orthodoxy.”⁶⁰ He mentions this in relation to the passages in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* that attribute magical and the occult powers to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and present him as a proponent of ‘Alid devotionalism. With regards to the former, he draws attention to the early modern context in which magic and “occult” practices played a central role in the Islamic discourse of Tīmurid and post-Tīmurid Eurasia. As for ‘Alid devotionalism, he points to the notion of “confessional ambiguity,” which is “marked by devotion to the family of the prophet, even within Sunni circles.”⁶¹ Overall, even though Beben acknowledges “the ambiguity of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s orthodoxy,” his treatment of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* suggests that he views this work as part of the process of “sunnification” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

⁵⁷ Portions of the hagiographical account of Nāṣir-i Khusraw included in the first chapter of the *Kalām-i pīr* are also found in another text. As I suggest in the next chapter, the portions of the hagiographical account that are not based on the *Risālat al-nadāmah* may have existed separately before the creation of the *Kalām-i pīr*. However, I suspect that the *Kalām-i pīr* was not created before 1078/1667. This is because while MS Folder 207 (dated 1310/1892), which was copied on the basis of MS Folder 232 (dated 1078/1667), contains all the works (e.g. *Maṭlūb al-mu‘minīn*, *Qiṭ‘ah-i mujārat*, *Ahd’nāmah*, *Khuṭbat al-bayān*, *Du‘ās*, the poetic *Rawshanā‘īnāmah* and *Sa‘ādat’nāmah* (both attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw), the *qaṣīdah* by a certain Mawlānā Afshangī and others) included in MS Folder 232, it adds the *Kalām-i pīr* that is not found in MS Folder 232. Although this does not allow us to make a definitive conclusion, the absence of the *Kalām-i pīr* in MS Folder 232 and its inclusion in MS Folder 207 is noteworthy.

⁵⁸ Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” 41.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 135, 88, 212.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 164-65. On “confessional ambiguity,” see Judith Pfeiffer, “Confessional Ambiguity vs. Confessional Polarization: Politics and the Negotiation of Religious Boundaries in the Ilkhanate,” in *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 129-68.

In addition to the Sunnī elements, there are obvious Shī'ī traces in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* that cannot be explained away as 'Alid devotionism or *ahl al-baytism* alone.⁶² Beben argues correctly *Risālat al-nadāmah*'s agenda, among other things, was to distance Nāṣir-i Khusraw from "accusations of heresy" (*ilhād*). This means the teachings (*mazhab*) of the "heretics" (*malāhidah*), a word commonly applied to the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs from the second half of the 12th century.⁶³ In the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, pseudo-Nāṣir-i Khusraw distances himself emphatically from the *malāhidah* and states that he wrote the commentary on the Qur'ān according to their *mazhab* only because he was compelled (*majbūr*) to do so.⁶⁴ A later Badakhshānī hagiographical work, the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, also distances him from the *malāhidah*, but not from Ismā'īlism in general.⁶⁵ As I will later show later, in the eyes of the Badakhshānī hagiographers, the *malāhidah* are not associated with the Ismā'īlīs. At this point, however, let us analyze the *Risālat al-nadāmah* itself.

6.3.1 Sunnī elements in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*

Perhaps the most explicit association of Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the Sunnīs in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* appears in his relationship with the 'Abbāsīd caliph, al-Qādir bi'llāh (r. 381-422/991-1031). Not all the versions of the text, however, feature al-Qādir bi'llāh. The variant in the *Haft Iqlīm* mentions the 'Abbāsīd caliph Mustanṣir bi'llāh.⁶⁶ The choice of this caliph in this version of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* is quite noteworthy. According to the famous historian Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256), the 'Abbāsīd caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh (r. 623-640/1226-1242) had "no fanaticism for one particular *mazhab*" and behaved "in a conciliatory way towards the Shī'īs whose shrines he visited."⁶⁷ A major Shī'ī figure such as Mu'ayyad al-Dīn b. al-'Alqamī (d. 656/1258) served as his *vizier*.⁶⁸ His attitude contrasts with that of al-Qādir bi'llāh, who is known for his anti-Shī'ī policies. Fearing the growing Fāṭimid influence in Baghdād, al-Qādir bi'llāh launched an anti-Ismā'īlī campaign and ordered scholars to write a manifesto, condemning Fāṭimid doctrines and criticizing the genealogy of the Fāṭimid Imāms; moreover, he included the Ismā'īlīs among the enemies of Islam.⁶⁹ As the earliest

⁶² Beben also refers to Robert McChesney's concept of *ahl-al baytism*, "a popular phenomenon that focused spiritual feelings on the significant five members of the Prophet Muḥammad's family." Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 164. Robert McChesney, *Waaf in Central Asia: Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480-1889* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 268.

⁶³ Wilfred Madelung, "Mulhid," *EI2*.

⁶⁴ *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, fol. 76. *Ātashkadah*, 1021. *Haft Iqlīm*, 897. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 9a-9b. It is not clear which commentary on the Qur'ān is being referred to in the pseudo-autobiography. Although Nāṣir-i Khusraw uses Qur'ānic verses and interprets them extensively in his known works, we have no extant book specifically on Qur'ān commentary by Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

⁶⁵ Notably, Alice Hunsberger refers to the leader of the *malāhidah* that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was sent to as the *dā'ī*, a word that is not used in any of the recensions of the *Risālat al-nadāmah fī zād al-qiyāmah*. Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 27.

⁶⁶ *Haft Iqlīm*, 896.

⁶⁷ Yūsuf b. Qizughlī Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, vol. 8 (Ḥaydarābād: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, 1951), 739-41. Carole Hillenbrand, "al-Mustanṣir," *EI2*.

⁶⁸ On Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh, see Carole Hillenbrand, "al-Mustanṣir," *EI2*.

⁶⁹ See D. Sourdel, "al-Qādir Bi'llāh," *EI2*.

version in the *Khulāsat al-ash‘ār* mentions al-Qādir bi’llāh, this points to an explicit association of Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the Sunnīs.

Whereas the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw called the ‘Abbāsīd caliph in Baghdād *dīv-i ‘Abbāsī* or “the ‘Abbāsīd devil”⁷⁰ who represents “unbelief” (*kufr*),⁷¹ the pseudo-Nāṣir-i Khusraw of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* calls al-Qādir bi’llāh, in addition to *khalīfah*, *amīr al-mu’minīn* (“the prince of the believers”),⁷² unlike the Fāṭimid Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh to whom he refers as the “king of Egypt” (*malik-i miṣr*,⁷³ *‘azīz-i miṣr*,⁷⁴ *pādshāh-i miṣr*⁷⁵). Also, in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is sent by the ‘Abbāsīd caliph to the lands of the *malāḥidah* in Gīlān and its environs⁷⁶ on an embassy (*bih risālat*)⁷⁷ to seek their allegiance (*bay‘at*).⁷⁸ He is described as having had good relations with al-Qādir bi’llāh, who is saddened upon hearing his protégé’s imprisonment in the land of the *malāḥidah*, although his scholars (*‘ulamā’*), nobles (*fuṣalā’*), sages (*ḥukamā’*), jurists (*fuqahā’*) and ministers (*vuzarā’*) rejoice at this news.⁷⁹ While Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s service to an ‘Abbāsīd caliph does not necessarily make him a Sunnī (particularly if we follow the recension in the *Haft Iqlīm*), the choice of al-Qādir bi’llāh and the fact that Nāṣir-i Khusraw invited the “heretics” to pledge allegiance to him, suggests that Nāṣir-i Khusraw could be taken for a Sunnī in this case. However, the *Risālat al-nadāmah* neither explicitly associates nor dissociates Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the *mazhab* of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph. Instead, it focuses on the way he is envied by the caliph’s courtiers, a theme that is of central importance throughout the text.

What remains explicit in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* is that the work distances Nāṣir-i Khusraw from the *malāḥidah*. As mentioned, the ruler of the heretics (*ḥākīm-i malāḥidah*) makes Nāṣir-i Khusraw his *vizier* by coercion.⁸⁰ The saint is compelled to write a book on a *mazhab* other than his own. He is unhappy serving the ruler of the heretics, and, moreover, suffers hostility from the scholars (*‘ulamā’*) and the jurists (*fuqahā’*).⁸¹ In the analysis, will return to the term *malāḥidah* in the analysis and what it means to the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān, especially in light of the Ismā‘īlī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

⁷⁰ *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī), 437:54. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia: From Firdawsī to Sa‘di*, 2, 229.

⁷¹ *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī), 339:17.

⁷² *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 6b.

⁷³ *Khulāsat al-ash‘ār*, 74. *Ātashkadah*, 1019.

⁷⁴ *Haft Iqlīm*, 826.

⁷⁵ *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 6b.

⁷⁶ *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* also mentions Alamūt, 7a.

⁷⁷ *Ātashkadah*, 1020, *Khulāsat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 74. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 7a.

⁷⁸ *Haft Iqlīm*, 826.

⁷⁹ *Ātashkadah*, 1021, *Khulāsat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 74, *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 8b.

⁸⁰ *Ātashkadah*, 1021. *Haft Iqlīm*, 897.

⁸¹ *Ātashkadah*, 1023. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 12b. *Khulāsat al-ash‘ār*, 75.

6.3.2 Shī'ī elements in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*

Pseudo-Nāṣir-i Khusraw's relationship with the Fāṭimid Ismā'īlīs in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* is not straightforward. He appears as a *vizier* of the Ismā'īlī Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh in Egypt, but later escapes to Baghdād.⁸² The versions of *Risālat al-nadāmah* in the *Haft Iqlīm*, the *Ātashkadah*, the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār* and the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* provide one main reason for Nāṣir-i Khusraw's escape from Egypt: The scholars, the nobles, the jurists, the grandees, and, generally, the enemies (*dushmanān*) accused him of unbelief (*kufṛ va zandaqah, kufr*), sentenced him to death and incited Mustanṣir bi'llāh against him.⁸³ The *Risālat al-nadāmah* also points to the close relationship between Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Mustanṣir's son, Nizār whom the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs hold as the legitimate successor of Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh, and, says nothing to suggest that the relationship between Nizār and Nāṣir-i Khusraw was affected by the accusations leveled against the latter, while mentioning Mustanṣir's change of attitude.⁸⁴ The preamble to the account in the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār* mentions that Nāṣir-i Khusraw escaped to Baghdād because the Ismā'īlīs split into two parties (*shī'ah*) and Musta'lī, Nizār's brother, was gaining the upper hand.⁸⁵ This suggests that Nāṣir-i Khusraw left Egypt, at least in part, because Musta'lī, whom the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs considered the illegitimate successor, seized the throne.

The *Risālat al-nadāmah* does not depict Nāṣir-i Khusraw as distancing himself from Nizār or even Mustanṣir, but rather points to false accusations (*rāy-i bāṭil*) of the enviers, whom the *Haft Iqlīm* identifies as the accusers, “the enemies of ‘Alī” (*jām '-i navāṣib*).⁸⁶ The term *nāṣibī*, among others, is used by the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw in his poetry in reference to those who hated the Prophetic family, as he vehemently denounces them by comparing them with “donkeys,” “infidels,” “shepherdless herds” and describes them as enemies of ‘Alī, the Prophet and the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*).⁸⁷ I am unaware of any Sunnī author using the term *nāṣibī* to refer to the enemies of ‘Alī

⁸² *Haft Iqlīm*, 896, *Ātashkadah*, 1017, *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, fol. 73. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 6b. On historical Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh and his sons Nizār and Musta'lī who are mentioned in the *Risālah*, see Chapter Two.

⁸³ The scholars (*ulamā'*) and the nobles (*fuṣalā'*) in *Ātashkadah*, 1019. The jurists (*fuqahā'*) and the grandees (*aṣḥāb*) in *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, fol. 73. The enemies (*dushmanān*) in *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 6b. *Haft Iqlīm*, 896. Accusation of unbelief (*kufṛ va zandaqah*) in *Ātashkadah*, 1019, *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, 74, *Haft Iqlīm*, 896.

⁸⁴ *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, fol. 73. In the *Ātashkadah*, Mustanṣir's son appears as Nāṣir-i Khusraw's disciple. *Ātashkadah*, 1020. The *Haft Iqlīm* does not mention him.

⁸⁵ *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, fol. 73.

⁸⁶ *Haft Iqlīm*, 896.

⁸⁷ See for example, *Dīvān* (Taḡavī), 464-65. In this poem, while addressing the *nāṣibī*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw states that by choosing Abū Ḥanīfah and al-Shāfi'ī (two of the eponymous founders of Sunnī schools of law), people “chose ash over sugar: “O *nāṣibī*, you chose ash over sugar” (*chūn guzīdī hamchū bar shakkār shakkār, ay nāṣibī*), 464:14. Or, “you and your Imām are outside of the rank of Muḥammad, ‘Alī and their offspring” (“... *az Muḥammad az 'Alī avlād-i ū, tū bīrūnī bā imāmat z-īn qaṭār, ay nāṣibī*), 464:14. Alternatively, Nāṣir-i Khusraw claims that they remain under “the heavy load of ignorance” (*zīr-i bār-i jahl māndastī*), 465:4. He refers to the *nāṣibīs* as those who are not in their heart with ‘Alī (*har kih mard ast az jahān dil bā 'Alī dārad magar, nū kih bā mardān nabāshī dar shumār, ay nāṣibī*), 465:13. See also *Dīvān* (Taḡavī), 37:13-14, 52:1-5, 78:17-18 (in which the *nāṣibīs* are compared to “donkeys” (*khar*). In a *qaṣīdah*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw praises the Fāṭimids whose words are like “swords for the *nāṣibīs*.” See also *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī), 180:30 (“‘Alī was the lion of God, but *nāṣibī* a donkey”), 276:29, 418:27-28 (in which the *nāṣibī* is referred to as “ignorant”). Nāṣir-i Khusraw compares *nāṣibīs* to “infidels” (*kāfir*) in (*Dīvān* (Mīnuvī)) (“Just as one is not surprised by a donkey being a donkey, one is not

and the family of the Prophet. Similarly, the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* calls the detractors in Egypt “the Khavārij” (*khārijīyān*), another term used by the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān, along with the Shī‘ah more generally, in reference to the enemies of the Shī‘īs.⁸⁸ The aforementioned poem of ‘Aṭṭār Tūnī (composed in the 9th/15th century) also refers to Khārijīs as the enemies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the family of the Prophet.⁸⁹ Historically, the Khavārij seceded from ‘Alī’s party, and, later a member of their group assassinated him.⁹⁰ These examples demonstrate two things: first, they identify Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s detractors as the enemies of ‘Alī, in contrast to the “lovers” (*muḥibbān*) of the family of the Prophet who appear later in the texts.⁹¹ Second, they do not suggest that Nāṣir-i Khusraw disassociated himself from Nizār or even Mustanṣir bi’llāh, but rather focus on the envy and hatred of the detractors like the *nāṣibīs*, Khavārij and others, including the “Yazīdīs.”⁹²

After escaping from the land of the *malāḥidah*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw flees to Nīshāpūr, rather than Baghdād. As mentioned, Nīshāpūr’s inhabitants killed his disciple for quoting his poetry, which forces

surprised by a *nāṣibī* being an “infidel” – *nīst ‘ajab kāfirī az nāṣibī, z-ān kih nabāshad ‘ajab az khar kharī*, 54:3-5. See also Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 225. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 229. The Shī‘īs in general have historically used this term (*nāṣibī*, pl. *navāṣib/nuṣṣāb*) as a sectarian slur against those among Sunnīs and others (including the Khārijīs) who according to their view are the enemies and haters of the Imāms, Prophet’s family and their followers. For instance, Ibn Shahrāshūb al-Māzandarānī (d. 588/1192) attacks these “enemies of the imams” in his *Mathālib al-nawāṣib (The Vices of the Nawāṣib)*. See Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *Divine Guide in Early Shi‘ism, The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, ed. David Streight (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994), 90. This expression is supposedly derived from the “appointment” (Arabic, *naṣb*) of Abū Bakr as the leader of the community after the death of the Prophet. Werner Ende and Udo Steinbach, *Islam in the World Today: A Handbook of Politics, Religion, Culture, and Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 2010), 52. According to Twelver Shī‘ī traditions, Iblīs (Satan) is the archetypal personification of the *navāṣib* or the enemies of the Imāms and of the Shī‘īs, because he was the first to have failed to recognize the light of prophecy and Imamate. See Amir-Moezzi, *Divine Guide in Early Shi‘ism, The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, 168 n. 202. In his *qaṣīdah*, the previously mentioned Mawlānā Afshangī (MS Folder 232, ff. 163a-163b and MS Folder 207, ff. 137a-138b (KhRU-IIS) praises the Imāms of Twelver Shī‘ism and states: “I am not a *khārijī* and a *nāṣibī*.” An anonymous Ismā‘īlī treatise, popular among the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān, entitled *Irshād al-Ṭālibīn* (completed before 915/1509), also attacks the *navāṣib* (and the Khārijīs) for reviling Imām ‘Alī and for calling the Ismā‘īlī Imām ‘Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 653/1255) “the heretic” (*mulḥid*). *Irshād al-Ṭālibīn*, MS15095, 21. The manuscript is in the IIS collection. See also *Irshād al-Ṭālibīn*, MS1963/12 (OITAS) (copied in 1327/1909), f. 44a. Baqoiev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 19-20. *Irshād al-Ṭālibīn* refers to Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a *ḥakīm-i muḥaqqiq* or a sage who filled his entire *Dīvān* with the mention of Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh. *Irshād al-Ṭālibīn*, Ms15095, 19. See also *Irshād al-Ṭālibīn*, MS1963/12, f.44b. Ibid. Another manuscript (MS32, IIS) that includes the *Irshād al-Ṭālibīn* refers to Nāṣir-i Khusraw as *muḥiqq* (bearer of truth) who was appointed as the *hujjat* of Khurāsān by Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh. *Irshād al-Ṭālibīn*, MS32 (IIS), 11. The 16th century Shughnānī Shāh Ṣayyāyī denounces the *nāṣibīs* for their ignorance (*az jahl maraw rāh*) and for opposing ‘Alī and his family (*khudāvand ‘Alī ... va ālash*). See MS Folder 13, f. 42 (KhRU-IIS).

⁸⁸ *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 6b. The Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī poet Ghulomjon Shoh Soleh (1306/1888-1364/1945), for instance, calls the Khārijīs “the enemies of the soul” (*khārijīyān dushman-i jān-i man-and*). Bakhtīerov, *Ta’rīkh-i Rushon*, 141. See also the poem of ‘Abd Allāh, composed in the 1960s in Shughnān. Mu‘izzī, “Ta’rīkh-i Ismā‘īliyyān-i Badakhshān,” 228-29. See also the poem of the 17th century Ismā‘īlī poet Maḥmūd whose poetry is found in many manuscripts in Badakhshān. *Ismā‘īliyyah-i Badakhshān*, 210. The 10th/16th century Shughnānī poem Shāh Ṣayyāyī also condemns the *nāṣibīs* and the *khārijīs* in his *Salām’nāmah (The Book of Salutations)*. Shāh Ṣayyāyī *Salām’nāmah*, 1962/17, 19b. The 12th/18th century Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī poet Nazmī contrasts the *nāṣibīs* and the *khārijīs* with “*mawālīs*” (followers and lovers of Imām ‘Alī) in a poem composed in the style of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*az Nazmī bih tarz-i Shāh Nāṣir*). MS Folder 12, ff. 192-96 (KhRU-IIS).

⁸⁹ *Lisān al-ghayb* (Tehran: Kitāb-furūshī-yi Maḥmūdī, 1344/1966), 188.

⁹⁰ On the Khavārij, see E. A. Salem, *Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawarij* (Baltimore: Hopkins, 1956).

⁹¹ “The lovers” or “*muḥibbān*” is used in reference to Shī‘īs and most often in opposition to the Khavārij in Ismā‘īlī sources. For instance, see Maḥmūd’s poem in Chapter Two. Kaykhusraw Isfandiyyār also mentions that it is because of the “enemies of the Prophet’s household” (*dushmanān-i ahl-i bayt-i rasūl*) that Nāṣir-i Khusraw fled to Badakhshān. Kaykhusraw Isfandiyyār, *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, ed. Raḥīm Rizāzādah-i Malik (Tehran: Kitābkhānah-i ṭahūrī, 1362/1983), 258.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw to move to Badakhshān. If the story depicts Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Sunnī in the service of the ‘Abbāsid caliph, why are his ideas viewed as objectionable in Nīshāpūr? The *Risālat al-nadāmah* claims that it is because of his poetry, and not because of the commentary he wrote for the *malāḥidah*. This suggests that Nāṣir-i Khusraw is persecuted in Nīshāpūr because of his Ismā‘īlī ideas. Further, after his escape from Nīshāpūr, Nāṣir-i Khusraw comes to Badakhshān, where the ruler ‘Alī b. Asad Ḥusaynī ‘Alavī, who is called “the pride of the family of the Prophet” (*fakhr-i āl-i rasūl*), honours him and makes him his *vizier*.⁹³ Nāṣir-i Khusraw finds Badakhshān a blessed place (*jā-yi mubārak*)⁹⁴ where his condition is an improvement over what he had in Baghdād or Egypt.⁹⁵ What is particularly revealing is that in Badakhshān Nāṣir-i Khusraw finds the majority of people to be the followers of the *mazhab* of the Family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) and the “lovers” of the family of the Prophet (*dūstḍārān-i ahl-i bayt*).⁹⁶ Here, too, some individuals, including “zealous *faqīhs*” headed by a certain Naṣr Allāh Qāzī challenge Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁹⁷ The variant in the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* reads as follows:

The majority of them [belong] to the *mazhab* of the family of the Prophet, except the zealous jurists who claim to have faith. [In fact], they do not belong to the people of faith and have no knowledge of faith. Their leader Naṣr Allāh Qāzī was a learned jurist who became my enemy. He envied me because I was closer to Sayyid ‘Alī ibn Asad al-Ḥusaynī in position and the latter considered me more knowledgeable.⁹⁸

The *Risālat al-nadāmah* describes Naṣr Allāh Qāzī and his followers as different from the followers of the *mazhab* of the family of the Prophet and the “lovers” of the family of the Prophet. They were envious of and antagonistic toward Nāṣir-i Khusraw because of his status, faith and knowledge and sentenced him to death because of the book (*ān kitābī*) that he wrote for the *malāḥidah*.⁹⁹ Although it is clear that the *mazhab* of the family of the Prophet refers to Shī‘ism, let us assume, for the sake of an argument, that by the “followers of the *mazhab* of the family of the Prophet,” the *Risālat al-nadāmah* included Ṣūfīs or even Sunnīs more generally, a phenomenon that

⁹² *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* in MS Folder 232 mentions Khārijīs and Yazīdīs (*yazīdiyān*), i.e. followers of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah whose army brutally massacred Imām Ḥusayn in 61/680 in Karbalā. This event is critical to Shī‘ī notions of identity and purpose. MS Folder 232, 167 (KhRU-IIS).

⁹³ *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 75. The name of the ruler of Badakhshān is ‘Isā ibn Asad ‘Alavī in the *Ātashkadah* and Sayyid ‘Alī ibn Asad al-Ḥusaynī. *Ātashkadah*, 1024, *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 14a-14b. The *Haft Iqlīm* does not mention the ruler’s name and does not have *fakhr-i āl-i rasūl*. *Haft Iqlīm*, 898.

⁹⁴ *Haft Iqlīm*, 898. *Buldah-i fākhrah* in *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* in MS Folder 232, 173 (KhRU-IIS).

⁹⁵ *Ātashkadah*, 1024. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 14a. *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, 75.

⁹⁶ The *mazhab* of the “Family of the Prophet” in *Ātashkadah*, 1024. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 14b. *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, 75. The “lovers” of the family of the Prophet (*dūstḍārān-i ahl-i bayt*) in *Haft Iqlīm*, 898.

⁹⁷ Zealous *faqīhs* in *Haft Iqlīm*, 898.

⁹⁸ ... *va aghlab-i tshān bar mazhab-i ahl-i bayt ghayr az fuqahā’-i muta‘aṣṣib kih da ‘vā-yi imān mī-kunand va nīstand az ahl-i imān balki ... az imān khabar na-dārānd va buzurg-i tshān Naṣr Allāh Qāzī faqīh-i a‘lam būd bih man dushman shud va jahd dar ‘adāvat hasad-i man namūd, bih sabab-i ān-kih man a‘lam az tshān budam dar pīsh-i Sayyid ‘Alī ibn Asad al-Ḥusaynī chih nisbat bā martaba va ‘ilm va faṣl-i man tshān-rā hij vaznī na-mānd...*, *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 14b.

⁹⁹ *Ātashkadah*, 1024, *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 75. The *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* and the *Haft Iqlīm* do not mention the book. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 14b. *Haft Iqlīm*, 898.

could be explained in terms of ‘Alid devotionism or *ahl-al baytism*. Yet, further evidence in the text contradicts this assumption. The version in the *Ātashkadah* openly juxtaposes the *mazhab-i ahl al-bayt* or the *mazhab* of the family of the Prophet with *tasannun* or Sunnism where Nāšir-i Khusraw says that “the majority of the people were of the *mazhab* of the *ahl al-bayt*, except Našr Allāh who was a zealous Sunnī and was my enemy.”¹⁰⁰ This example shows clearly that the *mazhab-i ahl-i bayt* refers specifically to Shī‘ism, as one would expect, and not simply to a vaguely defined notion of ‘Alid devotionism.

Later, when Nāšir-i Khusraw flees to Yumgān, he finds that its people were lovers of the progeny of the Prophet (*va ahālī-i ān jā-rā muhibb-i avlād-i payghambar yāftam*).¹⁰¹ The version of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* in the *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār* also mentions this as well, adding that their *mazhab* was that of the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*).¹⁰² Similarly, the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* points out that the people in Yumgān were friends of the family of the Prophet and his progeny and followed the tradition of his family.¹⁰³ The chief of Yumgān receives Nāšir-i Khusraw warmly after the latter reveals his condition and lineage (*nasab*), namely, that he was a descendant of the Prophet.¹⁰⁴ The chief asks him to serve as his *vizier*, but Nāšir-i Khusraw declines, withdrawing to a cave to focus on religious and spiritual practices. Nonetheless, the chief, identified in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* as Jahān Shāh ibn Gīv, together with his army, pays regular visits to learn from him and seek his blessing.¹⁰⁵ Another explicit indication that it is the Shī‘īs who are meant by “the followers of the *mazhab* of the *ahl-i bayt*” is that, in the earliest version of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* found in the *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, Jahān Shāh ibn Gīv is called “the head of the Shī‘ah” (*ṣāhib-i khiṭṭah-i Shī‘ah*).¹⁰⁶ After Nāšir-i Khusraw’s death, while his enemies rejoice that “the depraved unbeliever” (*kāfir-i gumrāh*) passed away, Jahān Shāh ibn Gīv was so grief-stricken that he tore his shirt down to his waist and wept uncontrollably (*jīb-i khūd tā dāman chāk zad ... va ziyādah az ḥadd zārī kard*).¹⁰⁷ According to the version in the *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, another individual named Sayyid Murtaẓā ‘Alī ibn Asad also tore his shirt in the manner of Jahān Shāh ibn Gīv.¹⁰⁸ The *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*

¹⁰⁰ ... *akṣar bih mazhab-i ahl-i bayt būdand, magar Našr Allāh kih dar tasannun ta‘aṣṣub dāsht, va bih man ‘adāvat mīkard. Ātashkadah, 1024.*

¹⁰¹ According to the *Haft Iqlīm*, the people of Yumgān followed (*garavīdand*) Nāšir-i Khusraw. *Haft Iqlīm*, 898. *Ātashkadah, 1024.*

¹⁰² “I found the people of that place the friends/lovers of the children/offspring of the prophet (salutations upon him and his family) and their *mazhab* was the *mazhab* of the *ahl-i bayt* (peace upon them)” (“*ahl-i ān jā-rā muhibb-i avlād-i rasūl ṣala allāh wa ālihi yāftam va mazhab-i ishān mazhab-i ahl-i bayt alayhim salām būd*”). *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 75.

¹⁰³ “I found the people of this place the friends of the *ahl-i bayt* and the descendants of the Prophet and their *mazhab* that of the *ahl-i bayt*” (“*va yāftam ahl-i īn diyār-rā dustān-i ahl-i bayt va avlād-i rasūl va mazhab-i ishān mazhab-i ahl-i bayt*”). *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 15a.

¹⁰⁴ The various recensions refer to leader as *sulṭān*, the chief (*kalāntar*) and the head (*buzurg*) and *sulṭān*. *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 75. *Ātashkadah, 1024-5. Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 15a.

¹⁰⁵ *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 15a. Jahān Shāh ibn Gīv Yumgānī in *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār* and the *Ātashkadah. Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 78, *Ātashkadah, 1026.*

¹⁰⁶ *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 78.

¹⁰⁷ *Ātashkadah, 1028.*

¹⁰⁸ *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 78.

states that the name of the ruler of Badakhshān was Murtaẓá A‘zam Sayyid ‘Alī ibn Asad al-Ḥusaynī, which, probably, makes him the same person as Sayyid Murtaẓá ‘Alī ibn Asad ‘Alavī.¹⁰⁹ These are typical Shī‘ī names.

Finally, before his death, Nāṣir-i Khusraw utters the Shī‘ī testimony of “There is no god, but God, Muḥammad is the Messenger of God and ‘Alī is the [empowered] Ward of God (*lā ilāha illa Allāh, Muḥammad rasūl Allāh va ‘Alī valī Allāh*).”¹¹⁰ The presence of all these prominent Shī‘ī elements in the work makes it impossible to accept that the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, pure and simple, part of a “sunnification” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

6.4 The Agendas of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*

The most important agenda of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* is to present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Muslim wrongly accused of unbelief (*kufr*).¹¹¹ It does not exclusively present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Sunnī, a Ṣūfī or a Shī‘ī, but as someone who was acceptable to all. It presents him as the master of all sciences and a traveller on all paths. In the version of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* found in the *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, before his death, Nāṣir-i Khusraw hears a voice from heaven (*hātif*), which says, “you have traversed the paths of all *mazḥabs* and *tarīqahs*” (*dar jamī‘-ī mazāhib sulūk namūdī va bih jamī‘-ī tarā‘iq sayr kardī*).¹¹² In the *Ātashkadah*, the voice from heaven says, “you have traversed the paths of all *mazḥabs*” (*dar tamām-i mazāhib rāh paymūdī*).¹¹³ In the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, the voice says, “you have witnessed all the paths” (*va har rāhī kih būd, dīdī*) and “you have mastered all sciences” (*hij ‘ilm-i namānd kih dar zabṭ-i tū na‘āmad*).¹¹⁴ The *Risālat al-nadāmah* presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a *vizier* of sovereigns who belonged to different *mazḥabs*. Nāṣir-i Khusraw was on friendly terms with all of them, except the ruler of the *malāhidah*.¹¹⁵

In response to accusations against Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the *Risālat al-nadāmah* portrays him as a pious and deeply spiritual Muslim who firmly believes in one God (*tawḥīd*), Muḥammad’s prophecy and the Day of Judgment (*qiyāmat*) and final gathering (*ḥashr*).¹¹⁶ In the work, Nāṣir-i Khusraw tells his brother Abū Sa‘īd that he wants to proclaim these beliefs so that Muslims (*ahl-i islām*) know his true conviction.¹¹⁷ He testifies that God is one in His essence (*khudāvandīst, kih yakīst bih zāt-i khvūd*) and that He has knowledge of all that is seen and unseen (“He knows what a black ant does beneath a

¹⁰⁹ *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 14a.

¹¹⁰ *Ātashkadah*, 1027. The *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār* only includes “There is no god, but God, Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.” *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 78.

¹¹¹ Towards the end of the pseudo-autobiography, Nāṣir-i Khusraw says although the people attributed *kufr* to him, God knows his real *mazḥab*. The book that he wrote for the *malāhidahs* did not reflect his faith. *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 76.

¹¹² *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 75.

¹¹³ *Ātashkadah*, 1025. See also Azorabek, *Safarnomai Ḥazrati Sayyid Nosiri Khusravi quddusi sara* (sic), 64.

¹¹⁴ *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 16b.

¹¹⁵ “I have never spoken ill of any *mazḥab* or of a leader of a *mazḥab*.” MS Folder 232, 181-82.

¹¹⁶ Azorabek, *Safarnomai Ḥazrati Sayyid Nosiri Khusravi quddusi sara* (sic), 64. *Ātashkadah*, 1025. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 18a-18b. *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār*, fol. 76-77.

¹¹⁷ *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 18a.

black rock in dark night.”)¹¹⁸ He testifies that the Prophet was sent by God to deliver His message to all people, including “Arabs and Persians, the black, the red and the white (‘*arab-u ‘ajam, siyāh-u surkh-u safīd*).”¹¹⁹ He says that the message of the Prophet is true and the Prophet’s religious law is the greatest of all laws.¹²⁰ He sends greetings to the rightly guided caliphs that succeeded the Prophet, without specifying who these caliphs are.¹²¹ As demonstrated before, the heretical verses attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw reject the notion of rising from grave for the final gathering (*ḥashr*).¹²² With this in view, the *Risālat al-nadāmah* has Nāṣir-i Khusraw say that people will see God on the day of gathering.¹²³ He explicitly testifies that “rising after death” (*barangīkhtan ba ‘d az murdan*) is true.¹²⁴ He mentions that he does not deny the notion of the final gathering and that God raises those who “were eaten by wolves and dogs” (*gurg’khurdah va sag’khurdah*) on the day of gathering.¹²⁵ This is clearly written in response to the aforementioned age-long accusation, according to which Nāṣir-i Khusraw ridiculed the notion of *ḥashr* by saying “how can a man who was devoured by wolves rise to life again for the final gathering?”

Other examples also indicate that an important part of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*’s agenda is to present the sort of image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his tradition in a manner that is acceptable to the Sunnīs, who ruled in Badakhshān for centuries, as well as other Muslim communities. Apart from pointing to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s association with the ‘Abbāsīd caliph(s), the *Risālat al-nadāmah* mentions the name of the Sunnī (Ḥanafī) jurist Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804), as well as the Twelver Shī‘ī Imām Riḏā (d. 202/817), whose books Nāṣir-i Khusraw is said to have learned. According to the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw “found slight differences between them, i.e. the writings of Imām Riḏā and Muḥammad Shaybānī.”¹²⁶ Clearly, this is an attempt at bringing Nāṣir-i Khusraw closer to Sunnism and Twelver Shī‘ism and at emphasizing his acceptability within those circles.¹²⁷ Also, while Nāṣir-i Khusraw recognizes all the rightly guided caliphs after the Prophet (*khulafā’-i rāshidīn ba ‘d az-ū būdah-and*), he mentions that the best (*afḏal*), noblest (*akram*),

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 1a.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 4b.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 18b.

¹²¹ Ibid., 4b.

¹²² Ḥashr (Arabic, “gathering”) is a technical term in Muslim theology for the final gathering of all humans on Judgment Day. See Louis Gardet, “Ḷiyāma,” in *EI2*.

¹²³ *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 1a

¹²⁴ Ibid., 18a

¹²⁵ Ibid., 19a

¹²⁶ My translation is slightly different from Beben’s here. Beben’s translation is “I learned with ease the differences between them, i.e. the writings of Imām Riḏā and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī ... ” Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” 159. The *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* is more explicit in this regard: “I found very little difference between the books of Imām Muḥammad ibn Husayn (sic, Hasan in MS Folder 232) Shaybānī and *Shāmil*” (“*nayāfiām ikhtilāf dar miyān-i kutub-i Imām Muḥammad ibn Husayn (sic) Shaybānī va dar miyān-i Shāmil ... magar andakih*”), *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 5b. See also MS Folder 232, 165.

¹²⁷ This is unlike the account of the Sunnī guardians (*mutavallīs*) of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s shrine in Badakhshān who regard him as a Sunnī with nothing in common with Twelver Shī‘ism or Ismā‘īlism. In fact, as the custodian of the shrine Sayyid Muḥammad Dihqān told Maḥmūd Tarzī, his ancestor Nāṣir-i Khusraw was different from the Nāṣir-i Khusraw from Balkh.

bravest (*ashja*) and the most knowledgeable (*ā'lam*) is “the prince of the believers,” ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib, whom he also presents as their leader (*sar-khayl*).¹²⁸

The *Risālat al-nadāmah*’s agenda also encompasses anti-fanaticism in religion. As we have seen, time and again, it points to the envy and enmity of fanatical scholars, jurists and courtiers, who persecute Nāṣir-i Khusraw and sentence him to death. In this, the *Risālat al-nadāmah* clearly criticizes “fanaticism in religion” (*ta’aṣṣub-i dīn*), such as that which caused him to flee Nīshāpūr.¹²⁹ It mentions that Naṣr Allāh, among other jurists, became Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s enemy, because of his fanaticism (*kih dar tasannun ta’aṣṣub dāsht, va bih man ‘adāvat mī’kard*). Other jurists became Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s enemy because of their fanaticism.¹³⁰

Related to the above, Nāṣir-i Khusraw became the victim of “fanatics in religion,” while he, by contrast, was a great ascetic, learned in all the sciences of his time, and a pious Muslim who, except the *malāḥidah*, did not criticize anyone for their religion. He performs marvels on occasion, inflicting illness upon the ruler of the heretics and destroying his army. In emphasizing these characteristics and events, the hagiography reflects and increases devotion to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and asserts his spiritual authority. It traces his ancestry to Prophet Muḥammad through Mūsā al-Kāzīm, using a device found in many Islamic hagiographical traditions.¹³¹ Nāṣir-i Khusraw connects Badakhshān (“the blessed place”) to the Prophet Muḥammad, and it is his genealogy that brings the Prophet’s charisma into the Badakhshānī and its people. Later Ismā’īlī hagiographies build on and add more details to this. I will therefore analyze the implications of these agendas in greater detail in the next chapter.

6.5 The *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*

To further substantiate the view that the Ismā’īlīs of Badakhshān did not “re-Ismailicise” Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the 18th century and that Badakhshānī accounts explicitly associating Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Ismā’īlism and the Ismā’īlī Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh (d. 487/1094) pre-date the earliest extant copy of the *Kalām-i pīr*, this section briefly examines a text titled the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*. Its earliest extant version is found in MS Folder 232 (dated 1078/1667), which was composed more than a century before the first extant copy of the *Kalām-i pīr*. The *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* appears in numerous manuscripts, including MS Folder 207 (dated 1310/1892), MS Folder 50 (dated either 1121/1709 or 1217/1802), MS Folder 5 (date not provided), MS Folders 175 (date not provided) and

According to him, their ancestor Nāṣir-i Khusraw came to Badakhshān when he was fourteen years old, which differs from the accounts found in the Ismā’īlī hagiographies. Țarzī, *Nāṣir-i Khusraw-i Balkhī*, 142-144.

¹²⁸ *Ātashkadah*, 1025. “The rightly guided caliphs are true” (“*khulafā’-i rāshidīn haqq-and*”) in the *Khulāṣat al-ash’ār*, fol. 76. “The rightly guided caliphs after our prophet were true” (“*khulafā’-i rāshidīn ba’d az payghāmbār-i mā haqq būda-and*”) in the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 18b. *Ātashkadah*, 1025.

¹²⁹ *Khulāṣat al-ash’ār*, fol. 75. *Ātashkadah*, 1024. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 14b, *Haft Iqlīm*, 898.

¹³⁰ *Ātashkadah*, 1024. The *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* and the *Haft Iqlīm* mention “extremist jurists” (*fuqahā’-i muta’aṣṣib*) who opposed Nāṣir-i Khusraw. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 14b, *Haft Iqlīm*, 898.

¹³¹ Hamid Algar, “Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm and Šūfī Tradition,” *Islamic Culture* lxiv (1990): 1.

MS Folder 223 (1221/1806).¹³² Although the text is titled *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, only a small portion of it is dedicated to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This account about Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*sukhan-i Sayyid Nāṣir*) is supposedly narrated by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. The text in MS Folder 232, MS Folder 207, MS Folder 50 and MS Folder 5 is slightly longer and differs from those in MS Folders 175 and 223. For example, according to MS Folder 5, when the Ismāʿīlīs at Alamūt hear about the imminent attack of the armies from ʿIrāqayn and Māzandarān, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ tells the people, “fear not, for Nāṣir ibn Khusraw is the protector of the believers!” (*ghamgīn mashavīd kih Nāṣir ibn Khusrav nigāhdār-i muʿminān ast*).¹³³ The texts in MS Folders 232, 207, 175, 50 and 223 state that “our protector is our master” (*nāzīr va ḥāfīz-i mā mawlānāst*), referring to Mawlānā Nizār, instead of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹³⁴ It is clear that the word *nāzīr* (“protector”) is reserved for Nāṣir in this later manuscript (MS Folder 5).

The *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* is about Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s sojourn in Cairo, which lasted four months, and was for the purpose of learning from the *dāʿīs* of the Imām Mustanṣir (*az dāʿī-yān-i Mawlānā Mustanṣir taʿlīm yābam*), finding union with the “friends” (*awliyāʿ*) of the holy master, and attaining eternal life (*baqāʿ-i jāvidānī*). The text describes his difficulties arranging a meeting with Imām Mustanṣir. A friend (*dūstī*) advises him to await the celebration of Nawrūz (the day of the vernal equinox that marks the beginning of spring, commonly known as the Persian New Year), when the Imām was to leave his palace to join the celebrations at the festival grounds. To attract the attention of the Imām among in the crowds of people and soldiers, Nāṣir-i Khusraw dresses in the garment of a dervish. The Imām notices him, has his deputy (*nāyib*) bring him to the royal court, receives him well, and after some time sends him to Khurāsān to establish his *daʿvah*.

The longer accounts of the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* in MS Folders 232, 207, 50 and 5 present additional material. They narrate how Imām Mustanṣir biʿllāh abandoned worldly wealth and destroyed his crown and was considered “mad” (*dīvānah*) by the people because of this. They further describe the confrontations of the Ismāʿīlīs with the Saljūq Sulṭān Muḥammad Tapar (d. 511/1118) and cover other events. These elements re-appear in the *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, which is introduced in

¹³² MS Folder 207 (dated 1310/1892), ff. 52a-57a (KhRU-IIS) and MS Folder 50 (the date provided there is difficult to read, but it appears to be either 1121/1709 or 1217/1802; its scribe, judging by another work in the same codex, is Mullā Mīr Ḥasan son of ʿAbd al-Fayz), ff. 65-78. Additional abridged versions of the story are found in three uncatalogued manuscripts in the KhRU-IIS (ff. 9a-10a of MS Folder 223; ff. 98a-99b of MS Folder 175, which is a codex that includes additional twenty-four texts, including *Maʿdan al-asrār*, *Nawrūz-nāmah*, *Haft gunāh-i kabāʿir*, *Dar bayān-i shinākhtan-i haft ḥudūd-i dīn*, *Haft nuktaḥ* and others; MS Folder 5 (pages 157-158), which is a codex that includes other texts, such as *Risālah-i maṭlūb al-muʿminīn*, *Haft gunāh-i kabāʿir*, *Anūshīrvān va Buzurjmīhr* and so on). The date for the transcription (or composition) of the first manuscript (MS Folder 223) is given as 1221/1806. Its author or scribe is unknown. The second manuscript does not record the date of transcription and the scribe’s name, but it appears to be an old manuscript and must have been copied sometime before the early 20th century. Folder 5 records the name of the scribe as Sayyid Shāh ʿAbd Allāh valad-i (son of) Sayyid Chaman Shāh, but does not provide the year in which it was copied. It only mentions Monday, the month of Zu al-Ḥijjah and the year of *nahang* (dragon), not a specific date. This manuscript is new, as it is written on a lined notebook.

¹³³ *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (Folder 5), 153.

¹³⁴ *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (Folder 175), fol. 98a. *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, (Folder 223), fol. 9a. MS Folder 232, ff. 110-116.

analyzed in the next chapter.¹³⁵ Despite certain similarities, this passage in the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* differs from that in MS Folders 232, 207, 50 and 5 in certain ways. For instance, unlike the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* in MS Folders 232, 207, 50 and 5 does not claim that Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and Nāṣir-i Khusraw travel to Egypt together. According to *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw stays in Egypt for four months, but according to the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, six months.¹³⁶

A similar account is also found in the *Hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-ṭālibīn* of Muḥammad b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn Fidā'ī Khurāsānī (d. 1342/1923), which was composed sometime during the early 20th century in Iran.¹³⁷ According to this work, upon returning from his sixth pilgrimage, Nāṣir-i Khusraw stayed in Egypt for six months. During this time, he sought various means to approach and meet with the Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh, but to no avail. Finally, a friend, who was a *dā'ī*, told him that the Imām opened the doors of his mercy to all the creatures, especially the poor, the widows and the orphans, for one week during Nawrūz. Nāṣir-i Khusraw waited for another two months for the auspicious occasion and on the day the Imām came out; he stood by the side of the road by which the Imām would pass with his entourage. The Imām noticed Nāṣir-i Khusraw and sent one of his servants (*mulāzim*) to keep him. Nāṣir-i Khusraw served the Imām for some time, until the Imām appointed him as his *hujjat* and dispatched him to Khurāsān, Badakhshān and Balkh to spread “the true *da'wah*” (*da'vat-i ḥaqq*).¹³⁸

Copies of the *Hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-ṭālibīn* are available in Badakhshān, and it is on the basis of a Badakhshānī copy found in Vakhān in 1926 that Aleksandr Semēnov published this work in 1959.¹³⁹ Reflecting on the sources of Fidā'ī Khurāsānī, Semēnov was particularly puzzled about the origin of the account of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the work. As he rightly mentions, this account is not found in any of the known sources about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, including the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw's authentic *Safar'nāmah* and the *Haft bāb* (i.e. the *Kalām-i pīr*).¹⁴⁰ It is clear, however, that Semēnov was unaware of the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, which, in all likelihood, is the source for this episode in the *Hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-ṭālibīn*.¹⁴¹ The remaining parts of the account of Nāṣir-i

¹³⁵ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 15-16. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 11. *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (Folder 5), 154. *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (Folder 232), 110-116.

¹³⁶ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 15-16. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 11. *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, 154. *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (Folder 232), 110-116.

¹³⁷ Khurāsānī, *Kitāb bih hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-ṭālibīn*, 5.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 77-78. The text is also reproduced in the Qurbānshāh, *Afsānah va Ḥaqīqat*, 194-98.

¹³⁹ Khurāsānī, *Kitāb bih hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-ṭālibīn*, 13. Baqoev, *Alfavitnyī Katalog*, 102.

¹⁴⁰ Khurāsānī, *Kitāb bih hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-ṭālibīn*, 16-18.

¹⁴¹ Bertel's opines that the account about Nāṣir-i Khusraw that appears in the *Hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-ṭālibīn* may be based on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's original *Safar'nāmah* before it was redacted in the hands of Sunnīs before the 17th century (as the earliest known manuscript of the text was copied in 1691). He believes that Muḥammad b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn Fidā'ī Khurāsānī may have had access to the original and authentic *Safar'nāmah*, because the description of Nawrūz in Egypt, which was already forgotten in the 12th century, after the fall of the Fāṭimid dynasty, is quite specific and accurate. Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 164, 65, 80. As Wladimir Ivanow shows, it is Janāb Mukhī Khayr al-Ḥajj Ḥājji Mūsā Khān b. Muḥammad Khān Ismā'īlī (d. 1937) who produced a second and amplified edition of the *Hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-ṭālibīn*. According to Ivanow, Mūsā Khān b. Muḥammad Khān lent the original and only copy to an Ismā'īlī from the Upper Oxus region, who stole the book. It is this book that was published in 1959 and attributed solely to Muḥammad b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn Fidā'ī Khurāsānī. In

Khusraw in the *Hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-tālibīn* (e.g. the murder of his disciple in Nīshāpūr, the enmity of the scholars in Badakhshān, etc.) are similar to the accounts provided in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*.

Although the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* is a hagiographical text (as it speaks of the marvels performed by Imām Nizār), it cannot be considered a hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in the sense that, unlike other sources, it represents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as neither an epistemological saint nor as an ascetic saint. It is, however, important for two important reasons. First, it indicates that Nāṣir-i Khusraw features in Ismā'īlī hagiographical texts produced since at least the second half of the 17th century, the date of the transcription of Folder 232. In this hagiographical account, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is associated with Ismā'īlism and the Ismā'īlī Imām explicitly. Second, it demonstrates the fact that certain features, which flourish in later Ismā'īlī hagiographical sources about Nāṣir-i Khusraw (e.g. the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and another text, also called *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, composed in the early 20th century and during Soviet times respectively), were already in circulation from the 11th/17th century onwards. The later hagiographical accounts embellish and expand the original elements of the story. I will return to the later accounts in Chapters Seven and Nine and discuss these specific elements in my analysis.

6.6 Ḥusaynī's *Dar manqabat-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw*

There is a noteworthy codex (copied by Mullā Khūbān ibn Murād Bīk) with the temporary accession number of MS Folder 220, held in the archives of the KhRU-IIS. It includes the *Haft bāb* of Abū Iṣḥāq Quhistānī (d. after 904/1498), perhaps the earliest extant Ismā'īlī work that refers to Nāṣir-i Khusraw's mission to Badakhshān.¹⁴² In the *Haft bāb*, the Imām of the time is identified as Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh III, i.e. the Imām known as Gharīb Mīrzā (d. 904/1498).¹⁴³ An untitled text in the same codex also describes Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh III as the Imām of the time, but a later scribe updated the list of the Imāms, concluding it with Mawlānā Sayyid Ḥasan [ʿAlī Shāh] (d. 1298/1881), who became the Imām in 1232/1817.¹⁴⁴ On pages 128 and 129 of the codex, however, the date of transcription is given as 1151/1738. This suggests that this manuscript was written in 1151/1738, but the names of additional Imāms were included after 1232/1817. This codex contains a long poem entitled *Dar manqabat-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Haft band (On the Virtues of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Seven Volumes)*

fact, Mūsā ibn Muḥammad Khurāsānī appears in the book as the narrator/compiler (*rāwī*). Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, 153-54. See Khurāsānī, *Kitāb bih hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-tālibīn*, 161.

¹⁴² According to the *Haft bāb*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was appointed a *dā'ī* of Khurāsān and Badakhshān. See *Haft bāb-i Abū Iṣḥāq* in Folder 220, ff. 48a-123a (KhRU-IIS). Abū Iṣḥāq Quhistānī, *Haft bāb*, ed. and trans. Wladimir Ivanow (Bombay: Ismaili Society, 1959), trans., 23, Persian ed., 23. On this source, as the earliest extant source that mentions Nāṣir-i Khusraw's mission in Badakhshān, see Beben, "Legendary Biographies," 299.

¹⁴³ Folder 220, f. 79a (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁴⁴ Folder 220, f. 11a (KhRU-IIS).

by a Badakhshānī poet named Ḥusaynī. The same poem is also found in MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS), which was copied in 1395/1975 by Gulzār Khān ibn Raḥmān Qūl in Shughnān.¹⁴⁵

Ḥusaynī composed the poem glorifying Nāṣir-i Khusraw in imitation of the *Haft band* of the 7th/13th century Shī‘ī poet Ḥasan-i Kāshī (Mawlānā Ḥasan-i Kāshī), composed in praise of Imām ‘Alī. In fact, Ḥusaynī wrote another *Haft band*, which, like Kāshī’s *Haft band*, extols the virtues of Imām ‘Alī. In both of his *Haft bands*, Ḥusaynī mentions Kāshī’s name. A translation of the *Haft band* in praise of Nāṣir-i Khusraw is provided below, but in the *Haft band* about Imām ‘Alī, which is titled *Haft band-i manāqibat-i Murtaḏavī*, Ḥusaynī acknowledges the greater status of Kāshī in writing devotional verses (*rutbah-i Kāshī nadāram tā shavam madḥat sarā*), compares himself to sand beneath panegyrists like Kāshī, and praises him for the remarkable spirit and flow of his poetry and for being among the “elite” (*khāṣṣān*) poets who sing the praise of Imām ‘Alī.¹⁴⁶

Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about Ḥusaynī. None of the primary and secondary sources related to Badakhshānī poets used for this study have anything to say about him. The lack of information about his life and works is further exacerbated by contradictory oral accounts about him found among the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. In my conversation with some learned members of the community, I found out that they identified the author of the *Haft band* with at least three poets and authors. Yet, none of these figures can be identified with Ḥusaynī beyond doubt. The first person mentioned is a Shughnānī poet who wrote under the pseudonym of Ḥusaynī. This poet’s full name is

¹⁴⁵ *Dar manqabat-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Haft band*, MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁴⁶ *Haft band-i munāqibat-i murtaḏavī*, MS Folder 220 and MS Folder 12 (KhRU-IIS). It begins with *Al-salām ay maḏhar-i asrār-i rabb al-‘ālamīn* (“Salutations, oh locus of the mysteries of the lord of the worlds”). Ḥasan-i Kāshī (Mawlānā Ḥasan-i Kāshī) is the author of *Epic of Imams (A’imma’nāmah)*, which he dedicated to the Mongol ruler Muḥammad Khudābandah Ūljāyū (r. 704-716/1304-1317) and his vizier Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318) for their patronage of Shī‘īs. Ḥasan-i Kāshī was one of the first to compose verses in Persian expressing his devotion to the family of the Prophet, especially ‘Alī. His tomb is currently located in Sulṭāniyah in Zanjān. See Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University, 2002), 172-73, 80-82, 216, 37, 49, 82, 379. He wrote the *Ta’rīkh-i Muḥammadī* (in 1308 and 1309) during the Mongol period. Mawlānā Shaykh Ḥasan Kāshī, *Ta’rīkh-i Muḥammadī*, ed. Rasūl Ja’fariān (Qum: Kitābkhānah-i Takhassusī-yi Ta’rīkh-i Islām va Irān, 1998). Ḥasan-i Kāshī’s poetry is found in many manuscripts in Badakhshān. See for instance, Baqoev, *Alfavitnyī Katalog*, 79-80. This is MS 1959/22 (OITAS). One *qaṣīdah* by Ḥasan-i Kāshī is in MS Folder 12 (copied in 1395/1975 by Gulzār Khān) (KhRU-IIS). Another (which begins with *dilam digar sukhan-i...*) is in MS Folder 18 (KhRU-IIS). This text is undated. In the *Dar manqabat-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Haft band*, Ḥusaynī followed the example of Ḥasan-i Kāshī’s *mukhammas* in praise of Imām ‘Alī. Ḥasan-i Kāshī’s *mukhammas* also has seven *bands* (volumes). Also, towards the end of the *mukhammas*, there are verses that begin with *Al-salām* (e.g. *Al-salām ay madḥ-i tū āyāt-i Qur’ān-i mubīn...* “Salutations, o [you] whom the Qur’anic verses praise”). A copy of this *mukhammas* is in a manuscript that belongs to Durmancha Shohzodaev from Sīzhd (Shughnān). It is called *Tarji’-band-i Ḥasan-i Kāshī* (in the beginning) and *Haft band-i Mawlānā Ḥasan-i Kāshī* (at the end). This manuscript was transcribed by Mullā Sayyid Shāh ‘Abd Allāh son of Sayyid Chaman Shāh in 1374/1954. Ḥasan-i Kāshī’s *Haft band* (that begins with *Al-salām ay sāyah-at khurshūd-i rabb al-‘ālamīn* – “Salutations o [you] whose shadow is the sun of the Lord of the universe”) is also found in MS Folder 232 (*Az haft band-i Mawlānā Ḥasan-i Kāshī*) (KhRU-IIS). Qudratbek El’chibekov kindly made another digitized manuscript available to me. The name of the folder is *Dīvān-i Qāsim-i Anvār 3*, but the manuscript in it, which was copied in Zu-l-ḥijjah 1037/August 1628 by Mullā ‘Abd al-Rasūl son of Ustād Rafī‘ Allāh, also contains Ḥasan-i Kāshī’s *Haft band*. Ḥasan-i Kāshī’s *Haft band* is also found in MS Folder 220 and MS Folder 105 (KhRU-IIS). Another incomplete copy is in MS Folder 227 (undated) (KhRU-IIS). There is also an interpretation of the *Haft band* of Ḥasan-i Kāshī along with a panegyric poem in praise of Imām ‘Alī in another Badakhshānī manuscript. This work is titled *Sharḥ-i haft band-i Ḥazrat Mawlānā Ḥasan-i Kāshī*, MS Folder 207 (copied in 1310/1892 in Rūshān) (KhRU-IIS). There are digitized copies (MS Folder 21, copied in 1377/1957 by Mullā Nuṣrat Allāh, and MS Folder 12) of a poetic legend about Imām ‘Alī that is called *Panj kishtī (Five ships)* (KhRU-IIS). This work is attributed to Ḥasan-i Kāshī. It

Mullā Malik Ḥusayn valad-i (son of) Malik Nawrūz Muḥammad (d. 1359/1940). Unfortunately, according to an anonymous compiler of Mullā Malik Ḥusayn's poetry, many of his compositions are no longer extant. The very few poetic compositions that have been recorded recently do not resemble in the least the style of the compositions of our Ḥusaynī.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, the very fact that Mullā Malik Ḥusayn was born in 1263/1847 and began writing poetry around 1311/1893 at the age of forty-five rules out the possibility of identifying him with the author of the *Haft band*. He was born almost a century after the manuscript containing the *Haft band* was transcribed. The other candidate is Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥusaynī, the author of the *Manāqib al-Murtaẓavī* (*The Virtues of 'Alī*), a work in poetry and prose, popular among the learned Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān. The Ismā'īlīs with whom I spoke indicated that Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥusaynī is the author of both the *Manāqib al-Murtaẓavī* and the *Haft band-i manāqibat-i Murtaẓavī*. This identification is also unreliable, as Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥusaynī's *nisbah* is al-Tirmizī (which indicates that he was from Tirmiz, Irān) and wrote poetry under the pen name of Kashfī. This is attested to by a digitized copy of the *Manāqib al-Murtaẓavī* (its date is difficult to read, but it is either 1238/1822 or 1278/1861), a digitized copy of which is kept in KhRU-IIS.¹⁴⁸ The third person suggested is a certain Badakhshānī poet by the name of Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Ḥasan Ḥusaynī, who, according to my sources, also wrote a commentary on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Zād al-musāfirīn*. Unfortunately, I could not find any further information about Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Ḥasan Ḥusaynī or his commentary. However, it seems that the informants have confused this person with the Suhrawardī author Ḥusayn ibn 'Ālam ibn Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī, also known as Fakhr-i Sādāt (The Pride of Sayyids), who hailed from Ghūr, lived in Multān (in India) and died in Harāt in 718/1318-19. He is, indeed, the author of a book named *Zād al-musāfirīn*, but this work is not a commentary on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's work. Comprised of eight parts, al-Ḥusaynī's *Zād al-musāfirīn* is a treatise on the Ṣūfī *ṭarīqah* and on submission to the spiritual director. This author does not mention Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the *Zād al-musāfirīn* or any other of his works (e.g. *Kanz al-rumūz* or *The Treasure of Mysteries*).¹⁴⁹

Ḥabibov, who has studied biographies of literary figures (*tazkīrahs*) dedicated to Badakhshānī poets for decades, does not have anything to say about our Ḥusaynī.¹⁵⁰ A close study of *tazkīrahs* that contain information about Badakhshānī poets prompted Ḥabibov to conclude that, while the Sunnī authors of biographical works discuss Sunnī Badakhshānī poets, they are silent on Shī'ī, especially Ismā'īlī, poets who lived between the 10th/16th and 12th/18th centuries.¹⁵¹ The absence of Ḥusaynī's name in the *tazkīrahs* can be seen as an instantiation of this tendency. Curiously, in his *Muzakkir al-*

seems that Mawlānā Ḥasan-i Kāshī has been very popular among the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān and his influence on the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī tradition deserves a separate study.

¹⁴⁷ See *Madḥiyah-i Mullā Malik Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī*, Folder 71 (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁴⁸ The manuscript in question is MS Folder 37 (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁴⁹ Copies of this *Zād al-musāfirīn* (MS 1467) and *Kanz al-rumūz* (MS 1467/11) are kept in the archives of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan. On them, see Boldyrev, A. M., et al., *Katalog vostochnykh rukopisei: Akademii nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR*, vol. 2 (Dushanbe: Donish, 1960), 134-138.

¹⁵⁰ In addition to Ḥabibov, *Az ta"rikhi ravobit*, 142, see Ḥabibov, *Ganji Badakhshon* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1972).

ashāb (*Remembrance of Friends*), compiled between 1093-1104/1682-1692, Muḥammad Badi‘ ibn Muḥammad Sharīf Samarqandī Malīḥ (d. unknown, b. 1060/1650), who, unlike many of the *tazkirah* writers studied by Ḥabibov, does not express any sectarian antagonism in his work, mentions a poet named Ḥusaynī.¹⁵² According to Ḥabibov, this Ḥusaynī was born in Badakhshān, and, after studying in Bukhārā and Samarqand, returned to his birthplace, where he lived until the end of his life.¹⁵³ Muḥammad Badi‘ praises Ḥusaynī’s poetic abilities, but provides no further information about him. Moreover, the few verses included in the *Muzakkir al-ashāb* do not tell us anything about his sectarian affiliation.¹⁵⁴ Considering the name of the poet, his place of birth, and the time in which he lived, it is possible that this is our Ḥusaynī. If that is the case, then Ḥusaynī may have composed the *Haft band* upon his return to Badakhshān. In the *Haft band*, he indicates that he “had been away,” but eventually came to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s “shrine” (*dargah*). His absence may be a reference to his journey to Bukhārā and Samarqand. Nevertheless, it is clear that Ḥusaynī, the author of the *Haft band*, was a Badakhshānī poet (“he had been away” and came back to the region) and lived before 1151/1738, i.e. before the time of the transcription of MS Folder 220 that quotes his poem about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. I discussed the *Haft band* with many learned Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs, but only Khalīfah Farrukhrūz Ibrāhīm from Shughnān indicated that Ḥusaynī lived “two hundred years ago” (*du sad sol tar piro*). He indicated that the expression “*dar jannat nishīn*” (“stay in paradise”) that occurs in the last verse is a chronogram. If that is the case, based on the *abjad* system, “*dar jannat nishīn*” converts to the year 1117/1705 and confirms that Ḥusaynī must have flourished in the second half of the 11th/17th and the first half of the 12th/18th century.

Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* marks a clear transition in the Badakhshānī literature regarding Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Unlike the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, which simply presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a wise and learned man whom the Ismā‘īlī Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh chose to lead the *da‘vah* in Khurāsān and Badakhshān, Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* glorifies him as a great saint. Unlike the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, it does not paint the image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in a way that is acceptable to both Shī‘īs and Sunnīs, but associates him with Shī‘ism explicitly. In Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is presented unambiguously as a Shī‘ī saint. Similar to other Badakhshānī poets before and after him, Ḥusaynī refers to Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms in the *Haft band*. However, its most important distinction, as demonstrated below, is that it, apparently, presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an equal of the hidden twelfth Imām Mahdī or even regards him as the Mahdī himself. In addition, it describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as

¹⁵¹ *Az ta'rīkhi ravobit*, 142.

¹⁵² *Muzakkir al-ashāb*, MS 610 (OITAS), f. 37. Ḥabibov, *Az ta'rīkhi ravobit*, 120. On Muḥammad Badi‘ ibn Muḥammad Sharīf Samarqandī Malīḥ and the *Muzakkir al-ashāb*, see Robert D. McChesney, "The anthology of poets: Muzakkir al-Ashāb as a source for the history of seventeenth-century Central Asia," in *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays in Honor of Martin B. Dickson*, ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1990), 57-83. Manuscripts of Muḥammad Badi‘’s *Muzakkir al-ashāb* are in the archives of the Institute of Orientalism in Tashkent (nos. 4270, 2727 and 58) and OITAS (MS 610). Unfortunately, the manuscripts in Tashkent are not available to me.

¹⁵³ Ḥabibov, *Az ta'rīkhi ravobit*, 120. *Ganji Badakhshon*, 147-48.

the head of saints and angelic bodies and focuses on his marvelous deeds. The poem shows that by the late 11th/17th and early 12th/18th century, Badakhshānīs openly praised Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a great Shī‘ī saint. Following the *Haft band*, the later middle hagiographies composed between the late 12th/18th and early 14th/20th centuries continue to venerate Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint, but as an Ismā‘īlī saint. The *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, in particular, builds on and elaborates many elements of the *Haft band*. I will refer to those elements in the analysis section in the next chapter.

The following is a translation of Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band*:

<i>Al-salām ay Shāh-i Nāṣir,</i> <i>mafkhār-i āl-i ‘abā!</i>	Salutations oh Shāh Nāṣir, the pride of the Family of the Cloak! ¹⁵⁵
<i>Al-salām ay Pīr-i Kuhistān,</i> <i>charāgh-i Muṣṭafā!</i>	Salutations oh Pīr of Kuhistān, the lamp of the Chosen One (the Prophet)!
<i>Al-salām ay rukn-i dīn,</i> ¹⁵⁶ <i>masnadrishīn-i jān-u dil!</i>	Salutations oh pillar of religion, the sovereign over hearts and soul!
<i>Al-salām ay nūr-i īmān,</i> <i>rahnamā-yi ashqiyā’!</i> ¹⁵⁷	Salutations oh light of faith, the guide of the poor!
<i>Al-salām ay shāh‘bāz-i lā makān,</i> <i>‘anqā-i qaddas!</i>	Salutations oh falcon of “no-place,” the holy ‘anqā!
<i>Al-salām ay quṭb-i Yumgān,</i> <i>pādashāh-i dū sarā</i>	Salutations oh Pole of Yumgān, the sovereign over both abodes!
<i>Al-salām ay rūḥ‘parvar,</i> <i>sayyid-i ‘Īsā‘nafas</i>	Salutations oh Nourisher of the Souls, the sayyid with the breath of Jesus!
<i>Al-salām ay fayz-i Mūsā,</i> <i>naqīb-i ān ‘aṣā</i>	Salutations oh Mūsā’s grace, worker of wonders who bears the staff!
<i>Al-salām ay nūr-i Aḥmad,</i> <i>al-salām ay fayz-i ḥaqq!</i>	Salutations oh light of Aḥmad (the Prophet), salutations oh bounty of the Truth!
<i>Al-salām ay āl-i Ṭāhā,</i> <i>al-salām ay pīshvā</i>	Salutations oh scion of the family of Ṭāhā, salutations oh leader!
<i>Al-salām ay ganj-i ma ‘nī-i Islām,</i> <i>al-salām ay kān-i khayr!</i>	Salutations oh treasure of the meaning of Islam, Salutations oh mine of virtue!
<i>Al-salām ay ‘ayn-i ‘irfān,</i> <i>al-salām ay mujtabā!</i>	Salutations oh essence of gnosis, salutations oh the chosen!
<i>Al-salām ay yāvar-i shar‘-i Muḥammad,</i> <i>al-salām!</i>	Salutations oh helper to the law of Muḥammad, salutations!
<i>Al-salām ay dar ṭarīqat</i> <i>ṭālibān-rā rah‘namā!</i> ¹⁵⁸	Salutations oh guide for the seekers on the path!
<i>Man bih dargāh-i sharī‘at</i> <i>jān bih rāh āvardaam</i>	I have devoted my life to the court of <i>sharī‘at</i>
<i>Sar bih farmān-i qabūl aftad</i> <i>niṣār āvardaam</i>	Should I lose my head for the accepted command, it would be my sacrifice
<i>Ay istishhād-i dū ‘alam,</i> <i>qurrat al-‘ayn-i rasūl</i>	Oh witness for religion in both worlds, solace of the Eyes of the Messenger
<i>Sarv-i</i> ¹⁵⁹ <i>bāgh-i Murtaẓā,</i>	The cypress-tree of the garden of Murtaẓā (‘Alī), ¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁴ *Muzakkir al-ashāb*, MS 610 (OITAS), f. 37. Habibov, *Az ta“rīkhi ravobit*, 120. *Ganji Badakhshon*, 147-48.

¹⁵⁵ *Āl-i ‘abā* (Arabic, *āl al-‘abā*, literally “the Family of the Cloak”) refers to the family of the Prophet, which, apart from him, includes ‘Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. On the Prophet’s family, see Shafiqe N. Virani, “Ahl al-Bayt,” in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Lindsay Jones (New York: Macmillan, 2005), 198-99.

¹⁵⁶ *Pīr-i rukn* (the *Pīr of the Pillar*) in *Dar manqabat-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, *Haft band*, MS Folder 12, 332 (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁵⁷ *Ashfiyā* (saints, the pure ones) in *Dar manqabat-i Pīr Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, *Haft band*, MS Folder 12, 332 (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁵⁸ Folder 220, f. 136b (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁵⁹ *Sirr-i* in Folder 220, f. 136b (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁶⁰ *Bāgh-i Murtaẓā* literally means “the garden of the chosen” or *Imām ‘Alī*.

ay nūr-i 'aynayn-i Baṭūl
 Mihr-i tu bar jumlah khalqān
 az 'ibādat farḡtar
 Bī valā-yi tū nabāshad
 tā 'at-i yazdān qabūl
 Az ghubār-i dargahat
 'arsh-i mu 'allā āshkār
 Z-āstān-i raf'atat
 kayvān-i lāhūtī nuzūl
 Jannat al-ma 'vā barā-yi
 šābirānat būsah-chīn
 Dushmanat-rā ḥāviyah
 payvastah zindān-i malūl
 Chūn namūdī khvāhish-i 'uzlat
 barā-yi¹⁶³ zālimān
 Kūh-i ghalṡān shud barāyat¹⁶⁴
 maskan-i bayt al-ḥuṡūl
 Mudda 'ī da 'vā-yi bī-ma 'nī
 namūd az bahr-i zar
 Khāk'rā zar kardī-yu dādī
 bih ān mard-i fuḡūl
 Zan biguftash bāz raw
 z-ān mard-i mun'im zar bikhvāh
 Khāk shud bār-i dīgar
 chūn kard az amrat 'udūl
 Z-ān kih taqdīr-i qazā
 dāyim bih tadbīr-i shumāst
 'Arsh-u kūrī bā malā'ik
 jumlah taskhīr-i shumāst
 Ay bih dargah-i sharī'at
 sālikān-rā rūy-i rāh
 Zāt-i pākat awliyā' Allāh-rā
 pusht-u panāh
 'Arifān-rā bar janābat
 iltimās-i bandagī
 'Ashiqān-rā az jabīnat
 nūr-i Aḥmad dar nigāh
 Khāk'rūb-i āstānat
 qudsiyān az rū-yi šidq
 Sham 'sūz-i majlisat 'Īsā
 Shu 'ayb-u Yaḥyā¹⁶⁵
 Lutf kunī bar dūstān
 chūn faḡl-i ḥaqq dāyim karīm¹⁶⁶
 Qahr-i tū bar dushmanān
 nār-i saqar-i dūd'siyāh
 Nīzah'dār-i raf'atat
 rūḥānīyān dar ma 'rakah
 Qaws'bardār-i jalālat

the light of Baṭūl's¹⁶¹ (Fāṭimah) eyes
 Loving you for people is more obligatory than
 the performance of the acts of worship
 Without your authority and assistance
 worshipping God is not accepted
 By the dust at your court
 the sublime Throne is manifest
 From your exalted threshold
 the high seventh heaven descends
 For your patient ones the Garden of Refuge¹⁶²
 is culling kisses
 For your enemies, there is always Hell
 like a dejected prison
 As you chose seclusion,
 because of wrongdoers
 The ghalṡān (rolling) mountain
 became the house of gain for you
 The claimant made a meaningless claim
 for the sake of gold
 You turned dust into gold and handed it
 to that impertinent man
 The wife told him to go again
 and ask from that generous man for gold
 [The gold] turned back into dust,
 as he deviated from the just affair
 As you always set in order
 the ordaining of destiny
 The Throne, the Footstool and all the angels
 are submitted to you
 The wayfarers have their face
 towards the path of your court
 Your pure essence for Friends of God
 is a protector and an asylum
 The gnostics beg to serve you
 at your threshold
 The lovers see the light of the Prophet
 on your forehead
 The saints sweep your place of rest
 with sincerity
 Jesus, Shu 'ayb and Yaḥyā
 lighten the candle on your tomb
 Your kindness to friends like the grace of the Truth
 is always bountiful
 Your anger for the enemies
 is like hellfire with black smoke
 Your exalted spearmen in the battle-field
 are angelic bodies
 Your majestic bowman

¹⁶¹ Baṭūl is a title of the Prophet's daughter and Imām 'Alī's wife Fāṭimah. This title is given to her because it is believed that Fāṭimah preserved her virginity like Mary, the mother of Jesus. Some explain that this title means "no woman comparable with her ever existed." See L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Fāṭima," *EI2*.

¹⁶² The expression *jannat al-ma 'vā* is used to refer to Paradise. See, for example Qur'ān 79:41.

¹⁶³ *Sarīr* in MS Folder 220 (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁶⁴ MS Folder 220 does not have *barāyat*

¹⁶⁵ 'Īsā Shu 'ayb-u Yaḥyā shud az Ilāh in MS Folder 220.

¹⁶⁶ *Lutf-i tū bar dūstān chūn faḡl-i ḥaqq bāshad karīm* in *Dar manqabat*.

āsmān dar razm'gāh
Az nasīm-i rūzaat
fīrdaws-i Rizvān mushkbū
Khāk-i dargāh-i sharīfat
qudsiyān-rā sajdah'gāh
Sang-i khārā az qudūmat
dar Kuhistān la 'l shud
Khvājah Hamdīn bā tū hamdam
šāfi-tī ay dīn panāh
Bar ḥarīm-i āstānat
kūr-hā bīnā shudah
V-az 'ināyāt-i 'amīmat
gung-hā gūyā shudah
Ay sitūdah gawhar-i pāk
az zabān-i Muṣṭafā
Fakhr-i jumlah awliyā 'ī
az bayān-i Murṭazā
Fāṭimah-rā nūr-i chashm-u
ham Ḥasan-rā jān-u dīl
Barguzīd az jumlah sādātash
Ḥusayn-i Muṣṭabā¹⁶⁷
'Ābid-u Bāqir tū-rā khvānand
farzand-i rashīd
Dūst az jān dārad
Ja 'far Imām-i pārsā
Mūsā-yi Kāzīm bih tū bakhshīd
tāj-i sarvarī
Takht-i 'illiyīn karam kardat
'Alī Mūsā Rizā
Bā Taqī-yū bā Naqī
hamrāh-u hamsar būdāt
'Askarī bahrat 'ināyat kard
bustān-i šafā
Vaqt-i Mahdī shud ayā
Pīr-i Kuhistān kun zuhūr
Zū-l-faqār-i Ḥaydarī
bar dast gīr aknūn barā
Anjum-u aḥlāk chūn
chashm-i Ḥusaynī intizār
Qudsiyān-i 'arsh kardah
farsh-i pāyat dīdah-hā
Ḥaydar-i šafdar bih tū
bakhshīd Duldul(-i) shahvār
Nūḥ falak-rā zīr-i pā kun
markab-i 'Īsā farār¹⁶⁸
Ay kih bar dār-i vafā-yat
kūr bīnā āmadah

is the sky in the battle-field
 With the breath of your fasting
 the paradise of Rizvān is musk-scented
 The sand of your noble court
 is a place of worship for saints
 The hard stone has become ruby
 upon your arrival
 Khvājah Hamdīn is your candid companion
 oh refuge of religion
 At your inviolable tomb,
 the blind become clear-sighted
 With your abundant favour
 the mute become able to speak
 Oh pure treasure of pearls, blessed
 by the tongue of the Chosen One (the Prophet)
 You are the pride of all saints
 as stated by the Chosen ('Alī)
 [You are] the light of Fāṭimah's eyes
 and the heart and soul of Ḥasan
 [You are the one] whom Ḥusayn, the chosen,
 preferred among all his *ṣayyids*
 'Ābid and Bāqir call you
 their faithful/courageous offspring
 Ja'far, the chaste Imām
 loves you with all [his] heart
 Mūsā Kāzīm bestowed
 the crown of sovereignty on you
 'Alī Mūsā Rizā gave you
 the very elevated throne with grace
 You were a companion and an associate
 of Taqī and Naqī
 'Askarī granted you
 with a pure garden
 The time of Mahdī has now arrived
 Oh Pīr-i Kuhistān, become manifest
 Take the *Zū-l-faqār-i Ḥaydarī* [Imām 'Alī's sword]
 and emerge now
 Like Ḥusaynī's eyes, the stars and the spheres
 await with anticipation
 The angels of heaven have made their eyes
 the carpet beneath your feet
 The Lion who marshalls the soldiers [i.e. 'Alī]
 gave you the kingly Duldul
 Subdue the nine spheres of heaven
 make the ride of Jesus descend¹⁶⁹
 O you, at whose house of sincerity
 the blind become clear-sighted

¹⁶⁷ *Barguzīdah az jumlah sādāt Ḥusayn-i Muṣṭabā* in MS Folder 220.

¹⁶⁸ *Farāz* ("mount the mount of Jesus") in MS Folder 220.

¹⁶⁹ *Markab* (Arabic, "the saddle of the horse," "a riding animal") in the sense of mount could simply refer to "the donkey of Jesus" or in the context of return as the Messiah, it could mean one of the brightest stars called Markab (also named Alpha Pegasi) in the constellation of Pegasus or the constellation of Pegasus itself, which is depicted as a winged, white horse and reminds Christians of the return of Jesus on a white horse in Revelation 19. According to the Twelver Shī'ī doctrine of the Mahdī, Jesus (who is a prominent figure of Islamic eschatology) will return with the hidden Imām. See Abdulaziz Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of Mahdi in Twelver Shī'ism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1981), 171.

Az kalām-i jān'fīzāyat
gung guyā āmadah
Lang-u shal bar rawzaat
bā dast-u pā-hā āmadah
Bar umīd-i marhamat
Khizr-u Masīhā āmadah
Bā dil-i biryān Husaynī
ay shah-i 'ālī'janāb
Ashk'rīzān tā bad-tn jā
vašl'jūyā āmadah
Jazbah-i mihr-i tū āvardash
va-garnah raftah būd
Tūfī-i ṭab'ash zi mar'āt-i
tū gūyā āmadah
Garchih Kāshī būd
maddāh-i Amīr al-mu`minīn
Dar sanā-yi tu Husaynī
mast-u shaydā āmadah
Bā dil-i pur'dard-u chashm-i
khūn'chakān-u jān'rīsh
Bar umīd-i dārū-yi vašl-i
tū shaydā āmadah
Chashm-i ān dāram kih sāzī
yak nazār bar jān-i rīsh
Dūstī-i chārdāh ma'šūm-u
ḥaqq-i jadd-i khvīsh
Dard'mand-i bīqarāram
Nāšir-i Khusraw madad
Rang-i zard-u ḥal-i zāram
Nāšir-i Khusraw madad
Ashk-i khūnīn(-i) lakhtah'dīl
dar ishtiyāq-i rūy-i tū
Har zamān az dīdah bāram
Nāšir-i Khusraw madad
Arzah'kun dar ārzū-yi
vašl-i rūh'afzā-yi tū
Āmadah dar intizāram
Nāšir-i Khusraw madad
Bar dar-i dawlat'sarāyat
bā dil-i pur'dard-i khvīsh
Bī'navā-yu khāksāram
Nāšir-i Khusraw madad
Āmadam bī kas, nadāram
hīch chīzī dar baghal
Dast-i khālī chūn chanāram
Nāšir-i Khusraw madad
Dāyimā dar būstān-i
jannāt al-ma'vā-yi tū
Sūz-i bulbul šad hazāram
Nāšir-i Khusraw madad
Nīstam chūn shā'irān-i
bī'hūdah-gū az bahr-i zar
Man Husaynī jān sipāram

With your soul-refreshing word
 the mute become able to speak
 The lame and those with paralytic hands
 become able-bodied at your tomb¹⁷⁰
 Khizr and the Messiah [Christ] have come
 with hope for favours
 Oh exalted King,
 Husaynī with a burning heart
 Has come here, shedding tears
 seeking union/meeting with you
 It is strong love for you that brought him [here]
 otherwise he had been away
 Seeing your mirror/countenance,
 the parrot of his [poetic] nature began to speak
 While Kāshī was
 the encomiast of the prince of believers ['Alī]
 Husaynī has (be)come
 intoxicated and insanely in love with your praise
 With heart full of pain, eyes shedding tears of blood
 and with wounded soul
 [He] has (be)come lovelorn,
 with hope for the antidote of union with you
 My hope is you would
 cast a glance on [my] wounded soul
 With love for the twelve infallible ones
 and the right of your ancestor
 I am in pain and restless
 [May] Nāšir-i Khusraw help me
 I am pale-faced (shameful) and in state of despair
 [May] Nāšir-i Khusraw help me
 From the heart, torn into pieces
 by longing to see your face
 I shed bloody tears all the time
 [May] Nāšir-i Khusraw help me
 With desire and hope
 for your soul-nourishing union
 I have come and I wait anxiously
 [May] Nāšir-i Khusraw help me
 At the door of your palace
 with my heart full of pain
 I am a base beggar
 [May] Nāšir-i Khusraw help me
 I have come alone, friendless
 I have come empty-handed
 I am empty handed like a plane tree
 [May] Nāšir-i Khusraw help me
 In the rose-bed of your Garden of Refuge always
 The ardour of my nightingale is
 One hundred thousand times [more]
 [May] Nāšir-i Khusraw help me
 I am not like the absurd poets
 who sing for the sake of gold
 I, Husaynī, give my life

¹⁷⁰ Another possible reading of this line would be “The lame and those who can take nothing in their hands come to your tomb on their feet and hands.” I chose the above reading, because the poet refers to marvels taking place at the shrine of Nāšir-i Khusraw.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw madad
Chūn tū maqṣūdī manī
bar dargahat aftādah-am
Bastah-i mihr-i tū-yam
az har dū kawṇ āzādah-am

Tā bih kunj-i ghār nishastī
ayā 'ālī'maqām
Az qudūmat gūshah-i Yumgān
shudast Bayt al-ḥarām
Āb'shārash Salsabīl-i jannat-u
har shākh'sār
Ṣidrah-yu Ṭūbā darāmad
dar naẓar har ṣubḥ-u shām
Āb rashk-i Zamzam-u
har sang-i khārā rashk-i la 'l
Tā tū ay Pīr-i Kuhistān
kardayī ān jā maqām
Zih ghubār-i dargahat
Riẓvān barā-yi ḥūriyān
Ṭūṭiyā-yi chashm sāzad
gar biyābad bardavām
Nāṣir-i Khusraw tū-rā
khvāndī karīm-i lā yazāl
Ism-i pākat vird-i jān[ast]
qudsiyān-rā bardavām
Man chih dānam qadr-i 'ālī'manzilat
ammā tū khūd
Az zabān-i khūd bayān mī'sāz
ay Sayyid-i kalām
Miṣl-i tū Mahdī hargiz¹⁷¹
nabīnad chashm-i dīl
Shīvah-i ikhlāṣ-i mā īn
ast rawshan va-salām

Dūstān-i Ḥaẓratat-rā
bar dar-i khuld'barīn
Khāliq al-arḻ-u samā
gūyad kih "dar jannāt nishīn"

[May] Nāṣir-i Khusraw help me
I have come to your court
for you are the one I seek
I am bound by your love
I am free from both realms

You took place in the corner of the cave
Oh [you] of exalted state
Upon your arrival, the corner of Yumgān
has turned into the Sacred House
Its water is the Salsabīl of paradise
and its every tree
Appears to sight every morning and evening
as the Lote Tree and the Ṭūbā
The water has the pride of Zamzam
and every hard stone has the pride of ruby
Since you, oh Pīr of Kuhistān,
have settled in that place
From the dust of your court
Riẓvān makes collyrium
For the houris' eyes
As long as he finds it there
The Eternal and the Benevolent
called you Nāṣir-i Khusraw
Your pure name is always
a litany in angels/saints' hearts
What do I know of the value of your high status
But you yourself
Speak of it with your own tongue
Oh Master of Word
The eye of the heart
never sees Mahdī like you
This is the way of our fidelity
that is clear, peace [be upon you]

To the friends of your majesty
at the door of the sublime paradise
The Creator of the earth and heavens will say
"Stay in paradise"

It is clear that Ḥusaynī regards Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a great saint whose followers will attain paradise. Many elements that appear in later hagiographical narratives about Nāṣir-i Khusraw already emerge in the *Haft band*. Ḥusaynī's poem, like the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, traces Nāṣir-i Khusraw's ancestry to the Prophet Muḥammad. It refers to him as the "scion of the family of Ṭāhā" (*āl-i Ṭāhā*). Ṭāhā or Ṭā and hā are the names of two Arabic letters (ط and ه), which make the first verse of the Chapter (*sūrah*) 20 of the Qur'ān; hence, the entire chapter is known as Ṭāhā. Twenty-nine chapters of the Qur'ān begin with a mysterious combination of letters, which do not have any specific meaning by themselves. However, Ṭāhā is understood to be the name of the Prophet Muḥammad, as the Chapter

¹⁷¹ *Miṣl-i Mahdī-yi 'ālam* ("The Mahdī of the world like you") in *Dar manqabat*.

begins, “Ṭāhā – did We not send down the Qur’ān upon you?”¹⁷² In the *Haft band*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is a *sayyid* from the family of Imām Ḥusayn and other Imāms call him their “faithful offspring.” The *Haft band*, like the later hagiographical narratives, also refers to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s choice to live in the cave of Yumgān.

The *Haft band*’s portrayal of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, however, goes beyond that of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. It refers to him as the light of the Prophet (*nūr-i Aḥmad*). In addition, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is presented as the treasure of the meaning of Islam. Worshiping God without recognizing him is meaningless. According to it, loving Nāṣir-i Khusraw is more compulsory for the faithful than performing acts of worship. Nāṣir-i Khusraw is the “pillar of religion” (or the pillar *pīr*, in the other hagiographical texts), the pole (*qutb*), whose breath (*nafas*) is similar to the breath of Jesus. *Nafas-i ‘Īsā* or *dam-i ‘Īsā* (the breath of Jesus) is an expression that Muslims use for the power that can bring the dead to life. Through this power, manifested at his shrine, the blind become clear-sighted, the mute gain the ability to speak, the lame and the paralytic regain their health. All of these saintly characteristics are of central importance in the middle hagiographies.

To further glorify Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint, the *Haft band* refers to him as the head of angels and other saints. He is the protector of the “friends of God” and the angelic bodies are his “spearmen.” With his blessed arrival in Badakhshān, Yumgān became “the Sacred House” (*Bayt al-ḥarām*). *Bayt al-ḥarām* is an epithet of the Ka’bah mentioned in the Qur’ān. Sometimes, this term refers to the entire area of al-Masjid al-Ḥarām or the sacred sanctuary, which contains the Ka’bah and its surroundings.¹⁷³ Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s presence in Yumgān has turned its water to Salsabīl (a term that also appears in the Quran and is considered to be the name of a fountain in paradise) and its trees to the Lote Tree and Ṭūbā (*Ṣidrah-yu Ṭūbā*) (also Qur’ānic terms believed to be trees in paradise).¹⁷⁴ The waters of Yumgān acquire the pride of Zamzam, the sacred well in Mecca that is situated to the east of the Ka’bah.¹⁷⁵ Riḏwān, the guardian of Paradise, makes collyrium for houris’ eyes from the dust at the tomb of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹⁷⁶ Finally, Ḥusaynī refers to Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the holy ‘*anqā*, a mythical bird, an equivalent to the phoenix that symbolizes a guide to God.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

¹⁷³ See *The Qur’ān: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Oliver Leaman (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 336-37.

¹⁷⁴ The word *salsabīl* is mentioned in Qur’ān 76:18. *Sidrah* or *Sidrat al-Muntahā* (the Lote Tree on the boundary) is mentioned in Qur’ān 53:14. According to some Islamic exegetes, the rivers of Paradise flow from under it. According to others, this tree is composed of the “light of Muḥammad.” See A. Rippin, “Sidrat al-Muntahā,” *EI2*. Muslims believe that the Ṭūbā is a tree in paradise. The term Ṭūbā appears in Qur’ān 13:29, but not in the sense of a tree. It is mentioned in the context of a good state or blessedness.

¹⁷⁵ On it, see Jacqueline Chabbi, “Zamzam,” *EI2*.

¹⁷⁶ The term occurs in Qur’ān 3:15 in the sense of “God’s favour,” which believers will meet in the hereafter. See W. Raven, “Riḏwān,” *EI2*.

¹⁷⁷ It also symbolizes the spirit blown into bodies, the Ultimate and One Substance. See Aida Shahlar Gasimova, “Eyebrows,” in *Islamic Images and Ideas: Essays on Sacred Symbolism*, ed. John A. Morrow (North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2014), 178. Among the Shumayṭiyya Shī’ī group, the ‘*anqā* is among the attributes of the Hidden Imām. Ch. Pellat, “‘Ankā’,” *EI2*.

It is important to identify the most significant distinction between the *Haft band*, on the one hand, and the *Risālat al-nadāmah* as well as the middle hagiographical narratives, on the other. It is the association of Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms and the fact that he is referred to as the Mahdī. The issue is, whether, in using the name Mahdī (the rightly guided one) to refer to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the *Haft band* simply presents him as the restorer of religion and justice, who, according to a widely held Muslim belief, will rule before the end of the world, or whether it associates him with the hidden Twelver Shī'ī Imām al-Mahdī.¹⁷⁸ Evidence in the *Haft band* suggests that the latter is the case. First, the *Haft band* mentions the names of the first eleven of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms (including Ḥasan who is not considered to be a permanent Imām in Ismā'īlī Shī'ism), with the exception of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, whom Twelver Shī'īs consider as the Mahdī after the death of the eleventh, al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-'Askarī in 260/874. In the *Haft band*, Ḥusaynī tells Nāṣir-i Khusraw to rise with *Zū-l-faqār* and claims that the time for the appearance of Mahdī had arrived. According to Twelver Shī'ī tradition, *Zū-l-faqār*, Imām 'Alī's famous sword is currently in the possession of the hidden Imām who is expected to rise with it to restore justice in the world.¹⁷⁹

Considering the Twelver Shī'ī elements in the *Haft band*, was Ḥusaynī a Twelver Shī'ī and did he present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as such? Not necessarily. Belief in the *mahdīship* of the Twelfth Imām is not limited to Twelver Shī'ism. A Ṣūfī like Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066) noted that some Ṣūfīs agreed with the Twelver doctrine about the identity of the Mahdī, and the Persian Ṣūfī Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥammūyī (late 7th/13th century) supported the Twelver Shī'ī doctrine regarding the Mahdī.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, the Egyptian Ṣūfī 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565) affirmed in his *al-Yawāqūt wa al-jawāhir (Rubies and Gems)*, written in 958/1551, that the Mahdī was the son of Imām Ḥasan 'Alī al-'Askarī,¹⁸¹ but he was not a Twelver Shī'ī. Also, for Ḥasan al-'Idwī al-Ḥamzāwī (d. 1303/1885), the Sunnī author of the *Mashāriq al-anwār (The Place Where the Lights Rise)*, published in 1275/1858-9, the Mahdī was merely a descendant of the eleventh Imām, and not the Twelfth Shī'ī Imām himself.¹⁸² In the case of al-'Idwī, this descendant of the eleventh Imām could be a Sunnī Mahdī. The *Haft band*, however, neither indicates that Nāṣir-i Khusraw is a descendant of the eleventh Imām nor shows that he could be a Sunnī Mahdī. In fact, in this work, Nāṣir-i Khusraw arrives after the eleventh Imām, which makes him a Shī'ī Mahdī. But the very idea that the Mahdī after the eleventh Imām in the *Haft band* is Nāṣir-i Khusraw and not the last of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms would contradict the main teachings of the Twelver Shī'īs. For the Twelver Shī'īs (as well as

¹⁷⁸ For the concept of the Mahdī in Islamic tradition in general, see S. M. Ḥasan, *Al-Mahdiyya fī al-Islām* (Cairo: n.p., 1954). For a concise history of the belief in Mahdī, see W. Madelung, "al-Mahdī," *EI2*.

¹⁷⁹ See Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *The Spirituality of Shī'ī Islam: Belief and Practices* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 406. Etan Kohlberg, *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism* (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Varorium, 1991), 349. As Mittwoch writes, "The expression *dhu-l-faqār* is explained by the presence of notches (*fuqra*) or grooves on this sword." See E. Mittwoch, "Dhu'l-Faqār," *EI2*.

¹⁸⁰ W. Madelung, "al-Mahdī," *EI2*.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, *EI2*.

some Sunnīs) the name of the Mahdī had to be identical with the name of the Prophet Muḥammad. The form of belief in Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the Mahdī is peculiar to Badakhshān and, most likely, belongs to the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī tradition, which, as observed before, includes reverence for the Imāms of Twelver Shī‘ism. Given that the Ismā‘īlī (both Qāsim Shāhī and Muḥammad Shāhī) Imāms in Iran and India practiced pious circumspection under the cloak of Twelver Shī‘ism for a long time, it is not hard to imagine that the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān also followed suit and incorporated Twelver Shī‘ī elements into their tradition, while adhering to the line of Ismā‘īlī Imāms.

The *Haft band* focuses entirely on Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his spiritual authority and holiness. The Prophet praised him, the saints took pride in him, Imām Ḥusayn preferred him to others among his descendants, Imām Bāqir and Zayn al-‘Ābidīn called him their faithful offspring, Mūsá Kāzīm gave him the crown of sovereignty, Imām ‘Alī gave him his legendary mule Duldul and so on.¹⁸³ Emphasis on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s spiritual authority and holiness is also one of the key elements of the middle hagiographies. In the *Haft band*, the focus is on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s resting place or tomb (*dargāh, āstān*), its sacredness and the miracles taking place there. Yumgān is given special significance by virtue of being the resting place of the saint. Later hagiographers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw focus on his personality and wondrous deeds, rather than on his tomb and the miracles taking place at the site. They also look beyond Yumgān, connecting Nāṣir-i Khusraw with numerous places in Badakhshān. Apart from focusing on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s authority and holiness, they connect his authority and holiness with their ancestors. These changes, as I will demonstrate in the next chapter, are tied to authorial motives in a new socio-political environment. There is only one reference in the *Haft band* to Nāṣir-i Khusraw performing a wondrous deed while alive. It concerns a “claimant” (*mudda‘ī*) to whom Nāṣir-i Khusraw gives gold and whose wife tells him to ask Nāṣir-i Khusraw for more. The *Haft band* suggests that Nāṣir-i Khusraw performed a wondrous deed by turning dust to gold and then, after the greedy couple asked for more, turning it back to dust. This story, therefore, was known at the time the *Haft band* was composed. This element also appears in the middle hagiographies (e.g. the *Sayāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*). While the *Haft band* reflects Ḥusaynī’s belief regarding Nāṣir-i Khusraw, it helps us to draw one important conclusion: unlike the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the *Haft band* portrays Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Shī‘ī saint in unambiguous terms.

The aforementioned Khalīfah Farrukhrūz showed me another poem titled *Dar manqabat-i Sayyid Nāṣir, az Mahjūr bih tarz-i Kāshī* (*On the Virtues of Sayyid Nāṣir by Mahjūr in Kāshī’s Style*). According to the title, a poet named Mahjūr composed this poem. Khalīfah Farrukhrūz confirmed this and mentioned that Mahjūr composed this poem a decade or fifteen years (*dah ponzdah sol*) after

¹⁸² Ibid., *EI2*.

¹⁸³ Duldul is the name of the Prophet’s grey mule. According to the Shī‘ī tradition, Imām ‘Alī rode Duldul at battles. See Cl. Huart and Ch. Pellat, "Duldul," *EI2*. In Badakhshān, ‘Alī is referred to as *shah-i duldul'savār* (“the king riding Duldul”) or

Ḥusaynī, whom he follows in praising Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Khalīfah Farrukhrūz indicated that he had a collection of poetry that contained Mahjūr’s poems, but a neighbour borrowed it in the 1970s and never returned it to him. At the moment, we do not know much about Mahjūr and when he lived. It seems that Badakhshānī poets regarded Nāṣir-i Khusraw as Mahdī during this period (i.e. between the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century). We do not come across this attitude to Nāṣir-i Khusraw in poems composed before or after this period (e.g. Shāh Ziyāyī and Nazmī’s poems make no mention of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in these terms). Judging by the poet’s faith in Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the mention of Yumgān, it is obvious that Mahjūr was from Badakhshān as well, most likely, from Yumgān. I found the same poem in a digitized manuscript in the archives of KhRU-IIS (MS Folder 21), but unfortunately this copy does not provide any information about the poet. Unlike Khalīfah Farrukhrūz’s copy, MS Folder 21 does not have a title and does not attribute it to Mahjūr. However, just like Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band*, dedicated to Nāṣir-i Khusraw is followed MS Folder 12 by his *Haft band*, dedicated to Imām ‘Alī, *Dar manqabat-i Sayyid Nāṣir* is also followed by poems in praise of Imām ‘Alī in MS Folder 21.¹⁸⁴ Like Ḥusaynī, this poet pays tribute to Kāshī and states that he is “Kāshī’s slave” (*bandah-i Kāshī*). The fact that the poems are by the same author is unmistakable, as they use the same expressions (e.g. *panj ḥusn* – “five beauties”, *kamīnah* – “this base one”, *mīr* – “prince”, *shāhā* – “oh king”, *gūsh-i dil* – “the inner ear”, etc.) in the verses about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, and mention the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms. Unlike the poem about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the second poem mentions the word *mahjūr* (literally, “an inhibited slave”) towards the end, but it does not seem to be a pen name (*mahjūr-u dilfigār-i ghurbat gadā shudam* – “I have become an inhibited slave, mournful and beggarly in exile”). However, it is possible that, in this case, the poet used his pen name in its literal sense.

Fortunately, Nazmī (d. after 1206/1792) mentions Mahjūr in his *qaṣīdahs* and indicates that he was one of the most admirable poets who praised (*ṣanā’gar*) Imām ‘Alī. In one of his poems (composed between 1194/1780 and 1206/1792), Nazmī lists the names of the poets who praised Imām ‘Alī (e.g. Ḥasan-i Kāshī, Afshangī, Nasīmī, Shāh Ziyāyī and others) and mentions “the late Mahjūr” (*Mahjūr-i marḥūm*).¹⁸⁵ In another *qaṣīdah*, however, Nazmī says that Mahjūr had read and praised his poems (*chūn ḥadīṣam-rā bikhvāndī lutf-hā kardī bih man*).¹⁸⁶ This indicates that Mahjūr had already passed away before the last quarter of the 18th century, but was certainly alive during the previous quarters of the century. We can therefore tentatively place him in the first half of the 12th/18th

rākib-i Duldul (“the rider of Duldul”). See for example *Zurya'nāmah bih tarīq-i nazm (Poetic Genealogy of Imāms)*, MS Folder 10 (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁸⁴ This poem begins with *Ān-rā kih lutf-i Ḥazrat-i pīr chūn (bī'chūn?) hidāyat ast* (“Those for whom the kindness of ‘Alī is guidance.”) MS Folder 21 (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁸⁵ This portion of the poem is quoted in Ḥabibov, *Ganji Badakhshon*, 184.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 185.

century.¹⁸⁷ Khalīfah Farrukhrūz’s estimation that Mahjūr composed the poem a decade or fifteen years (*dah ponzdah sol*) after Ḥusaynī’s poem (composed in 1117/1705) is, most probably, correct. Below is a translation of the poem by or attributed to Mahjūr:

<i>Al-salām ay hujjat al-ḥaqq</i> <i>Shāh Nāṣir, al-salām</i>	Salutations oh proof of the truth Shāh Nāṣir, salutations
<i>Al-salām ay rahbarī</i> <i>dar dīn-u dunyā(-i) tamām</i>	Salutations oh absolute leader in religion and realm
<i>Al-salām ay āstānat Ka ‘bah-i</i> <i>har khvāṣ-u ‘āmm</i>	Salutations oh [you], whose shrine is the Ka ‘bah of the elite and the masses
<i>Gashtah īn nām-i sharīfat</i> <i>vird-i man har ṣubh-u shām</i>	Your noble name has become my litany every morning and night
<i>Dar hayāt-u dar mamāt</i> <i>īn ism mā khvānīm mudām</i>	In life and in death we always utter this name
<i>Al-salām ay hujjat al-ḥaqq</i> <i>Shāh Nāṣir, al-salām</i>	Salutations oh proof of the truth Shāh Nāṣir, salutations
<i>Chashm-i mā-rā nūr bakhshā</i> <i>bar kalāmat yā Imām</i>	Give light to our eyes with your word, oh Imām
<i>Qalb-i mā-rā fayḻ bakhshā</i> <i>bā luṭf-u jūd-i īn kalām</i>	Grace our hearts with the favours and blessings of this word
<i>Nāṭiqam gūyā kun az</i> <i>faḻl-u ‘atāyat yā Imām</i>	Make me able to speak with your grace and favour, oh Imām
<i>Al-salām ay hujjat al-ḥaqq</i> <i>Shāh Nāṣir, al-salām</i>	Salutations oh proof of the truth Shāh Nāṣir, salutations
<i>Panj ḥusn-i dīgarī tā hast</i> <i>mā-rā dar vujūd</i>	As long as five other beauties ¹⁸⁸ are in our being
<i>Dāyimā hastand har yak</i> <i>dar qiyām-u dar qu ‘ūd</i>	Everyone is always standing and sitting ¹⁸⁹
<i>Kay khayāl-u fahm-u fikr-u</i> <i>ḥifḻ-i man kardah shuhūd</i>	When have my imagination, knowledge, thinking and memory witnessed
<i>Bar ḥarīm-i dargahat rūḥ al-quḍus</i> <i>kardah sujūd</i>	The Holy Spirit prostrates before your inviolable court
<i>Hāṭift dar gūsh-i jānam</i> <i>guft īn ma ‘nī kih būd</i>	A voice from heaven said this meaning into my inner ear
<i>Al-salām ay hujjat al-ḥaqq</i> <i>Shāh Nāṣir, al-salām</i>	Salutations oh proof of the truth Shāh Nāṣir, salutations
<i>Man kiyam tā vaṣf-i zātat-rā</i> <i>biyāram dar kalām</i>	Who am I to put praise of your essence into words?
<i>Z-ān kih ism-i ḥaqq bih nām-i tū</i> <i>shud qāyim maqām</i>	As the name of the Truth has become established through your name ¹⁹⁰
<i>Nāṣir-i ḥaqqī-yu n-āyad vaṣf-i Nāṣir</i> <i>ham bih nām</i>	You are the deliverer of Truth and the qualities of Nāṣir cannot be contained in name ¹⁹¹
<i>Kūh-i khārā ham bih istiqbālat āmad</i> <i>yā Imām</i>	The hard mountain also came forth to greet you, oh Imām

¹⁸⁷ The Badakhshānī poet Sayyid ‘Alī Khvājah ibn Ḥamīd Khvājah from Darvāz also wrote under the pen name of Mahjūr. However, he cannot be our Mahjūr for two reasons. First, unlike the author of the *Dar maṅqabat-i Sayyid Nāṣir*, Sayyid Khvājah was a Sunnī. Second, Sayyid Khvājah flourished much later in the second half of the 19th century and died in 1326/1908. On him, see Amirbek Ḥabibov, *Ganji pareshon* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1984), 31-42. See also Badakhshī, *Armughān-i Badakhshān*, 131-32.

¹⁸⁸ The poet refers to five times of prayer here.

¹⁸⁹ *Qiyām-u dar qu ‘ūd* (literally, “standing and sitting”) are postures in prayer.

¹⁹⁰ This verse, like some others in the poem, is difficult to translate. It could mean “your name stands in the place of the true name/the name of the Truth.”

¹⁹¹ The poet likely plays with the name “Nāṣir,” as it means “defender,” “supporter,” “ally” and “giver of victory (God).” *Nāṣir-i ḥaqq* could mean “the defender of the Truth.”

Khādimān-i bār'gāhat-rā
kamīnah shud ghulām
Al-salām ay hujjat al-ḥaqq
Shāh Nāṣir, al-salām

Al-salām ay zāt-i pākāt
durr-u durj-i azharī
Al-salām ay mihr-i rūyāt
mihr-i māh-i anvarī
Al-salām ay shāh-i man
bālā'nishīn-i ḥaydarī
Al-salām ay mīr-i man
'ilm-i Muḥammad-rā darī
Al-salām nūr-i chashm-i ādam-u
dīv-u parī
Al-salām ay hujjat al-ḥaqq
Shāh Nāṣir, al-salām

Mulk-i Yumgān ham kharābī yāft
ay 'ālī'maqām
Yak dam ay shāh pā zi khilvat'gāh-i khūd
bīrūn khirām
Duldul-i gardūn'khirāmāt
bāz āvardat maqām
Bar umīd-i ān kih shāhā
bar'nishīnī dar maqām
Tīgh-i burrān paykar-i jān'sūz
barkash az niyām
Al-salām ay hujjat al-ḥaqq
Shāh Nāṣir, al-salām

Bāz āmad 'Isā-i Maryam
zi charkh-i chārumīn
Khing-i Ishāq-i nabī-rā
āvarī ay shāh-i dīn
Bar dar-i dawlat'sarāyat
ū hamī bālad chīn
Z-ān kih dar ḥaqq-i tū
āmadah Ṭahā'-yu Yā'sīn
Vaqt-i Mahdī ham rasīdah
yā Imām-i rāsīn
Al-salām ay hujjat al-ḥaqq
Shāh Nāṣir, al-salām

Aṣl-i mawjūdāt-i 'ālam
naṣf-i khayr al-mursalīn
Az rah-i luṭf-u karam shāhā
bih sūy-i mā bubīn
Al-salām ay sarvar-i shāhān
tū-yi dar rāh-i dīn
Dar dū 'ālam ghayr-i tū nabūdah
shafī' al-muznībīn
Al-salām ay hujjat al-ḥaqq
Shāh Nāṣir, al-salām

Ham bih ḥaqq-i Muṣṭafā

This base one has become a slave
 to the servants at your palace
 Salutations oh proof of the truth Shāh Nāṣir,
 salutations

Salutations oh [you], whose pure essence is
 a casket filled with bright gems
 Salutations oh [you] whose kindness
 is like the kindness of the resplendent moon¹⁹²
 Salutations oh my king of the exalted place
 belonging to the Lion ['Alī]
 Salutations oh my prince who unveiled
 Muḥammad's knowledge
 Salutations oh the light of the eyes of
 people, spirits and fairies
 Salutations oh proof of the truth Shāh Nāṣir,
 salutations

The land of Yumgān is in ruin
 oh [you] of the highest station
 Come out of your place of seclusion
 gracefully for a moment
 Your majestic Duldul
 has come to your place again
 With the hope that [you] o King
 would sit on your seat again
 Draw the sharp and soul-inflaming sword
 from the sheath
 Salutations oh proof of the truth Shāh Nāṣir,
 salutations

Jesus [son of] Mary has come
 from the fourth sphere
 Bring the gray horse of the Prophet Isaac,
 oh Sovereign of religion
 At the door of your blessed palace
 it raises its neck like this
 As Ṭahā' and Yā'sīn¹⁹³ have come
 for your sake
 The time of Mahdī has arrived,
 o rightful Imām
 Salutations oh proof of the truth Shāh Nāṣir,
 salutations

The source of all the beings in the world
 the soul of the best of the apostles
 Look at us, oh King, with your
 kindness and benevolence
 Salutations oh you who is the leader of
 kings in religion
 There is no intercessor for sinners
 beside you in both worlds
 Salutations oh proof of the truth Shāh Nāṣir,
 salutations

Also by the right of the Chosen One the king of

¹⁹² It could also be translated as “oh you whose benevolence is like that of the resplendent sun and the moon,” if we read it as *mihr-u māh* instead of *mihr-i māh*. Also, there could be a reference to the poet Anvarī, who is known as *mihr-i khāvarān*.

¹⁹³ Ṭahā' and Yā'sīn are the so-called “mysterious letters” in the Qur'ān. Chapter 20 in the Qur'ān starts with Ṭahā' and Chapter 36 of the Qur'ān begins with Yā'sīn. The Chapters are called after these letters.

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>shāhan'shāh-i rūz-i jazā</i></p> <p><i>Ham bih ḥaqq-i mūr-i dīn Murtaẓā</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>ẓāhir'kun-i arz-u samā</i></p> <p><i>Ham bih ḥaqq-i Bū-l-Ḥasan</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>ān durr-i durj-i lā fatā</i></p> <p><i>Ham bih ḥaqq-i mūr-i dīn</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>shāham Ḥusayn-i Karbalā</i></p> <p><i>Shāh Zayn al- 'Ābidīn</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>ān šāhib-i tāj-i livā'</i></p> <p><i>Al-salām ay hujjat al-ḥaqq</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Shāh Nāṣir, al-salām</i></p> <p><i>Ham bih ḥaqq-i Bāqir-u Šādiq</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Taqī-yu ham Naqī-i bā'safā</i></p> <p><i>Ham bih ḥaqq-i Mūsā-yi Kāẓim-u</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>'Alī-yi Murtaẓā</i></p> <p><i>Ham bih al-tāf-i Taqī-yu</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>ham Naqī-i rah'namā</i></p> <p><i>Ham bih ḥaqq-i 'Askarī</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Mahdī Imām-i dū sarā</i></p> <p><i>Al-salām ay hujjat al-ḥaqq</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Shāh Nāṣir, al-salām</i>¹⁹⁷</p>	<p>kings on the day of recompense</p> <p>Also by the right of the prince of religion 'Alī who manifests the earth and the heaven</p> <p>Also by the right of Bū-l-Ḥasan ('Alī)¹⁹⁴ that casket of gems of “there is no hero”¹⁹⁵</p> <p>Also by the right of the prince of religion my king Ḥusayn of Karbalā</p> <p>King Zayn al- 'Ābidīn</p> <p>possessor of crown of dignity</p> <p>Salutations oh proof of the truth Shāh Nāṣir salutations</p> <p>Also by the right of Bāqir and Šādiq</p> <p>Taqī and pure Naqī</p> <p>Also by the right of Mūsā Kāẓim</p> <p>'Alī-i Murtaẓā¹⁹⁶</p> <p>Also by the right of favours of Taqī and Naqī, the guide</p> <p>Also by the right of 'Askarī</p> <p>the Mahdī of both realms</p> <p>Salutations oh proof of the truth Shāh Nāṣir salutations</p>
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Overall, the poem reflects the views expressed in Ḥusaynī's poem, although the poet, clearly, of lesser genius than Ḥusaynī. Evidently, unlike Ḥusaynī's *Haft band*, he sacrifices the substance of the poem for the sake of its form (e.g. meter, rhyme, and other features). After Imām 'Alī, he writes Bū-l-Ḥasan (“the Father of Ḥasan,” a common named used for Imām 'Alī) rather than Ḥasan (the son of 'Alī) and mentions the names of Taqī and Naqī twice. Nevertheless, it is clear that this poet also attaches great significance to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who is referred to as “Imām” and “Mahdī.” Like Ḥusaynī, the poet makes reference to the arrival of the time of Mahdī, Duldul and the sword, and pleads to Nāṣir-i Khusraw to come out of his place of seclusion, because of corruption (*kharābī*) in Yumgān. Also like Ḥusaynī, this poet associates Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the Twelver Imāms in a peculiar way described above.

Conclusion

The Ismā'īlīs lived in a hostile milieu in Badakhshān, especially after the 9th/15th century. In such adverse circumstances, it is quite possible that they practiced pious circumspection. To survive, they had to present Nāṣir-i Khusraw and, through him, themselves as acceptable Muslims to others, including Sunnīs, Šūfīs or even Twelver Shī'īs, all of whom were tolerated by the rulers in the 10th/16th century in Badakhshān. As the earliest version of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* emerged in the 10th/16th century, there is high possibility that the original work was composed in the same century, because it is not mentioned by anyone prior to this period. Considering the adverse situation of the Ismā'īlīs in

¹⁹⁴ Bū-l-Ḥasan means “the Father of Ḥasan,” i.e. Imām 'Alī.

¹⁹⁵ *Lā fatā* (Arabic, “there is no youth” or “there is no hero”) is the beginning of a Shī'ī declaration regarding Imām 'Alī. The declaration is “There is no hero like 'Alī, there is no sword like *ẓu-l-faqār* (i.e. the sword of 'Alī).”

¹⁹⁶ The poet likely means 'Alī Rizā in this verse.

Badakhshān, it is likely that they composed the original *Risālat al-nadāmah*. As they, along with their *pīr*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, were labeled “heretics,” they attempted to distance him and themselves from “heresy” and kept their Shī‘ī elements in *Risālat al-nadāmah*. The *Risālat al-nadāmah* presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Muslim beyond factions, but attached in an interesting way to the followers of the Prophet’s family or the Shī‘īs. As we shall see in the next chapter, their presentation of *malāḥidah* is that of an unbeliever that has nothing to do with Islam or with their faith, Ismā‘īlism. The *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* that comes from Badakhshān is the only text that uses the word *kāfir* in relation to the *malāḥidah*; hence, emphasizing the idea more strongly.¹⁹⁸

As we saw in Chapter Two, the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān were known as Shī‘ah and observers have noted that they “passed themselves off as [Twelver] Shīahs.”¹⁹⁹ The Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs had a close association with Twelver Shī‘ism and may have also practiced *taqiyyah* under its cloak. Hence, considering the prominent Shī‘ī elements in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the fact that the Ismā‘īlīs were known as Shī‘īs and the possibility that they may have practiced pious circumspection under Twelver Shī‘ism in the 10th/16th century when the *Risālat al-nadāmah* was most likely composed, we can conclude that the Shī‘ī authors of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* were none other than the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. This is also supported by the fact that, while we hear about the presence of Ismā‘īlīs in Badakhshān during this period, sources available to us say nothing about Twelver Shī‘ism in the region. The hagiographical tradition presented in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* remains an important part of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī tradition to this day, though it seems not to have survived among the Sunnīs or the Twelver Shī‘īs in Badakhshān.

In this chapter, I have attempted to demonstrate that the view of scholars who consider the *Risālat al-nadāmah* to be a by-product of the “sunnification” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw needs to be questioned. This view cannot explain the presence of many prominent Shī‘ī elements in this work. It seems implausible that the Ismā‘īlīs adopted elements from Sunnī sources for their hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The socio-political conditions in which the Ismā‘īlīs lived made them present Nāṣir-i Khusraw in a manner more acceptable to the ruling Sunnīs, while retaining their Shī‘ī allegiance in it.²⁰⁰ If we accept the argument that the *Risālat al-nadāmah* was composed by the Ismā‘īlīs of

¹⁹⁷ *Dar manqabat-i Sayyid Nāṣir, az Mahjūr bih tarz-i Kāshī*, PC, Farrukhrūz, Sūchān, Shughnān.

¹⁹⁸ See for example *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 10a, 10b, 12a, 12b.

¹⁹⁹ Biddulph, *Tribes*, 119. Wood, *A Journey*, 192, 206, 44, 49. Yule, “Papers connected with the Upper Oxus Regions,” 472. Wood, *A Journey*, 112, 41. Bobrinskiō, “Sakta Ismailīa,” 1. Mu‘izzī, *Ismā‘īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 191-93. Ivan Zarubin who visited Badakhshān in 1917 wrote that very few Ismā‘īlīs (in Rūshān) call themselves Ismā‘īlīs, but the majority simply consider themselves as Muslims (*musulmon*). Zarubin, *Materialy i zametki*, 143. Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry contains numerous references to the Shī‘īs, filled with warmest praise and commendation. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia: From Firdawsī to Sa‘dī*, 2, 229.

²⁰⁰ As Maryam Mu‘izzī points out, the legends that associate Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Sunnism (*ahl-i tasannun*) must have been composed by his followers, not his enemies. According to her, those who composed it seem to have sought to distance themselves from the attacks of their enemies who accused them of following the Ismā‘īlī Nāṣir-i Khusraw and bad religion (*bad-dīnī*). She mentions that the composers were probably the people of Badakhshān (*mardum-i Badakhshān*). Mu‘izzī, *Ismā‘īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 118-20.

Badakhshān, it becomes clear that the Ṣūfī author, Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī Badakhshānī, who uses it as a source of information about Nāṣir-i Khusraw in his *Jāmi‘ al-salāsil*, had, in fact, “sunnitized” not only Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but also the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiography of the saint. It also becomes clear that the later Ismā‘īlī hagiographies draw from the early Ismā‘īlī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and do not appropriate Sunnī hagiography. This view is further supported by the fact that Nāṣir-i Khusraw already features in the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, an Ismā‘īlī hagiographical work that was composed before the mid 11th/17th century.

The second half of the 11th/17th and the beginning of the 12th/18th century marks a transition in the Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* and Mahjūr’s *Dar manqabat-i Sayyid Nāṣir*, which were most likely composed during this time, openly present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a great Shī‘ī saint. They focus on his saintly qualities and the marvels that occur at his resting place in Yumgān. Hence, this period marks a transition from the image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a pious and learned Muslim wrongly accused of unbelief to that of a great saint. Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* seems to have been composed during the reign of Mīr Yār Bīk (1068/1657-1118/1706) when antagonism towards Shī‘īs is not recorded in any of the sources examined for this study. In fact, as the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* of Mīrzā Sang Muḥammad Badakhshī and Faḏl ‘Alī Bīk Surkhafsar states, Yār Bīk acted in the best way “... so that the devotion of the people to and their faith in the family/descendants of the Prophet did not weaken” (*bih naw‘-ī az aḥsan-i vujūh mu‘āmilah namāyad kih ḥusn-i ikhlāṣ va i‘tiqād-i mardum az khānadān-i nubuvvat sust va fāsīd nagardad...*).²⁰¹ During this period and in the immediate preceding centuries, as examined before, the Ismā‘īlī (both Qāsim Shāhī and Muḥammad Shāhī) Imāms practiced *taqiyyah* under the cloak of Twelver Shī‘ism. The presence of Twelver Shī‘ī elements in the *Haft band* (like in other Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī works) can be explained in terms of pious circumspection, practiced during this time. Later Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiographical sources share numerous elements with the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* and Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band*. In fact, as will be seen in further Chapters, the later hagiographical tradition evolved from these works. The later sources, however, do not import the accounts of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* and Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* verbatim, but select and edit them through a creative process in response to changing socio-political environments. The examination of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* in this chapter helps to understand its ambiguity and the likelihood of the Ismā‘īlīs’ involvement in its creation, the content and aims of the later Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiography. Many elements of the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* and Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* reappear in the middle hagiographies; hence, the next Chapter is dedicated to an examination of these sources.

²⁰¹ Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 3a. Mīrzā Faḏl ‘Alī Bīk Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, ed. Manuchihr Sutūdah (Tehran: Farhang-i jahāngīrī, 1367/1988), 2.

Chapter 7

Middle Badakhshānī Hagiographies: Mid-18th through Early 20th Centuries

Hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw spanning the mid-18th century to the formation of the Soviet Union in the early 20th century reflect a more active presence of the Ismā‘īlī *da‘wah* in Badakhshān. While continuing several themes found in the earlier period, the works are unique in developing a sacred geography, tying many locales to the figure of the founding saint, and connecting images of the saint even more closely to the Fāṭimid Imam and Caliph, al-Mustanṣir bi’llāh. Of great significance is the legitimation of particular families and lineages that claimed leadership in the community based on spiritual descent from and initiatory ties to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The pre-Soviet hagiographies foster devotion to institutions connected with Nāṣir-i Khusraw and to Ismā‘īlī teachings. Similar to the hagiographies in the earlier period, they continue to assert Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s spiritual authority and holiness and dissociate him from the “heretics.”

The first part of this chapter introduces five accounts of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as found in the *Kalām-i Pīr* (*Sage’s Discourse*), the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* (*Pearl-Scattering String*), the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār’hā-yi Kuhistān* (*A Story of the Shrines of Kuhistān*), and the *Siyāḥat’nāmah-i Nāṣir* (*The Account of Nāṣir’s Journey*). The second part analyzes the authorial agendas of these five narratives, deducing the five major themes that emerge as common among the hagiographies of this period.

7.1 Hagiographies of the Middle Period

7.1.1 *Kalām-i pīr*

The *Kalām-i pīr* or, as it is also known, the *Haft Bāb-i Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir* (*The Seven Chapters of Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir*) is one of the most sacred books of the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. Its first chapter (*bāb*) purports to contain an autobiography of the saint. One of its titles explicitly claims the author of the book as Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹ However, Wladimir Ivanow has demonstrated that the work is a plagiarized version of the *Haft Bāb* (*Seven Chapters*) of the 10th/15th century Ismā‘īlī author Abū Ishāq Quhistānī (d. after 904/1498).² While the first chapter of the *Kalām-i pīr* contains an “autobiography” of its supposed author, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the first chapter of the *Haft Bāb* contains Quhistānī’s account of his conversion. The remaining chapters, however, are almost identical. The *Kalām-i pīr*, however, incorporates additional materials from Twelver Shī‘ī and other sources, including Ismā‘īlī sources such as the *Tuḥfat al-nāṣirīn*, completed in 857/1453. Its relatively modern language, the inclusion of

¹ It is noteworthy that, according to Sayyid Mursal and Sayyid Aḥmad, the two *pīrs* interviewed by Bobrinskoī, the *Kalām-i pīr* is a translation by, not the work of, Nāṣir-i Khusraw. They claim that its author is Mawlānā Shāh Nizār. Bobrinskoī, “Sekta Ismailīa,” 14, 16.

² Abū Ishāq Quhistānī, *Haft bāb*, ed. and trans. Wladimir Ivanow (Bombay: Ismaili Society, 1959), 7-8.

these sources, and demonstrable differences with Nāṣir-i Khusraw's known authentic works make it clear that it cannot have sprung from his pen.³ Ivanow attributed the *Kalām-i pīr* to Khayrkhvāh-i Harātī (d. after 960/1553), an Ismā'īlī *pīr* from Harāt who guided many members of the Ismā'īlī community in Badakhshān. As mentioned, Beben, who argues that the work was likely compiled sometime during the late 18th century in Badakhshān, has questioned Ivanow's attribution.⁴ The earliest copy of the *Kalām-i pīr* is dated 1207/1793.

The version of the Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hagiography included in the *Kalām-i pīr* is the earliest one to openly assert the saint's Ismā'īlī identity.⁵ Similar to the *Risālat al-nadāmah* examined in the last chapter, pseudo-Nāṣir-i Khusraw speaks about his learning experience. According to the narrator, he learned the Qur'ān by the age of nine, and spent the next five years studying literary sciences such as meanings of semantics, grammar and etymology. He then took up astronomy, geomancy, geometry, the almagest and measurements, before turning to the religious sciences. He studied nine hundred commentaries of the Qur'ān and the art of Qur'ānic recitation. Not satisfied with this, he left his homeland in Daylam in search of knowledge (*'ilm*), travelling for thirty years through Egypt, Byzantium, India, Greece, and Babylon.⁶ He also studied jurisprudence and the traditions of the Prophet (*fiqh va akhbār-i rasūl*), commentaries on the abrogated and abrogating verses of the Qur'ān, the Qur'ānic verses on prohibitions and prescriptions and so on. After studying the works of Imāms Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 117/735) and 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḏā (d. 203/819), whom he calls "my ancestor" (*jaddam*), he went through the four scriptures, Torah, Gospels, Psalms and the Scrolls (*Ṣuhūf*) of Abraham. Afterward, he became interested in wisdom (*ḥikmat*), logic, divine and natural laws, medicine, politics and magic squares (*ashkāl mi'ah*).⁷ In short, in his own words, "not a single science was left in the world which I had not studied."⁸

³ Ivanow provides ten reasons for this in his Introduction to Harātī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*, xxiii.

⁴ Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 26. Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 309-16. Following Ivanow, Bertel's believes that the *Kalām-i pīr* was compiled in the 10th/16th century. He observes that, in the 11th/17th century, the Ismā'īlīs of Multān questioned the authenticity of the "first chapter" of the *Kalām-i pīr* or another version of the pseudo-autobiography that came to be included in the *Ātashkadah*. Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 150-51. Bertel's draws this conclusion from Āzar Kayvānī's *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, composed in the mid-17th century, according to which an Ismā'īlī informant of the author confirms that some ignorant people composed a *Nadāmat'nāmah* (*A Book of Repentance*) in which they associate Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the Alamūtiyah. In fact, the Ismā'īlī adds, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a follower of the Ismā'īlīs of the West, i.e. the Fātimids, and had nothing to do with the Alamūtiyah. Isfandiyyār, *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, 258. The reference to *Nadāmat'nāmah* indicates that the Ismā'īlī must have referred to a version of the pseudo-autobiography other than the *Kalām-i pīr*.

⁵ The *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, examined in Chapter Six, contains a very short account of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Although it is a hagiographical work, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is not its central subject.

⁶ *'Ilm-i bāṭin* in Ivanow's edition of the *Kalām-i pīr*, which he translates as "secret sciences." Not all copies of the *Kalām-i pīr* add the word *bāṭin* here. Harātī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*, Persian edition, 11, English translation, 6. A copy of the *Kalām-i pīr* in the KhRU-IIS (Folder 68) has the word *'ilm* instead of *'ilm-i bāṭin*. Versions of the *Risālat al-nadāmat* do not mention *'ilm-i bāṭin* at all, nor do they name the places. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* (MS 1959/24a, dated 1144/1732-33), 5b.

⁷ The *Risālat al-nadāmat* in the *Ātashkadah* and the *Safarnomai Sayyid Nosiri Khusrav* have "*shakl-i ṣad dar ṣad*" instead of *ashkāl mi'ah*. *Khulūṣat al-ash'ār*, 74. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, *ashkāl*. 6b. Āzar, *Ātashkadah*, 1015. Azorabek, "Safarnomai Hazrati Sayyid Nosiri Khusravi quddusi sara," in R. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbār*, 56. The *Haft Iqlīm* does not mention this. Charles Schefer, who provided a French translation of the beginning of the *Risālat al-nadāmat*

In addition to Quhistānī's *Haft Bāb* and the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the first chapter in the *Kalām-i pīr* may have had yet a third source. This text is found in a manuscript in MS Folder 171 (KhRU-IIS), with a date of transcription given at the end that seems to read 1321/1903. However, the manuscript appears old and was possibly copied prior to this date.⁹ This text features the first chapter of the *Kalām-i pīr* without the part taken from the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. The relevant portion begins on fol. 13b (*va dar muddat-i hayāt-i khud hargiz iftār nakardah-am...*) and ends on fol. 18a (*da 'vat-i hādiyah*) of the manuscript; which corresponds with pages 12-17 of the edited Persian text of the *Kalām-i pīr*. Although this manuscript may have been copied over a century after the earliest copy of the *Kalām-i pīr*, the inclusion of this text separately from the remainder of the treatise indicates that it may have circulated as a separate text before the composition of the *Kalām-i pīr*. If this is true, the text would be the first to transform the story of Quhistānī's conversion into a biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The compiler of the *Kalām-i pīr* would then have incorporated the text, added the portions of Quhistānī's *Haft Bāb* that are omitted in this source, and included the beginning of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, creating the first chapter of his work. The first sentence in the *Kalām-i pīr* up to *ahvāl-i īn bandah ān būd kih* (lines 3-4, page 11) corresponds to the text of Quhistānī's *Haft Bāb*, but is missing in Folder 171. The version of the story in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* adopted into the *Kalām-i pīr* (that begins on page 11, line 4 and ends on page 12, line 6) is missing in both Quhistānī's *Haft Bāb* and the text in Folder 171. Also, lines 7-10 on page 12 in the *Kalām-i pīr* (from *dar jahān 'ilm namāndast to masākin kharj kardam*) are missing in both Quhistānī's *Haft Bāb* and Folder 171. Lines 10-14 on page 12 of the *Kalām-i pīr* (from *dar muddat-i hayāt-i khvūd hargiz to ahvāl-i īn bandah ān būd kih*) are consistent with Folder 171, but are missing in Quhistānī's *Haft Bāb*. The part occupying pages 12 (line 14) and 13 (line 1) in the *Kalām-i pīr* (from *dar sinn-i tamyīz darāmadam to az ma 'būd namī'yāftam*) is consistent with both Folder 171 and Quhistānī's *Haft Bāb*. The lengthy portion that appears on pages 13 (line 1) and 15 (line 13) in the *Kalām-i pīr* (from *tā ān miqdār-i kih dar ... dar havā-yi muḥabbat-i khvūd daryāft*) is fairly consistent with Quhistānī's *Haft Bāb*. The *Kalām-i pīr* only interpolates a few lines into this passage (e.g. *vājib ast kih ū-rā bi'dānad* on page 14 (line 6), *va qiṣṣah-i ... pazīruft* on page 4, (lines 12-18), *dar taq-i ... Allāh* on pages 14-15 (lines 19-line 1) and so on). This lengthy section, however, is missing in Folder 171. The part from page 15 (line 13) (from *rūz-i dar majlis-i hāzīr būdam ...*) to the end in the *Kalām-i pīr* corresponds to Folder 171 verbatim.

explains *ṣad dar ṣad* (le carré magique), as follows: "Les persans ont différents carrés magiques auxquels ils attribuent des vertus particulières. Le carré de Cent sur cent donne à celui qui en subit l'influence une vigueur et un courage qui doivent le faire triompher dans toutes ses entreprises. Grâce à lui, Aly put arracher la porte du château de Khaibar et, la soutenant de son bras, faire passer sur elle la troupe des assaillants." Schefer, *Sefer Nameh*, 11. Maḥmūd Ṭarzī who translates Schefer's French translation back into Persian literally translates it as *مربع سحرى* in his book. Ṭarzī, *Nāṣir-i Khusraw-i Balkhī* 6.

⁸ Harātī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*, 6.

⁹ It includes other works including the *Risālah-i sharḥ al-marātib* (*Epistle on the Explanation of the Ranks*). This separate text is also found in an undated but clearly old manuscript. Unfortunately, the beginning of this text is missing. The first MS Folder 18 (KhRU-IIS).

This part is also consistent with Quhistānī's *Haft Bāb*, but includes some interpolations (e.g. *bih hukm-i ... mubīn*, page 15, lines 16 –17). These observations suggest that, in addition to Quhistānī's *Haft Bāb* and the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the version of Folder 171 may have been a source for the *Kalām-i pīr*.

According to the versions in Folder 171 and the *Kalām-i pīr*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is distressed when he realizes that all the exoteric sciences (*'ulūm-i zāhirī*) that he had been learning failed to guide him towards the recognition of the Worshipped Almighty (*ma'būd*). In his search for divine recognition (*khudāshināsī, ma'rifat-i bārī*), he discovers the limitations of the partial intellect (*'aql-i juzvī*) and analogical reasoning (*qiyās*). Consequently, he realizes that the sole path to divine recognition is the spiritual edification (*ta'līm*) of the Imām, the noblest of human beings (*ashraf-i ashkhāṣ-i insān*), whose intellect is the most perfect (*akmal az hama 'uqūl*). After a long search, he meets Bābā Sayyid-nā, i.e. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, who was appointed in the region (*jazīrah*) to lead the people to the recognition of the Imām of the time (*ma'rifat-i Imām-i vaqt*). Bābā Sayyid-nā leads Nāṣir-i Khusraw to Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh, the ruler of the world (*dāvar-i 'ālam*) and the greatest proof (*hujjat-i a'zam*) of God. Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh honours Nāṣir-i Khusraw and appoints him the chief *dā'ī* (*dā'ī al-du'āt*) of Khurāsān. Eventually, the Imām, at the recommendation of Bābā Sayyid-nā, whom Nāṣir-i Khusraw respectfully calls “my grandfather” (*jaddam*), appoints Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the *hujjat* of Badakhshān. Nāṣir-i Khusraw accepts the position gladly and travels to Badakhshān through Balkh. Towards the end of the narrative, Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions that he signaled to the mountain and it came to meet him (*kūh-rā ishārat kardam bih istiqbāl āmad*), but quickly attributes this marvel to the Imām (*ināyat-i ū būd*).

7.1.2 *Silk-i guhar'rīz*

The *Silk-i guhar'rīz* (*The Pearl-Scattering String*), written in both prose and poetry, is a treatise on various subjects that include Ismā'īlī thought, the creation, prophets, eighteen Shī'ī sects, the genealogies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the author's ancestor Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, the genealogy of Shī'ī (both Twelver and Ismā'īlī) Imāms, including the Nizārī Ismā'īlī (both Qāsim Shāhī and Muḥammad Shāhī) Imāms and the activities of the author's ancestors as the religious leaders of Badakhshān. The text consists of sixteen chapters or, as the author calls them, *guhar'dānahs* or “single pearls.”

According to the manuscript used for this study, copied in 1388/1969 by Gulzār Khān son of Rāḥmān Qūl, the work was composed in 1246/1831 in Jurm, but, as Beben has shown, the other known manuscripts of the text provide slightly different composition dates.¹⁰ Henceforth, I designate

¹⁰ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, Folder 18 (KhRU-IIS), 193. A manuscript copied by Sayyid Shāh'zādah Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Farrukh Shāh in 1337/1918 indicates 1244/1829. The undated manuscript (MS 1961/12) in the archives of OITAS, which was collected from Rūshān in 1961 by the Soviet expedition headed by Bertel's and Baqoiev, has 1251/1835. This is the manuscript that was collected in Rūshān in 1961 by the Soviet expedition. Baqoiev, *Alfavitinyi Katalog*. Beben has rightly

the manuscript I used ‘Gulzār Khān.’ Èl’chibekov edited the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* on the basis of the Rūshān copy and that of Sayyid Shāh’zādah Muḥammad. In addition to Gulzār Khān’s copy, I have used Èl’chibekov’s unpublished edition that is kept in the archives of the Institute of Ismaili Studies.¹¹ I designate this edition ‘Èl’chibekov.’ The manuscripts that I have not used, but that were utilized by Beben in his study, closely resemble these two.¹²

In the final chapter of the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, the author uses ‘Kūchak’ as a pen name in a *munājāt* (invocations) and this is also the author’s name identified by Bertel’s and Baqoiev.¹³ Mīrẓā Kūchak was an early 13th/19th century Badakhshānī Ismā’īlī poet from Jurm in modern Afghanistan. A collection of his *munājāt* is kept in the archives of the Khorog Institute for Humanities and photocopies of his poems are found in various collections of poetry (*bayāz*).¹⁴ At the end of this *munājāt*, Kūchak’s pen name appears twice, and he praises the awaited Imām, while also referring to the other eleven (*yāzdah*) of the Twelver Imāms.¹⁵ Similarly, in the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, the lines in which the author’s pen name appears also refer to the Twelver Imāms. After naming the Twelver Imāms, he writes, *man kūchak-i zālīlam va kalb-i hamīn shāhān, Az dast-i mushrikān shuda-am dar Jurm nihān* – “I am the ignoble Kūchak and the dog of these kings, I am hidden in Jurm because of the unbelievers.”¹⁶ As we shall see, the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* praises both the Twelver and the Ismā’īlī Imāms as rightful Imāms, describing the former as the trustee (*mustawda*) and the latter as permanent (*mustaqarr*) Imāms. Moreover, the same style of poetry, identical word choice in the two *munājāts* (*khurūj, khastah’dilān, šāhib’zamān*, etc.) and also the signature itself in both (*Kūchak-i zālīl*, “the ignoble Kūchak”) indicate that Kūchak is the author of the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*. In this *munājāt* and in many other places in the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Kūchak refers to himself as Guhar’rīz. For example, he claims that some believers were concerned that the Khvājas (*khvājagān*) and the elders (*rīsh’safīdān*) had all passed away and that there remained no one sufficiently knowledgeable among the progeny of Sayyid Suhrāb to explain these meanings (*khvājagān va rīshsafīdān hama raftand, kasī dīgar az avlād-i Sayyid Suhrāb namāndah-ast kih īn ma’nī bayān kunad*). At this point someone interjected, saying there is Guhar’rīz, who is the most knowledgeable among the believers (*guhar’rīz māndah-ast*

noted that Bertel’s and Baqoiev’s catalogue states the correspondence with 1251AH incorrectly (1831). The manuscript copied by Mullā Yārbīk’zādah Kāmilbīk in 1379/1970 in Sūchān of Shughnān has 1246/1837. See Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 348. There are no discrepancies in the narratives about Nāšīr-i Khusraw, the subject of this study.

¹¹ Qudratbek Èl’chibekov’s edition of the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* is in the archives of the Institute of Ismaili Studies. The author’s name, however, is spelled incorrectly as Qudertullah in this edition.

¹² The one copied by Mullā Yārbīk’zādah Kāmilbīk in 1379/1970 in Sūchān of Shughnān is similar to Èl’chibekov’s edition; the manuscript copied by Shāh Khurtik son of Shāh Banda in 1417/1988 resembles Gulzār Khān’s copy, as, according to Beben, either it is copied from it or both were derived from the same source. Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 347-48.

¹³ Bertel’s and Baqoiev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 85-88.

¹⁴ Folder (*Papka*) 22 (KIH), 125-146. Bertel’s and Baqoiev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 32.

¹⁵ Folder (*Papka*) 22 (KIH), 140, 143, 146.

¹⁶ The *shāhān* are the Twelver Imāms (*bar āl-i muṣṭafā kih dah u dū buvad Imām*), *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 87; Èl’chibekov has *haram* instead of *Jurm* in the verse, 60. It is also possible to read the line differently (“I am the insignificant (*kūchak*) and the ignoble one, the dog of these kings.”)

va ān bihtarīn-i dānāyān-i mu'minān ast).¹⁷ In addition to Kūchak, the author uses this pen name throughout the text.¹⁸ It is a fitting pen name, because he presents the chapters of his work as *guhār'dānahs* or individual pearls from “the sea of hidden mysteries” (*daryā-yi asrār-i nihānī*) connected by a thread (*silk*) of imamate and prophecy. These pearls come out of the “oyster of the human’s chest” (*ṣadaf-i sīnah-i insān*).¹⁹ He scatters the pearls of spiritual meanings (*ma'nī'hā*) from the oyster of his chest and presents them in the book that he also calls *Guhār'rīz*.²⁰ Since he placed all the meanings in the book, it will continue to scattering the pearls after he is gone; hence, the book becomes the author, and both are “Pearl Scatterers.”

The *Siyāḥat'nāmāh-i Nāṣir*, a distinct work that is discussed below, identifies the author of the *Silk-i guhār'rīz* as Khvājah Aḥrārī (*hāzīhi mustatāb Guhār'rīz min taṣnīfāt-i Khvājah Aḥrārī, 'alayhi al-salām* – “this excellent *Guhār'rīz* is the work of Khvājah Aḥrārī, peace upon him”). We may therefore assume that Khvājah Aḥrārī or Khvājah Aḥrār assumed the pen names of *Guhār'rīz* or “the Pearl Scatterer” and Kūchak or “the Insignificant one” in his works.²¹ This is also confirmed by Muḥammad Riḏā Tavakkulī Ṣābirī, who visited Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s shrine in Ḥaḏrat-i Sa'īd in 2013. He met with a descendant of Khvājah Aḥrār by the name of Sayyid Gawhar Bāqirī. In Jurm, Sayyid Gawhar showed Ṣābirī a manuscript (copied by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Khān in 1254/1838) of a work composed by a descendant (*yakī az akhlāf*) of Khvājah Sayyid Suhrāb Valī named Khvājah Aḥrār-i *Guhār'rīz*.²² Based on Ṣābirī’s description, this was a manuscript of the *Silk-i guhār'rīz*. Hence, the Jurm copy, which may contain the oldest extant version of the *Silk-i guhār'rīz*, identifies the author as Khvājah Aḥrār-i *Guhār'rīz*.²³ Finally, the author refers to himself by this name (Aḥrār) in the *Silk-i*

¹⁷ *Silk-i guhār'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 117; Ēl'chibekov, 85, 133.

¹⁸ For example, *zūd guhār'rīz chū parvānah shaw, jān bih fidā-i rukh-i jānānah shaw* (“Become a moth at once, *Guhār'rīz*, Sacrifice yourself for the cheeks of the beloved”), *Silk-i guhār'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 20; *Bā ḥaqq-i Aḥmad kih buvad pīshvā, Dih bih Guhār'rīz dar-in rah riḏā* (“By the reality of Aḥmad (i.e. Muḥammad) who is the guide, Assent to *Guhār'rīz* on this path”), *Silk-i guhār'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 33; *Nāṣir-i Khusraw shah-i ahl-i rashād, Hast Guhār'rīz va-rā khānah-zād* (“Nāṣir-i Khusraw the king of the faithful, *Guhār'rīz* is his house-born”), *Silk-i guhār'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 48; *pas Guhār'rīz gashtah az khūd bī-khabar*, Ēl'chibekov, 47.

¹⁹ *Silk-i guhār'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 1; Ēl'chibekov has *ṣandūq* instead of *ṣadaf*.

²⁰ *Silk-i guhār'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 117; Ēl'chibekov, 85.

²¹ According to Bāmiyānī, the author of the *Silk-i guhār'rīz* is Sayyid Gavhar, but that is not supported by any evidence. Bāmiyānī, *Afsānah-yi tārikhī*, 51.

²² Muḥammad Riḏā Tavakkulī Ṣābirī, *Safar-i dīdār: Safar bih Kuhistānhā-i Badakhshān va dīdār az mazār-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw Qubādiyānī* (Akhtarān, 1395/2016), 91.

²³ Khvājah Aḥrār-i *Guhār'rīz* or Mīrzā Kūchak’s poems are found in a manuscript titled *Ash'ār-i Mīrzā*, a photocopy of which is kept in the archives of KIH. Some other poems are also found in *Bayāz-i shu'arā-yi Shughnān*. Copies of Mīrzā Kūchak’s *Munājāt'nāmāh* can be found in the personal libraries of the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān. According to Maryam Mu'izzī, Mīrzā Kūchak may be the fifth-generation ancestor of Murād Mīrzā, “an Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* in Quhistān” in Iran. This is based on the oral traditions of the Ismā'īlīs of Quhistān. Mu'izzī, *Ismā'īlyah-i Badakhshān*, 210-11. Murād Mīrzā was a descendant of Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Ya'qūb Shāh Qā'inī, the poet who composed many religious poems and is named as the *dā'ī* of Quhistān in the Nizārī traditions. Murād Mīrzā’s father Mīrzā Ḥasan (d. 1305/1887) administered the affairs of the Persian Ismā'īlīs on behalf of the Imāms. Upon his death, Murād Mīrzā the position of the leader in the community, but he had his own religious ideas regarding the affairs of the Persian Nizārīs. He claimed the rank of *ḥujjat* for himself and later acknowledged Ṣamad Shāh, a grandson of Āghā Khān I, as the rightful Imām. As a result, his followers split off from the Qāsim Shāhī Nizārī community and became known as *Murād Mīrzā'īs*. On him, see Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 490-91. According to the local traditions of the Ismā'īlīs of Quhistān, Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Ya'qūb Shāh Qā'inī was a descendant of Ḥusayn Qā'inī (the Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* and contemporary of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāh) and Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāh’s daughter. See Mu'izzī, “Risālah-i Ḥusayn b. Ya'qūb Shāh,”

guhar'rīz itself. For example, he lists the names of the hereditary *pīrs* who transmitted the “wine of divine unity” (*may-i vaḥdat*), which symbolizes the *pīrship* that Nāṣir-i Khusraw gave to Sayyid Suhrāb-i Valī. Sayyid Suhrāb-i Valī gave this “cup of wine of divine unity” to Shāh Zayd. It passed from father to son, from Shāh Zayd to Khvājah ‘Alī, then to Sayyid Mihtar, then to Sayyid ‘Alī, then to Sayyid Salmān, then to Sayyid Darvīsh Muḥammad, then to Shāh Nūr al-Dīn, then to Shāh Salmān, then to Khvājah Ṭāhir, then to Khvājah Muḥammad Qāsim and then to ‘Abd al-Nabī. ‘Abd al-Nabī, the author’s father, gave the “cup of wine of divine unity” to Aḥrār, i.e. the author.²⁴ It is for this reason that I refer to the author of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* by his name Khvājah Aḥrār, and not by his pen names.

The narrative in the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* is based on Badakhshānī oral traditions. As mentioned above, the author indicates that after the knowledgeable ones passed away, it was feared that the tradition might be lost. Therefore, some individuals felt compelled to record it. The *Silk-i guhar'rīz* has very little in common with the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, discussed in the previous chapter. The author does not provide sources for his information. Although the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* invokes Nāṣir-i Khusraw throughout the text, narratives about him are scarce.²⁵ Instead, the text focuses more on the ancestors of the author, beginning with their forefather, Sayyid Suhrāb Valī. According to the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Sayyid Suhrāb Valī was a disciple of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, inheriting “the goblet of the wine of divine unity” from the *pīr* and, therefore, the descendants of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, including the author himself, possessed this “goblet.”²⁶ Most of the work, which exceeds 190 pages (as per Gulzār Khan’s copy), concerns doctrines and focuses on Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and his descendants. It includes three short accounts of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

The *Silk-i guhar'rīz* relates how Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Bābā Sayyid-nā (Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ), whom it calls the two *valīs*, visit Egypt in search of the light of the Imām. When the two taste “the wine of divine unity” that the Imām gives to them, they become knowers of all secrets (*gashtah bad-*

404. Mīrzā Kūchak ibn Ismā‘īl’s tomb was located in Khūshk in the vicinity of Qā’ in. Ibid., 409. With the exception of having a name in common, i.e. Mīrzā Kūchak, we have no further evidence to suggest that our Mīrzā Kūchak was the grandfather of Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Ya‘qūb Shāh Qā’ inī or the ancestor of Murād Mīrzā. Mīrzā Kūchak does not refer to Ḥusayn Qā’ inī in any of his works, but in the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, he lists his ancestors’ names that go back to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī. In the *Armughān-i Badakhshān*, Shāh ‘Abd Allāh Badakhshī mentions a poet named Kūchakshāh-i Darvāzī who composed poems under the pseudonym of Kūchak. As the name suggests, according to Badakhshī, this poet is from Darvāz. Badakhshī notes that he was not able to find any further information about Kūchak, except that he was a “learned” man. Similarly, the *mukhammas* that Badakhshī includes for Kūchak only indicates the pen name, but contains no information about Kūchak’s place of origin or residence. It is noteworthy that although Badakhshī was a native of Jurm and whilst he covers the biography and poetry of many Badakhshānī poets, he says nothing about Kūchak, the author of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*. Badakhshī, *Armughān-i Badakhshān*, 175-76. According to Ḥabibov, an 18th century Ismā‘īlī poet named Khvājah Ghulām Shāh from Sūchān also had the pen name of (Mīrzā) Kūchak. See Ḥabibov, *Az ta"rikhi adabiēti tojik dar Badakhshon*, 134.

²⁴ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 50-55, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 36-39.

²⁵ E.g. *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 33, 41, 43, 45, 46, 48, 49, 54, 63, 65, 107, 108, 110, 125, 126, 129, 131, 148. *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 23, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 46, 47, 78, 80, 91, 94, 95, 107.

²⁶ Nāṣir-i Khusraw placed in the hand of Suhrāb the cup of this desired wine (*Sāqī-yi (sic.) in bādah-i jān-i murād*, Nāṣir-i dīn bar kaf-i Suhrāb dād), *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 50. *Sāqī* (cupbearer) should be *sāghar* (cup) in this line.

īshān hamagī bas 'iyān).²⁷ Nāṣir-i Khusraw becomes the cupbearer of the “wine of divine unity” (*sāqī-i [may-i] vaḥdat*).²⁸ The Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh appoints Bābā Sayyid-nā as the guide and instructor of Daylam (*daylamān*) and Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the *ḥujjat* of Badakhshān (*Kuhistān-zamīn*).²⁹ The Imām and Nāṣir-i Khusraw then leave Egypt in both the esoteric and exoteric sense, in the *bāṭin* and the *ẓāhir*, and, after travelling through seven climes, arrive in a place called Māy-i May in Darvāz, Badakhshān. Before their departure, Imām Nizār b. Mustanṣir bi'llāh's son is entrusted to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. When they are away, Mustanṣir bi'llāh's other son, Musta'ī, martyrs Imām Nizār. Imām Nizār's son, Mawlānā Hādī, settles in Ṭabas in Khurāsān, away from the eyes of the Egyptians (*miṣriyān*).³⁰ Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh appoints Nāṣir-i Khusraw as *pīr-i rukn* (the *pīr* of the pillar) before passing away (*jāmah guzāshand*) in Māy-i May in Darvāz.³¹ Nāṣir-i Khusraw then comes to serve Mawlānā Hādī who becomes famous in Ṭabas in Khurāsān.³² Mawlānā Hādī also appoints Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the *pīr-i rukn*, *dā'ī al-du'āt-i muṭlaq* (the absolute chief *dā'ī*) and *ḥujjat-i jazā'ir* (the *ḥujjat* of the islands) whose *da'vah* is established in all the seven climes, thus, giving Nāṣir-i Khusraw an exalted position in the Ismā'īlī spiritual hierarchy. The Imām appoints Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ as the *ḥujjat-i a'zam* (chief *ḥujjat*).³³ Notably, Nāṣir-i Khusraw comes to Yumgān during Mawlānā Hādī's imamate, not that of Mustanṣir bi'llāh.

The story focuses on the epistemological ideal of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint. It further emphasizes that twelve thousand saints (*quṭb*, lit served him “poles”) served him in Badakhshān. It also narrates how Sayyid Khvājah Suhrāb Valī and Bābā Yumgī (or Malik Jahān Shāh, whose name appears in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*) serve Nāṣir-i Khusraw as his head *khalīfah* or deputies

²⁷ *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Gulzār Khān, 44-45. Èl'chibekov has *junbish-i* (“the movement of”) instead of *justan-i* (“in search of”). *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Èl'chibekov, 31.

²⁸ *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Gulzār Khān, 49. *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Èl'chibekov, 35.

²⁹ *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Gulzār Khān, 45. *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Èl'chibekov, 32. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and Nāṣir-i Khusraw as two *ḥujjats* of Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh, along with Mustanṣir bi'llāh's son Mawlānā Nizār appear in Badakhshānī poetry as well. See Mu'izzī, *Ismā'īlyyah-i Badakhshān*, 147. According to Mu'izzī, the Nizārīs (who had escaped from Iran following the destruction of Alamūt) in order to “win the hearts” of the Ismā'īlis of Badakhshān, who were attached to the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, presented Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ as associates.

³⁰ This part appears on the margins of *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Gulzār Khān, 47, and is most likely based on the *Sayāhat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*. See also *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Gulzār Khān, 59. Ṭabas, a city in Quhistān, was a well-known Ismā'īlī centre. It was probably populated by Ismā'īlis at the time of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Nāṣir-i Khusraw speaks of its Ismā'īlī ruler (*ḥakīm*) Amīr Abū al-Ḥasan Gīlakī ibn Muḥammad and compares the justice and security that he established in the city to that of Egypt during the time of Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh's in Egypt. He spent seventeen days in the city of Ṭabas(-i gīlakī). Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, ed. R. Nicholson (Tehran: Duniyā-yi Kitāb, 1361), 139-140. Furqānī, *Tā'rikh-i Ismā'īlyān-i Quhistān*, 42. There were two places known as Ṭabas (Ṭabas-i masīnā in the east and Ṭabas gīlakī in the west) in Quhistān. *Ibid.*, 40-46.

³¹ *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Gulzār Khān, 125. *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Èl'chibekov, 91. I discuss the *pīr* of the *rukn* below.

³² *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Gulzār Khān, 125. Èl'chibekov has Tibet (*tibit*) instead of Ṭabas, *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Èl'chibekov, 91.

³³ *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Gulzār Khān, 125. *Silk-i guhar'riz*, Èl'chibekov, 91. Beben ignores this title and writes, “Both Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ are given the position of “guide and instructor” ... of their respective territories by the Imām. Nasir, however, is given one additional title as well: *ḥujjat* of the Imām... Hence, the account clearly places Nāṣir-i Khusraw in a superior position to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ.” Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” 365. This seems incorrect. In fact, the account names Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ *ḥujjat-i a'zam*.

(*sar'khalīfah*) in that region.³⁴ In the *Silk-i guhar-rīz*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw refers to these two individuals as his companions (‘*Umar-i Yumgī va Suhrāb ma-rā yār būdand*).³⁵ The author of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Khvājah Aḥrār was a descendant of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī who, as we have seen, was depicted as a disciple of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Both Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw were related genealogically, because their ancestry went back to Imām Mūsá al-Kāẓim and, through him, to the Prophet.³⁶ Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Sayyid Suhrāb Valī are *sayyids*, descendants of the temporary or trustee (*mustawda*) Imāms, who serve the permanent (*mustaqarr*) Imāms of the time.³⁷ The text focuses on Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and describes him as someone who inherited the cup of wine of divine unity as well the *Vajh-i dīn* from Nāṣir-i Khusraw.³⁸ In conclusion, the account describes how Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw spent thirty years in the cave of Yumgān and emerged to invite the people to the man of the age (*mard-i vaqt*), the Imām of the time (*imām-i zamān*).³⁹

7.1.3 *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*

The only known manuscript of the *Ḥikāyat-i mazarhā-yi Kuhistān* is kept in the Ivan Zarubin archive at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (fund 121, catalogue 1, file 336).⁴⁰ Wladimir Ivanow has described some of the manuscripts brought by Ivan Zarubin from Rūshān and Shughnān to the then Asiatic Museum in 1916. However, he does not

³⁴ Badakhshī calls this person Sayyid ‘Umar with the nickname (*laqab*) of Malik Jahān Shāh and pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) of Yumgī. According to Badakhshī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw came to Badakhshān during his reign. This ruler warmly welcomed Nāṣir-i Khusraw despite the accusations of *ilhād* that “the common people, envious and opponents” leveled against Nāṣir-i Khusraw before. Malik Jahān Shāh allowed Nāṣir-i Khusraw to live in the village of Sūghān, presently known as Ḥaẓrat-i Sayyid, and even established it as a *vaqf* for his *khānaqah*. Badakhshī considers Malik Jahān Shāh to be one of the most noble and distinguished personalities and poets in Badakhshān. His lineage goes back to the Prophet Muḥammad through eleven generations (*yāzdah martabah*). His capital was in Bahāristān (Bahārak) and the frontiers of his dominion reached Balkh in the West and Chinese Turkistan in the East. Malik Jahān Shāh engaged in a number of successful military campaigns in territories to the north of Badakhshān and even went as far as Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān, a territory under Bukhārā. In 447/1055, nine years before his death, while hunting, he fell from the top of a high rock and severely injured his foot. This took a toll on his health. He set out on a trip to Kashmīr, but was forced to return because of his deteriorating health. He died on his way back to Bahāristān at a place called Ārghasak (also spelled, Erghesak and Irghesak, a place in Badakhshān that is about 70 kilometers away from Bahārak) in 456/1064, and according to his own wish was buried at that place. As Badakhshī mentions, there were families in Badakhshān who traced their genealogy back to him. He also alludes to a unique genealogical work, *Shajarah-i sādāt-i Badakhshān*, which contains a detailed biography of ‘Umar-i Yumgī. This work was in the possession of a man named Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Badakhshī. Badakhshī, *Armughān-i Badakhshān*, 28-31. Sayyid Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāmiyānī also mentions this *Nasab'nāmah*, which links the genealogy of ‘Umar-i Yumgī back to ‘Alī. Bāmiyānī, *Afsānahā-yi tārikhī*, 51-53. Badakhshī’s account is based on the *Ta’rikh-i Badakhshān* of Munshī Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Badakhshī. This book, according to Badakhshī, was composed in the time of and at the order of Mīr Yār Bīk Khān (r. 1068-1119/1657-1707), the founder of the Yārid dynasty in Badakhshān. The *Ta’rikh-i Badakhshān* of Muḥammad Ḥusayn, in 542 pages, was available to Shāh ‘Abd Allāh Badakhshī in the 1930s, but no copy of it seems to have survived. Badakhshī, *Armughān-i Badakhshān*, 25. See Bezhan, “The Enigmatic Authorship,” 108-09. According to Sang Muḥammad and Surkhafsar’s *Ta’rikh-i Badakhshān*, the descendants of ‘Umar-i Yumgī trace their genealogy back to “pure Imāms” (*a’immah-i aḥār*) and hold tremendous respect among people (*avvām-u nās*), Surkhafsar, *Ta’rikh-i Badakhshān*, 118b.

³⁵ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 107-108, 129, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 78, 94.

³⁶ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 126, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 91.

³⁷ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 128.

³⁸ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 50, 129-30, 147-148, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 35, 94, 107.

³⁹ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 129-30. Thirty-two years in *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 94.

⁴⁰ Konstantin Vasil'tsov, *Iz istorii ismailitskogo prizyva v Badakhshane*, ed. R.R. Rahimov, Tadhiki: istorii, kul'tura, obshchestvo (St. Petersburg: MAĒ RAN, 2014), 200. I am grateful to Daniel Beben for sharing a copy of this manuscript with me.

mention the *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, but only writes that his “preliminary sketch, which serves as a catalogue, of course, by no means exhausts the huge stock of material in the collection.”⁴¹ The *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, along with some other material in the Zarubin collection, still remains uncatalogued.

The manuscript neither records the date of composition, nor mentions the author’s name. It was composed or copied sometime before 1916, when Zarubin procured it.⁴² The text was written in Shughnān (probably in Ghund). It begins its account with this region and proceeds to describe other sacred places situated further down the Ghund valley, in Sūchān, Khorog, Pārshinīv, Yāmj, Buni, Sākhcharv (Sācharv in the text), Bajū, Rūshān (Yīmts, Vamār and Barrūshān), Shughnān of Afghanistan and, finally, Shākh'darah. The fact that it was composed by a native of Shughnān can also be established by the use of Shughnānī language structure (e.g. *shamsher qati*, instead of *bā shamshīr* (Tajik: *bo shamsher*, “with a sword”), as well as by its omission of the letter *h* before words, or by the fact that it replaces this letter in certain words or adds it where it is not required (e.g. *amān* instead of *hamān* (Tajik: *hamon*, “that”), *ālā* instead of *hālā* (Tajik: *hōlo*, “now”), *sayā‘at* instead of *sayāhat* (Tajik: *saēhat*, “travel”)).⁴³ It even uses Shughnānī vocabulary (e.g. *sail* instead of *sayr* (Tajik: *saīr*, “travel”)).⁴⁴ It is also clear that the author is familiar with shrines in Shughnān more intimately than those outside of the region.⁴⁵

The *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* is a relatively short text comprised of thirty-six pages. It provides information about different shrines (*mazār*) and briefly explains their functions (*kār'hā*) (e.g. when, how and for what purposes people visit the shrines and the types of ceremonies they hold at these sites). The author presents hagiographical stories related to specific shrines (e.g. stories about the Shī‘ī Imām Zayn al-‘Abidīn (d. 95/714) and his son Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. ca. 114/732), the three dervishes Shāh Kāshān, Shāh Malang, Shāh Burhān and others).⁴⁶ Only pages 10-13 out of the thirty-six pages offer a hagiographical account of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Despite its brevity, this hagiographical account provides valuable material for this study, corroborating other accounts or offering new information.

The account in the *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* begins with a description of *mazārs* (a place for visitation) of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who is referred to as Pīr Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in Paxār (Pashor) and Miḍīnshār (Mithenshor) villages in Pārshinīv. According to the source, Nāṣir-i

⁴¹ Ivanow, "Ismailitskie rukopisi," 359-86.

⁴² For a description of this manuscript, see Tohir Qalandarov, "Oid ba yak dastkhat az boygonii I. I. Zarubin," *Akhbori akademiāi ilmhoi Jumhurii Tojikiston, Silsilai filologiya va sharqshinosi*, no. 2 (2011). See also Konstantin Vasil'tsov, "Sviashchennye gory i sviashchennye kamni: legendy ob musul'manskikh avliia v Badakhshane," *Pax Islamica* 1, no. 10 (2013): 123-37.

⁴³ *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 4, 5, 12, 13, 16.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 7-9.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 2-3, 7-9.

Khusraw created springs at these places by striking the earth with his staff. The text describes them as marvels of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*mu'jizah kardagī*). According to an oral tradition (*naql chunīn mī'kunand*), Nāṣir-i Khusraw's father was a king called Khusraw. After finishing school, Shāh Nāṣir studied books on astronomy and subdued all the stars (*tamām-i sitāra'hā-rā musakkkhar kard*). He perfected himself in all sciences and knew all secrets (*sirr'hā*). Despite his father's pleas, he abandoned his home and set out in search of the Imām. He passed through and engaged in learning in different lands. Finally, he reached the land of Badakhshān (*Badakhshān'zamīn*). When the people of Kābul became aware of him, they contrived to kill him. He made a narrow escape and reached the village of Jurm. At that time, there was a tyrant king in Jurm who would eat two plates (*tabaqchah*) of people's eyes every day, keeping his subjects in fear. When Nāṣir-i Khusraw came to Jurm, he saw an old man who was admonishing a crowd of people at the gate of the king's palace. After listening to the old man, Nāṣir-i Khusraw decided to follow him as he perceived him to be a luminous person (*ādam-i nūrānī*) who would have the answers he sought. After the crowd dispersed, he approached the elder who revealed his secret to him and took him to Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh. The old man was the *hujjat* of the Imām, Bābā Sayyid-nā. After some time, Nāṣir-i Khusraw asked permission to leave and settled in the village of Yumgān. The text emphasizes that after his encounter with the Imām and the *hujjat*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw became a master of unveiling (*kashf*) and acquired miraculous power (*ṣāhib-i karāmat*). He had two servants (*khizmat'gār*) called Suhrāb-i Valī and Malik Jān Shāh. Malik Jān Shāh had once been a ruler (*hākim*), which is why he was called Malik. These two individuals are described as the servants of the *pīr*. They had their own disciples (*murīds*), which shows that they were Nāṣir-i Khusraw's deputies (*khalīfahs*). The text connects Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Shughnān, as it relates that Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir came to Shughnān and laid the foundation of the *da'vah* (*binā-i da'vat*) in the region. According to it, the people of Shughnān had another faith (*mazhab-i dīgar*) prior to the arrival of Nāṣir-i Khusraw who introduced them to Ismā'īlism (*mazhab-i Ismā'īliyyah*). The text mentions *Vajh-i dīn*, which Nāṣir-i Khusraw gave to Shāh Malang.

7.1.4 *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*

A manuscript copied by Sayyid Shāh'zādah Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Farrukh Shāh (d. 1353/1935) in 1337/1918⁴⁷ in Sarā-yi Bahār of Pārshinīv in Shughnān contains another important collection of hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It includes four separate but interrelated parts or expositions (*bayān*), collectively called *Jāmi' al-ḥikāyāt va baḥr al-akhbār* (*A Collection of Stories and Sea of Traditions*) at the end of the manuscript. A copy of the original is kept in the Archive of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan (Zakhirai Dastkhathoi Sharqī,

⁴⁷ Jo-Ann Gross mistakenly gives the date 1336/1917. Gross, "The Motif of the Cave," 137.

Akademiāi Ulumi Tojikiston) in Dushanbe under the siglum MS 353. An uncatalogued digital copy of the same manuscript is kept in the archives of the KhRU-IIS of the Institute of Ismaili Studies in Khorog. The original of the latter belongs to Raḥmonqulov from Tang (Shughnān) who published a Cyrillic Tajik transcription in 1991 in Khorog. Raḥmonqulov named the published text *Baḥr ul-akhbor* and the work has been known as such in Badakhshān ever since.

This collection is sometimes known as *Guhar'rīz*, because its second and fourth parts borrow some elements from the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, including those pertaining to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh. More obviously, it is known so because of the poem right at the beginning, which features the word *Guhar'rīz* (*gar vaṣf-i va-rā kunad Guhar'rīz*), which, as we have seen, is the name of the author of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*. Ēl'chibekov, without providing a rationale, considers this work to be an “addition” (*prilozhenie*) to and part of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*.⁴⁸ However, the work cannot be part of *Guhar'rīz* for two reasons: first, *Guhar'rīz* is the name of the work that is known as the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* today. In fact, none of the manuscript copies of this work record its title as *Silk-i guhar'rīz*. Even though the author claims that he “explained the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*” (*bih tawfīq-i Khudā-yi karīm silk-i guhar'rīz-rā bayān kardam*) in chapter sixteen, he still calls the work *Guhar'rīz*.⁴⁹ Bertel's and Baqoev give the name *Silk-i guhar'rīz* only to the first of the three parts of the *Guhar'rīz*.⁵⁰ The reason it is known as the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* is related to Qudratbek Ēl'chibekov's edition, kept in the library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. As far as I am aware, Ēl'chibekov was the first to name the work *Silk-i guhar'rīz*; other scholars simply followed suit. Moreover, Sayyid Shāh'zādah Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Farrukh Shāh, who was certainly a very knowledgeable person, transcribed both a copy of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* and the text of the Tang and Dushanbe copies, would have named it *Guhar'rīz* if he had considered them to have the same title.⁵¹

It should be noted that in Badakhshān, this work is also known as *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* (*The Account of Nāṣir's Journey*) and this is the reason this title has been added at the end of the copy in Dushanbe (*Kitāb-i Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*). Unlike the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* pays more attention to the journeys of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān (*Kuhistān*). It offers accounts of his travels in Zībāk and many places on the right side of the Panj river, such as Shughnān, Rūshān, Ishkāshim, Vakhān and Shākh'darah. The reader encounters the expression *sayāḥat kard* or *sayāḥat kardand* (i.e. “he/they travelled”) very often in the text. Nāṣir-i Khusraw's travels to various localities

⁴⁸ Ēl'chibekov, “Obshchie religiozno-filosofskie,” 307. In his latest publication on the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov continues to regard the work as an “addition” to the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* without mentioning its publication by Raḥmonqulov. Ēl'chibekov, *Ierarkhiā*. Apart from Ēl'chibekov, Shāh Sulaymān son of (valadi) Qurbān Shāh calls this work “continuation of *Guhar'rīz*” (*davvām-i guhar'rīz*) in his *Afsānah va ḥaqīqat*, 165.

⁴⁹ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 118

⁵⁰ Bertel's and Baqoev also list it as *Guhar'rīz* in their catalogue, Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 65 (#198).

⁵¹ As the son of the famous *pīr* Sayyid Farrukh Shāh, Sayyid Shāh'zādah Muḥammad had access to the Ismā'īlī literature in his father's, other *pīrs'* and *khalīfahs'* personal libraries. Aleksandr Semēnov in his conversation with Ismā'īlīs from

and the miracles he performed are the two major concerns of the text, distinguishing it from other hagiographies, including the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*. Hence, I will refer to this text as *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, as this title better reflects the content of the work.

In conversation with the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs, Wladimir Ivanow happened to learn of the existence of a text known as the *Guhar'rīz*, but he was never able to procure a copy of it. Nevertheless, he describes it as a book “narrating his (i.e. Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s) travels in the East just as the *Safar-nama* describes his adventures in the West,” which is “either a part or imitation of the well-known legendary biography of Nāṣir.”⁵² By “the East,” Ivanow means lands to the west of Balkh. In his preface to the *Kalām-i pīr* he mentions that he “heard about ... Gawhar-riz, which describes Nasir’s travels in Badakhshan” and that it contains accounts about his travels in Zībāk, Vakhān and Shughnān.⁵³ Both the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* and the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* contain accounts of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s travels in Badakhshān. However, as mentioned, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* is focused more closely on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s travels in greater Badakhshān.

Beben notes correctly that the text Ivanow describes is not the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, but the one named *Baḥr ul-akḥbor* by Raḥmonqulov (i.e. *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*). He also points out that, in addition to an account of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life and mission to Badakhshān, this text offers “an account of his travel to neighbouring regions such as Tibet.”⁵⁴ This seems to be a misreading, as the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* offers no such accounts, although it certainly narrates stories about his travels to other regions of Badakhshān (Kuhistān), including Chitrāl (Chitrār), the regions of the Upper Oxus valley and those on the right side of the Panj river mentioned by Ivanow. Apart from these two works, I am not aware of any written or oral hagiographical narratives that provide details of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s journeys beyond Kuhistān or greater Badakhshān. In referring to the “legendary biography of Nāṣir,” Ivanow clearly means the *Risālat al-nadāmah*.⁵⁵ Unlike the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* makes greater use of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, and I will occasionally refer to these instances in this and the following chapters. For the reasons mentioned above, the *Guhar'rīz* that Ivanow describes is the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, not the one known as the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* today.

Some Ismā'īlīs in Shughnān whom I interviewed indicated that Nāṣir-i Khusraw composed a work called *Safar'nāmah-i Mashriq* (*The Book of Travels in the East*). Aleksandr Semēnov mentions this book as well.⁵⁶ Although I have not come across this particular work and Semēnov was not able to find it either, I am convinced that it is simply another name for the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*. Its title is

Shughnān, came to know of Sayyid Shāh'zādah Muḥammad as a very knowledgeable scholar who was particularly well versed in Ismā'īlism and who spent most of his time reading books. Semēnov, "Opisanie ismailitskikh rukopisei," 2171.

⁵² Ivanow, *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, 40.

⁵³ Ivanow’s “Preface” to Harātī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*, xvii. Baqoev, *Alfavitnyi Katalog*, 87.

⁵⁴ Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 360.

⁵⁵ Ivanow, *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, 40.

⁵⁶ Semēnov, "Iz oblasti religioznykh verovanii " 523-61. Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 150.

somewhat similar to that of another text, known as the *Safar'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, discussed in the previous chapter. Apart from that, Semēnov mentions another hagiographical work called the *Manāqib-i Ḥaẓrat Pīr Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir*, which, according to his Ismā'īlī informants in Bukhārā, was composed by “a relative” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Sayyid Suhrāb Valī.⁵⁷ This work has to be the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* and, so far, I have not come across a distinct work with this title.

In his introduction to *Bahr ul-akhbor*, Raḥmonqulov notes that the author of the *Bahr ul-akhbor* (i.e. the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*) is Sayyid Jalāl-i Munjī (or Sayyid Jalāl-i Badakhshānī). He came to this conclusion following a conversation with a Shughnānī poet from Afghanistan named Shāh Zamān al-Dīn 'Adīm, and also because of the author's familiarity with places in Munjān (hence, the epithet “Munjī”). Also, Sayyid Shāh'zādah Muḥammad refers to it as a “manuscript-copy/transcription” (*nuskah*). The text, however, includes a number of Shughnānī and Rūshānī words (e.g. *sipoh* (a mound of wheat), *jurz-wurz* (noise and din), *leqa-deq* (lazy, clumsy), *chorghow* (sitting on all fours), *karson* (a wooden vessel in which butter is kept, also used in Tajik), etc.) and popular sayings, which makes it difficult to accept the claim that its author was from Munjān.⁵⁸ It is, therefore, more plausible that its author, in the sense of a person who combined elements from a variety of textual and local oral narratives about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, was either Sayyid Shāh'zādah Muḥammad or somebody else from Shughnān or, possibly, Rūshān. I will discuss these questions in detail later.

The accounts in the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* are the most extensive of all the hagiographical accounts of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁵⁹ The book is comprised of four parts. The first part, titled “On the arrival of Ḥaẓrat-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān” (*Dar bayān-i āmadan-i Ḥaẓrat-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*), occupies pages 1-53 and is the longest in the book. Aside from a short account about Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (pages 19-25), the remainder is about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It begins with a narrative about his ancestors, who are descended from Mūsā al-Kāẓim. When “the cursed” (*mal'ūn*) Hārūn al-Rashīd (the fifth 'Abbāsīd caliph who died in 193/809) martyred their illustrious

⁵⁷ Semēnov also mentions another *Safar'nāmah* supposedly composed by Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, which according to his Ismā'īlī informants is different from the one published in Charles Schefer. Semēnov, "Opisanie ismailitskikh rukopisei," 2190.

⁵⁸ For other Shughnānī and Rūshānī words in the text, see Qurbānshāh, *Afsānah va ḥaqīqat*, 160-164.

⁵⁹ I have used the Tang copy for this study, not the Dushanbe copy. Although the texts of the Tang and the Dushanbe copies of the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* are virtually identical, the text of the second copy is incomplete. Some pages (namely 2, 3, 16, 17, 32, 33, 46, 47, 92, 93, 122 and 123) of the Tang copy of the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* are missing in the Dushanbe copy. However, the last two pages, which are page number 112 and page number 113, are incorrectly marked as 122 and 123 in the Tang copy. Also, the first lines on many pages (namely 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 42, 44, 48, 50, 52 and 86) that appear in the Tang copy are either missing or have not been properly photographed in the Dushanbe copy. In the Dushanbe copy, pages 10 and 11 of the Tang copy are in the wrong order (pages 7b and 8a). Pages 58, 59, 60 and 61 are copied twice in the Tang copy. In addition to the text of the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, the Dushanbe copy contains other pieces of poetry and pages from other treatises and some fragments from the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*. Raḥmonqulov's published text in the *Bahr ul-akhbor* is not a faithful representation of the text of the Tang copy on which it is based. He omits and changes numerous words and sentences at liberty. At times, he omits and changes even terms that are crucially important to anyone wishing to understand the meaning of the text. I will list some of the most important changes and omissions in the footnotes.

ancestor, they moved to Khurāsān and subsequently to Balkh, where they became *amīrs*. In Balkh, they invited the people to the cause of the permanent (*mustaqarr*) Imāms of their time.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw was born in Balkh.⁶⁰ After receiving an education, he set out on a journey in search of “the light of the Imām of the Age” (*nūr-i Imām-i zamān*) and met Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ on the road.⁶¹ Both Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ are described as young (*javān*) men of equal status.⁶² This is unlike the other hagiographical stories in, for example, the *Kalām-i pīr* and the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, in which Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ is Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s senior and mentor.⁶³ According to this story, the two journeyed to Egypt, but were unable to meet with the Imām for six months. This was due to an upheaval created by Turkish-dominated forces that supported Musta‘lī, Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh’s son, who claimed the imamate. After six months, Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh abdicated his power, crown and worldly wealth, donned the ragged and patched garments of dervishes and joined these two *qalandars*. Every time Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh was engaged in a deep conversation with the two dervishes, sharing profound secrets (*rāz'dārī bā ham dāshtand*) with them, his entourage surrounded and protected the three. Because of this conduct of the Imām, the people of Egypt thought he had become mad (*dīvānah*).⁶⁴ After several days, the Imām entrusted his grandson Hādī to the care of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, whom he instructed to leave for Khurāsān. Meanwhile, Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh and some members of the elite (*khāṣṣān*) joined Nāṣir-i Khusraw and set out on a journey to the seven climes (*haft iqlīm*). However, one night, while they were on their way, the Imām and Nāṣir-i Khusraw disappeared (*ghayb zadand*), and their fellow travellers, having built a shrine (*mazār*) at the place of their disappearance, returned to Egypt.⁶⁵ During this time, Mawlānā Nizār escaped to Baghdād, but his brother Musta‘lī dispatched spies to all corners in search of him, his son Hādī and his father Mustanṣir bi’llāh. When Musta‘lī discovered Imām Nizār’s whereabouts, he threatened to attack Baghdād if the king (*pādshāh*) did not surrender him. The scholars (*‘ulamā*) asked Nizār to leave Baghdād, who was martyred once he returned to Egypt.⁶⁶ His son, Hādī was taken by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ to Ṭabas in Khurāsān. The imamate of Imām Hādī became manifest (*āshkār shud*)

⁶⁰ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 1. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 5.

⁶¹ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 2-3. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 6.

⁶² *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 11-12. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 9.

⁶³ According to the pseudo-autobiography of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ titled *Aḥvālāt-i Ḥaḡrat-i Bābā Sayyid-nā*, he was “in the service of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.” They meet again in Egypt where Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw to Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh. Mustanṣir bi’llāh had previously asked Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ if he knew Nāṣir-i Khusraw. In this text, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ regards Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a knowledgeable and wise man (*mard-i ‘ālim va dānā va ḥakīm*). The text is undated, but according to Daniel Beben, who was the first scholar to draw attention to this text, the codex in which it is included must date to the late 18th century. This is because it contains the Luṭf ‘Alī Beg Āzār’s recension of the *Risālat al-nadāmat*. The siglum of the manuscript in question is MS Folder 66 (KhRU-IIS). See Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” 364, n38. A copy of this text titled *Aḥvālāt-i murāji‘at-i safar'barī-i Ḥaḡrat-i Bābā Sayyid-nā* is preserved in the archives of KIH (copied in 1368/1949, Folder 28). Other digitized copies are in MS Folder 21 (copied in 1407/1986 by Ḥasan ‘Alī Shāh) and MSGK 98 (copied by Ḥaqdād son of Muḥammad Naḡar Bīk in 1392/1972, titled *Safar'nāmah*) (KhRU-IIS).

⁶⁴ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 15-16. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 11.

⁶⁵ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 17-18. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 12.

⁶⁶ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 19. Tabs in Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 13.

after confrontations with the Saljūq Sulṭān Shāh [Muḥammad] Tapar (d. 511/1118) and his son, who were killed by the Imām's devotees (*fidā'īs*).⁶⁷

As mentioned in the previous chapter, certain elements in the described portion of the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* were borrowed from the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, a copy of which is found in MS Folder 232 (1078/1667). The *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, however, is focused more on Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh and Imām Nizār (together with his sons, Mawlānā Hādī and Mawlānā Ḥusayn). Regarding Nāṣir-i Khusraw, it simply states that, after initially having difficulty meeting with Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh, he finally encountered the Imām and his son Mawlānā Nizār, who sent him to Khurāsān. Unlike the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* claims that it was before meeting with Nāṣir-i Khusraw that Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh left his power, crown and worldly wealth. The *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* also narrates certain events such as Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh's abandonment of his crown and worldly wealth, his destruction of his crown with oil, the fact that people considered him "mad," the dispute between Imām Nizār and Musta'lī, the escape of Nizār to Baghdād, the return of Nizār to Egypt (after Musta'lī requested the rulers (*umarā'*) of Baghdad to send him back), the martyrdom of Nizār at the hand of Musta'lī, the confrontations of the Ismā'īlīs headed by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ with Muḥammad Tapar and his son, named Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, who were killed by an Ismā'īlī devotee identified as Ra'īs Iṣfahānī and others.⁶⁸ The remaining details about Nāṣir-i Khusraw are not found in the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*. Many other elements, such as the sending of an envoy to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ by Imām Nizār when he escaped to Baghdād, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's welcoming of Imām Muhtadī (Imām Hādī's son) in Alamūt, the appointment of Kiyā Muḥammad as the lord of Alamūt by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, the murder of Mawlānā Qāhir (Imām Muhtadī's son) by Kiyā Muḥammad and others, which feature in the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, do not appear in the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*.

It is worth mentioning that the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*'s account regarding the imamate of Mawlānā Nizār and Mawlānā Hādī is somewhat confusing. First, unlike the Ismā'īlī historical tradition, which holds that Mawlānā Nizār became the Imām of the community after the death of Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh, the account in the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* states that Mawlānā Nizār died before his father. This is perhaps the reason the author of the work does not mention the imamate of Mawlānā Nizār. However, it does not entail that the author of the work does not regard Mawlānā Nizār as an Imām, as the title 'Mawlānā' suggests. Second, it claims that the imamate of Mawlānā Hādī became manifest, despite mentioning that Mawlānā Mustanṣir bi'llāh was still alive. As the next paragraph shows, before passing away, Mawlānā Mustanṣir bi'llāh sent Nāṣir-i Khusraw to convey his

⁶⁷ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 18-25. Shāh Tabarruk in Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 12-15. The figure is the Saljūq Sulṭān Muḥammad Tapar who ruled from 498-511/1105-1118 in Persia. He launched a series of campaigns against the Ismā'īlīs. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 320, 35.

⁶⁸ *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, MS Folder 232 (KhRU-IIS), 110-116.

will or mandate (*vaṣīyat*) to Mawlānā Hādī. This needs to be acknowledged because this section of the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* is puzzling to any reader familiar with the history of Ismā'īlism. Yet, one must remember that it is a hagiographical, not a historiographical, source.

According to the story, the Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, after travelling the world three times, arrived in Māy-i May (here Māh-i May) in Darvāz. This is where the Imām passed away, but not before he appointed Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the *pīr-i rukn*, the *hujjat* of the islands (*hujjat-i jazā'ir*) and chief *dā'ī* (*dā'ī al-du'āt*) whose *da'vah* extended to all the seven climes.⁶⁹ He also appointed Ḥasan-i Šabbāh as chief *hujjat* (*hujjat-i a'zam*), giving him the title Bābā Sayyid-nā.⁷⁰ Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh told Nāṣir-i Khusraw to go to Mawlānā Hādī (referred to as Šāhib in the hagiography) to relate his (Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh's) will or mandate to Mawlānā Hādī.⁷¹ Upon burying the Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh, performing the funeral prayer (*janāzah*) and building a *langar* across the grave of the Imām, Nāṣir-i Khusraw went to serve his grandson, the new Imām Mawlānā Hādī.⁷² He was in the service of Imām Hādī when the ruler of the heretics sent for him. The heretic wanted Nāṣir-i Khusraw to cure an illness with which he was afflicted. In order to attract the saint, the heretic promised to follow him should he recover from the illness. Nāṣir-i Khusraw discussed this with Imām Hādī. The Imām ordered him to go and summon (*da'vat kun*) the ruler of the *malāhidah* along with the people of Baghdād, who, notably, are depicted as his subjects.⁷³ It is therefore clear that in this version of the text, the *malāhidah* include the people of Baghdād or the followers of the 'Abbāsīd caliph, indicating, as I will show in the analysis, that, importantly, for the author of this hagiography, the *malāhidah* or the “heretics” are not the Ismā'īlīs or the followers of the Imām, but their opponents.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw identified and cured the illness of the heretic. He remained at the heretic's court for some time, teaching wisdom (*ḥikmat*) to his son. Later, the ruler of the *malāhidah* did not grant Nāṣir-i Khusraw permission to leave. Instead, he tasked him with building a bathhouse with seven doors that opened and locked with a single key and with creating a glowing artificial moon between the earth and the sky to brighten the seven cities of his dominion. Even though Nāṣir-i Khusraw fulfilled these requests within a short time, the ruler refused to let him go and even threw

⁶⁹ As discussed below, *pīr-i rukn* can be translated differently depending on the context.

⁷⁰ According to the *Dar bayān-i haft hadd-i jismānī*, which was copied by Shāh Fiṭūr in 1367/1947 in Shughnān, it was Ḥaẓrat Bābā Sayyid-nā (i.e. Ḥasan-i Šabbāh) who dispatched Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw to Badakhshān. The *Dar bayān-i haft hadd-i jismānī* mentions that Ḥaẓrat Bābā Sayyid-nā wrote a book called *Rūḥ al-ḥayāt* (*The Spirit of Life*), gave it to Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw and told him to go to Badakhshān in order to teach the faithful from the book. The *Dar bayān-i haft hadd-i jismānī* also describes Ḥaẓrat Bābā Sayyid-nā as the *hujjat-i a'zam* and Nāṣir-i Khusraw is the *hujjat-i jazā'ir*. MS 1959/7z, ff. 125a-128a. On this work, see Baqoev, *Alfavitnyi Katalog*, 45.

⁷¹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 26-27. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 15-16.

⁷² *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 25. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 15. In Badakhshān, a *langar* (or *langār*) is a large roofless or ceilingless construction (*maḥalah-i kalān-i bī-pūsh, ū-rā langar mī'gūyand*), usually a wall of stone round a sacred site or the grave of a saint. *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 9. Smaller structures at other places are usually known as *langarak*. There are numerous sacred places known as *langar* in other parts of Tajikistan, including Darvāz. See Nisormamadov, *Folklori Pomir*, vol. 4 (Dushanbe: 2015), 68.

⁷³ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 27. Raḥmonqulov has “go and cure him” instead of “go and invite him and the people of Baghdād.” Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 16.

him in prison.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, the ruler of the *malāḥidah* became attracted to his own daughter, and the saint was aware of his evil intention. When the heretic committed incest, the saint, who had already considered him to be an unbeliever (*kāfir*), came to regard him as a *mulḥid* (*az kāfirī ham guzasht, mulḥid shud*), which is worse than mere disbelief. When the learned ones (*‘ulamā’*) accused the ruler of violating the *sharī‘ah*, he attributed the cause of his deed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, claiming that it was in accordance with the saint’s *mazḥab*.⁷⁵ The ruler of the *malāḥidah* then forced Nāṣir-i Khusraw to deny final gathering or the assembly (on the day of judgment) (*ḥashr*) and produce a commentary on the Qur’ān according to his *mazḥab*. He threatened to kill Nāṣir-i Khusraw if he did not comply.⁷⁶ The story has Fārābī ask Nāṣir-i Khusraw whether he rejected the notion of the final gathering or the day of assembly and, in response, Nāṣir-i Khusraw recites the following piece of poetry, a slightly different version of the verses presented above:⁷⁷

Mardakī-rā bih dasht gurg darīd
Z-ū bi-khurdaṅd kargas-u zāghān
Īn chunīn kas bih ḥashr zindah shavad
*Gūz dar rīsh-i mardak-i nādān*⁷⁸

A man was devoured by wolves in the plain
 His bones were picked by vulture and by crow
 Shall this man’s body rise to life [for the gathering] again?
 Defile the beards of such a fool man!

Fārābī recites the following verse:⁷⁹

Mardakī-rā bih dasht gurg darīd
Jumlah a’zā-yi ū bi-shud jaw-jaw
Qādir-u z zu-l-jalāl zindah kunad
*Bād bar rīsh-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*⁸⁰

A man who was devoured by wolves in the plain
 And whose parts of body became resolved
 Can be brought to life by God
 Air in the beards of Nāṣir-i Khusraw

Following his encounter with Fārābī, a friend among the scholars approached Nāṣir-i Khusraw and asked why he denied the final gathering. Nāṣir-i Khusraw stated that fear for his life drove him to do this.⁸¹ Nevertheless, the scholars issued a decree sentencing him to death. The ruler, however, did not kill Nāṣir-i Khusraw. At this stage, Nāṣir-i Khusraw sent for his brother, Sulṭān Sa‘īd, who duly arrived. He then asked the ruler to install Sulṭān Sa‘īd in his place but give him the permission to leave for several days. When the permission was finally granted, Nāṣir-i Khusraw summoned the spirits with

⁷⁴ *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 30-31. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 17. Al-Muqanna‘ (d. 163/780) is said to have produced an artificial moon by means of quicksilver in a well. See Patricia Crone, “Moqanna’,” *EI2*.

⁷⁵ *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 32-33. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 17-18.

⁷⁶ *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 34. Raḥmonqulov changes “reject resurrection” (*az ḥashr inkār kun*) to “find a solution to this problem” (*iloji kor kun*) (Persian, *‘ilāj-i kār kun*), Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 18. This is similar to the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, but unlike the it, the *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir* presents the *mazḥab* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as Ismā‘īlism, which is not the *mazḥab* of the “heretics.”

⁷⁷ The character of the renowned Muslim polymath, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Fārābī (d. 399/1052) also appears towards the end of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. Azorabek, “Safarnomai Ḥazratī Sayyid Nosiri Khusrawi quddusi sara,” 64-65.

⁷⁸ *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 34. Raḥmonqulov changes *ḥashr* to *ashr* (Persian, *‘ashr*), Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 18.

⁷⁹ A slightly different version of the verse, which is attributed to Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), is found in Schefer, *Sefer Nameh*, 2.

⁸⁰ *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 34. Raḥmonqulov changes *qādir-u zu-l-jalāl* to *qodir-u al-jallol* (Persian, *qādir-u al-jallāl*), Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 19.

⁸¹ *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 35. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 19.

the help of the sword prayer (*sayfī*) and ordered them to possess and hold the tongue of the ruler of the *malāḥidah*.⁸² Witnessing the ruler's condition, the scholars and the nobles attempted to incite his son against Nāṣir-i Khusraw. They blamed the saint for inflicting the illness on the heretic ruler. As Nāṣir-i Khusraw was the teacher of the ruler's son, the latter did not hasten to kill him, but asked him to cure his father's illness instead.

The story proceeds to relate how Nāṣir-i Khusraw informed the prince of a remedy, a plant in the mountains of Damascus, which he offered to bring. The prince dispatched an army of seven hundred men with Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his brother, but on the way, the saint destroyed them with the influence of the planet Mars (*mirrīkh*).⁸³ With no army to hold them back, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his brother escaped to Balkh and, from there, he went to Badakhshān. In Badakhshān, he was warmly received, recognized as a saint, and served by a number of dervishes, such as Khvājah Hamdīn, Khvājah Bashīr and Khvājah Batalmān. He decided to settle in Yumgān. When an army of the heretics pursued him in Badakhshān, he escaped by means marvels (spiders spun their web and concealed him, he broke the wall of a house by merely pointing to it and flew over a river, etc.) and even tricked the geomancers (*rammālān*) that came with the army of the heretics.⁸⁴ Following his escape, the saint went to the lands of Kurān and Munjān and lived there for thirteen years.⁸⁵ He built a mosque and houses for forty-day retreats (*chillah'khānahs*) in different places in the area. During this time, twelve thousand fairies (*parī*) and several individuals, whose names are given as Shāh Sayyid Muḥammad Madanī, Shāh Sayyid Muḥammad Muḥaddiṣ (Maḥḍaṣ), Aḥmad-i Dīvānah, Bābā Fāq Muḥammad, Khvājah Hamdīn and others, were in his service.⁸⁶ The story relates the performance of numerous marvels by the saint. One marvel, which recurs in later sources, involved bringing a slaughtered sheep, whose meat was consumed by the dervishes, back to life with the help of the spirits (*rūḥāniyān*).⁸⁷ Other marvels included creating springs by striking the earth with his walking staff and turning dust to precious stones and vice versa.⁸⁸ The text demonstrates that, as a consequence of witnessing his marvels, the number of the people, who had faith in him and recognized him as a saint (*valī*), increased.⁸⁹

The first part of the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* ends with a narrative about the travels of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his companions to different parts of Badakhshān and his settlement in a cave at Yumgān.

⁸² *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 36. Raḥmonqulov changes *sayfī* to *sahīfa* (Persian, *ṣahīfah*), Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 19.

⁸³ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 37. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 20.

⁸⁴ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 40-42. Raḥmonqulov has the army (*lashkariyān*) (Persian, *lashkariyān*) instead of the army of the *malāḥidah* (*lashkar-i malāḥidah*), Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 21-22.

⁸⁵ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 43. Raḥmonqulov changes Kurān to Ghārān, which is incorrect. Nāṣir-i Khusraw goes to the regions on the right side of the Panj river later, but at this time he is in Kurān and Munjān. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 22.

⁸⁶ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 43. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 22.

⁸⁷ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 43-44. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 22-23.

⁸⁸ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 48-49. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 24-25.

⁸⁹ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 46. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 23.

After travelling to Tibet, Gilgit, Kanjut and other places through the cave, the companions returned to Nāšir-i Khusraw and resumed their service.⁹⁰ Here, we also read about two kings (*pādshāh*) in Badakhshān, Gīv ibn Kaykāvūs and Sayyid ‘Alī. Gīv ibn Kaykāvūs had immense faith in Nāšir-i Khusraw, and both he and the *pīr* visited one another. The second king, Sayyid ‘Alī, is described as a relative of Nāšir-i Khusraw.⁹¹ The second part (pages 54-63) of this account concerns the arrival of Sayyid Suhrāb in Badakhshān (*Dar bayān-i āmadan va sākin shudan-i Khvājah Suhrāb-i Valī bih Badakhshān*). Like the narrative in the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, it describes how Sayyid Suhrāb’s ancestors migrated from Baghdād after the death of Mūsá al-Kāzīm and became the chiefs (*amīrs*) in Yazd. There, Sayyid Suhrāb’s father, Sayyid Ḥasan Shāh, saw Nāšir-i Khusraw in a dream. The *pīr* gave him good tidings of the birth of his son, Sayyid Suhrāb. When Sayyid Suhrāb reached the age of four, he became gravely ill and no physician was able to cure him. One day, he saw an old man in his dream who informed him that only Nāšir-i Khusraw was able to cure his illness. For this reason, Sayyid Suhrāb’s father Sayyid Ḥasan Shāh sent him along with his servant Bābā Ḥaydarī from Yazd to the saint in Badakhshān. Having endured great hardships on their journey, the two finally met the saint. Upon hearing Nāšir-i Khusraw’s voice and seeing him, Sayyid Suhrāb was miraculously cured.⁹² This part of the text is more of a hagiography of Sayyid Suhrāb, but Nāšir-i Khusraw still figures prominently in it. This hagiographical story is very short compared to that in the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, in which Sayyid Suhrāb occupies the center of the narrative. As in the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, this story also presents Nāšir-i Khusraw and Sayyid Suhrāb Valī as descendants of Mūsá al-Kāzīm.

Although the third part of the narrative (pp. 64-79) is devoted to an important disciple of Nāšir-i Khusraw, Malik Jahān Shāh (*Dar bayān-i āmadan-i Malik Jahān Shāh*),⁹³ it contains numerous references to Nāšir-i Khusraw. According to this story, Malik Jahān Shāh was a king in Yumgān who had inherited the kingdom from his father Gīv ibn Kaykāvūs, one of the ancient kings of Badakhshān (*az malik'hā-yi qadīm-i Badakhshān*).⁹⁴ Gīv himself had abandoned his throne and worldly wealth after encountering Nāšir-i Khusraw. The story recounts how Nāšir-i Khusraw cures the young daughter of Gīv ibn Kaykāvūs, who could not speak or walk, by giving her water into which he blew. Upon recovery, she followed Nāšir-i Khusraw and asked him to give her more water touched by his breath. He hesitated, explaining that now that she was completely healthy, his breath, being alive, could turn into a child inside her. This, he noted, would bring her nothing but shame and infamy.

⁹⁰ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 51-52. Raḥmonqulov changes Gilgit to Kalkut (Calcutta), Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 25.

⁹¹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 52-53. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 26.

⁹² *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 54-63. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 26-30.

⁹³ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 64. Raḥmonqulov changes the title to *Dar bob-i Malik Jahonshoh* or “On Malik Jahān Shāh” (Persian, *Dar bāb-i Malik Jahān Shāh*), which is reasonable, because unlike Nāšir-i Khusraw and Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, he is described as a local person. The title, however, does not imply he arrived in Badakhshān. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 30. Umed Muḥammadsherzodshoev, as quoted by Jo-Ann Gross in footnote 17, states incorrectly that the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir* consists of three sections. See Gross, “The Motif of the Cave,” 137.

⁹⁴ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 64. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 30.

However, the young girl insisted on her request, drank more water touched by his breath and became pregnant.

The story mentions two individuals, one named Qāzī Naṣr al-Dīn, who was on good terms with Nāṣir-i Khusraw, and one named Qāzī Naṣr Allāh, who was his enemy.⁹⁵ When Qāzī Naṣr Allāh got wind of the pregnancy of Malik Jahān Shāh's sister, he instigated the king against Nāṣir-i Khusraw, accusing him of committing an unlawful deed (*kār-i nā'mashrū*) and insisting that he be put to death.⁹⁶ Malik Jahān Shāh then charged towards Nāṣir-i Khusraw with his army in order to punish him, but was prevented from coming near him by a marvel performed by the saint (*valī-i barkamāl*). He turned the bridge, which Malik Jahān Shāh was crossing on his horse, upside down and left him and his horse suspended from the bridge. After this feat, the king acquired great faith in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's sainthood, abandoned his kingdom and throne (*pādshāhī va takht*) and entered the saint's service. He took care of the fireplace and fire (*gulkhan*) at the cave.⁹⁷ Nāṣir-i Khusraw created a *rubāb* (a stringed lute) from the saddle of Malik Jahān Shāh's horse by blowing into it and told him to play it and sing the song of praise (*maddāh*).⁹⁸ Malik Jahān Shāh then sang seventy songs beginning with one in praise of 'Alī, while those present reached the state of spiritual intoxication (*dar jazb shudand*) by listening to him.⁹⁹

The story then relates how Malik Jahān Shāh and his sister served Nāṣir-i Khusraw for thirty-two years, how Sayyid Suhrāb memorized the Qur'ān and learned the science of chemistry, astronomy, wisdom (*hikmat*), the science of mysteries ('*ilm-i rumūz*) and the power of subjection (*taskhīr*) from the *pīr* for a period of thirty years, how Sayyid Suhrāb, with the help of (*bih tanbīh*) Nāṣir-i Khusraw, wrote a book called *Ṣaḥīfah*, how the saint cured people with marvels by making the blind see and the lame walk, how people requested him to come out of the cave and bring his *da'vah* to everyone, how the saint began his *da'vah*, how he called Malik Jahān Shāh his brother and bestowed the status of *shaykh* (*shaykhī*) on him and called Sayyid Suhrāb his son, and how he appointed Malik Jahān Shāh and Sayyid Suhrāb the guides and leaders of the people after him.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ The names of these two men appear in the pseudo-autobiography, but scholars who have examined the *Risālat al-nadāmat*, have confused the two. I further discuss this further in Chapter Six.

⁹⁶ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 65-68. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 30-32.

⁹⁷ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 69-71. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 32-33.

⁹⁸ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 71. Raḥmonqulov changes "*chūb-rā pur-i dam andākht bi-partāfi*" to "*chubro bipartofi*" or "[he] threw the wood [on the ground]" (Persian, "*chūb-rā bi-partāfi*"), Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 33.

⁹⁹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 72. Raḥmonqulov incorrectly reads the word *jazb* (Persian, "spiritual intoxication, "absorption," etc.) as *jazm* (which is a Shughnānī-Rūshānī word for "fun.") Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 33.

¹⁰⁰ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 74-79. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 34-36. Raḥmonqulov has three years instead of thirty years. In Badakhshān, the science of the power of subjection ('*ilm-i taskhīr*) refers to the type of knowledge that helps people to overpower spiritual beings (e.g. *jinn*s, etc.). People use this science to cure those who are possessed by *jinn*s or those whose sickness was brought about through magic (*sihr* and *jādūi*). In other words, '*ilm-i taskhīr*, as spiritual knowledge and practice is differentiated from magic. See for instance, Khan, *Living Traditions of Nasir Khusraw*, 196-99. The *Ṣaḥīfah* is presumably the *Sī-u shish ṣaḥīfah* that is attributed to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī Badakhshānī. The work, which is also known as the *Tūhfah al-nāzīrīn*, is widely distributed in Badakhshān. Ḥājī Qudrat Allāh edited and published it in the original Persian in 1960 in Gilgit, Pakistan. A year later, the text was edited by Hūshang Ujāqī in Tehran and published by the Ismaili Society. The latter edition is based on three manuscripts that come from Pakistan, from the districts of Hunza and Chitrāl.

The fourth and final part (pp. 79-123) of the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* concerns the way Nāṣir-i Khusraw bequeaths the authority of his *da'vah* to Sayyid Suhrāb (Sayyid 'Alavī) and Malik Jahān Shāh (*Dar bayān-i bakhshīdan-i Ḥaẓrat-i pīr qaddasa sirrahu silsilah-i da'vat bih Sayyid 'Alavī va Malik Jahān Shāh*). It begins with Nāṣir-i Khusraw giving the wine of divine unity (*bādah-i vaḥdat*) to the men in his service (*charāgh'dārān*, literally “lamp-holders”). He bestows the cup on Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, who becomes the cupbearer (*sāqī*), symbolizing his elevated position.¹⁰¹ With the saint's instructions, Sayyid Suhrāb and Malik Jahān Shāh teach and gather offerings (*nuzūrāt*) for the *pīr* from various localities.¹⁰² The story also reiterates how Nāṣir-i Khusraw gives Malik Jahān Shāh the status (*martabah*) of *shaykh*, but adds that inspired by the *pīr*'s breath (*nafas*), even wild beasts and birds (*vaḥsh-u ṭayr*) fall under Malik Jahān Shāh's command. Malik Jahān Shāh is also able to perform marvels “in the name of the breath of Nāṣir-i Khusraw” (*bih ḥaqq-i nafas-i pīr*). For example, he makes a sign to a herd of mountain goats (*nakhchīr*), which obey and come to him.¹⁰³ Nāṣir-i Khusraw names Malik Jahān Shāh Bābā 'Umar-i Yumgī, because he had given (*bakhshīdah*) him his breath (*nafas*).¹⁰⁴

The story further recounts how Nāṣir-i Khusraw travels to various places (such as Qalāt, Pārdīh, Farghāmū, etc.) along with his companions, performing marvels (e.g. drying a river and turning the shield (*sipar*) of a man into a rock (*sang*) as a punishment for not giving the tithe (*dahyak*) to the dervishes, breaking the rock into pieces, flying over a river, etc.). Many people warmly welcome and honour him. Again, his performance of marvelous deeds instills immensely strong faith in the hearts of those who witness them.¹⁰⁵ He tells the people that those who recognize him as their guide (*pīshvā*) and the *pīr-i rukn* by the order of the legatee (*vaṣī*) of the Prophet should follow Sayyid Suhrāb and Malik Jahān Shāh.¹⁰⁶ Nāṣir-i Khusraw then divides the places (*takāvah*) under his *da'vah* between Sayyid Suhrāb and Malik Jahān Shāh.¹⁰⁷ The text enjoins the people to seek guidance from none other than these two *khalīfahs* and their descendants (*avlād*) and to submit their spiritual offerings only to these noble households. Those who disobey are doomed and will go to hell.¹⁰⁸

The final portion of the story recounts the arrival of forty *qalandars* from India (*Hindūstān*). There happens to be a pious man named Ḥaẓrat Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, also known as Shāh Ṭālib-i

Badakhshānī, *St-u Shīsh Ṣaḥīfah*. Raḥmonqulov does not mention the name of the book in the published hagiography. He does not mention the help of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in its composition either.

¹⁰¹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 80. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 37.

¹⁰² *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 80-84. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 37-38.

¹⁰³ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 84. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 38.

¹⁰⁴ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 85-86. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 39.

¹⁰⁵ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 87-93. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 40-42.

¹⁰⁶ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 95. Raḥmonqulov changes *pīr-i rukn* to *pīr-i dakna* (Persian, *pīr-i daknah*). Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 43. It is not clear what *dakna* means.

¹⁰⁷ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 96. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 43.

¹⁰⁸ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 96-99. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 44.

Sarmast, with them. Nāṣir-i Khusraw meets and honours him in Pāy-i Mazār.¹⁰⁹ At the request of Shāh Ṭālib-i Sarmast, the *pīr*, together with four hundred and forty four companions, sets on a long journey to visit the burial place of Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh. However, before heading for Darvāz, they pass through other areas of Badakhshān, including Yumgān, Sarāb, Sanglich, Zībāk, Ishkāshim, Vakhān, Ghārān, Darmārakht, Vīr, Dīhmurghān, Bārpanjah, Shākh'darah, Sūchān, Ghund, Pārshinīv, Dīhshār, Shudūj (Sudūj), Sākhcharv, Khūf, Pājūr, Jāvīd (Chāvīd), Chāsūd, Yīmts, Shujānd, Vamār, Dīhrūshān, Ramdāndarah, and other places that are located in the modern Tajik Ishkāshim, Shughnān, Rāsh(t)qal'ah and Rūshān as well as modern Afghan Shughnān and Darvāz.¹¹⁰ This story presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the author of numerous sayings regarding the people of the various localities; some of these sayings are famous today.

7.2 Analysis

This section introduces various images and portrayals of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in hagiographies discussed above. It also aims to provide an analysis of the themes, messages and agendas of these hagiographies in light of the cultural, political and religious landscape outlined in Chapter Three. The purpose of the analysis is to support a central argument, which is that these pre-Soviet Badakhshānī hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in addition to recording the memory of the *pīr*, serve five major purposes: First, they increase devotion to Nāṣir-i Khusraw (and, through him, to the Ismā'īlī Imām) by asserting his spiritual authority and holiness. Second, such narratives legitimize Badakhshān's Islamic pedigree by focusing on the stature of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, credited with introducing the faith in the region, by connecting the (11th century Fāṭimid) Ismā'īlī Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh to the region, and by symbolically constructing sacred places, or “places of memory,” associated with the *pīr*. Third, they serve to legitimate the religious authority and leadership of those claiming spiritual descent from and initiatory ties to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Fourth, they dissociate Nāṣir-i Khusraw from the “heretics” (*malāhidah*). In this way, they shield the followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ismā'īlism from accusations of heresy and charges of heterodoxy and immorality. Fifth, these pre-Soviet hagiographies foster devotion to the institution connected to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ismā'īlī theological and moral teachings.

As explored in Chapter Three, prior to Badakhshān's joining the Soviet Union in the early 20th century, the socio-political life of the Ismā'īlīs often depended on and was dominated by their Sunnī – Afghan and Bukhāran - neighbours. The Ismā'īlīs had been persecuted and even the local rulers or *mīrs* of the Ismā'īlī populated areas of Badakhshān, the majority of whom were Sunnīs, used their power in unrestrained ways and knew no bounds when it came to oppression and brutality directed

¹⁰⁹ Judging by the route the saints are said to have taken, Pāy-i Mazār should be the name of a place somewhere in Yumgān. It can not be the Pāy-i Mazār in north Badakhshān, which is presently located Kāfab district and is closer to Māh-i Naw.

toward their Ismāʿīlī subjects. Much of the maltreatment and oppression of the Ismāʿīlīs, whom the Sunnīs branded as “unbelievers” (*kāfīrs*), was grounded in religious differences. In such a hostile milieu, although the Ismāʿīlīs do not seem to have practiced full pious circumspection (*taqiyyah*), since their true religious identity and beliefs were known to the Sunnīs and gave them grounds for persecution, they were still reluctant to discuss their faith openly with people outside of their community.

Prior to the transformations brought on by the establishment of Soviet power, and the formulation of new “national” boundaries and identities, the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān were connected to Islam and the Muslim world. Islamic and communal identities were part and parcel of their local sacred history between the late 18th and early 20th centuries. In such an environment and in the face of various faith-based accusations, the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān continued to feel the need to justify their “orthodoxy” to the politically dominant Sunnīs. One of the ways in which they did so was through the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The hagiographical accounts produced between the late 18th and early 20th centuries go beyond simply presenting Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a figure acceptable to other Muslim. Instead, they openly emphasize his role in the spread of Ismāʿīlism in the region and his association with the Ismāʿīlī Imām. While in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was presented as a pious, wise, knowledgeable and deeply spiritual Muslim who was wrongly accused of heresy and unbelief, and in Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* and Mahjūr’s *Dar manqabat*, he appears as a Shīʿī saint, in the hagiographical accounts written between the late 18th and early 20th centuries, he transforms into the founder of their religious tradition, Ismāʿīlism. Like Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* and Mahjūr’s *Dar manqabat*, the sources overwhelmingly assert Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s spiritual authority and holiness, this time as an identifiably Ismāʿīlī saint. His figure and teachings become central to the conceptions of religious identity in the hagiographies of Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs.

During this time, the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān were controlled by the local *pīrs* who enjoyed extraordinary authority over them. Pīrship, an extremely important institution in Badakhshān, possessed a “routinized” form of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s charisma, and many figures linked their physical and spiritual genealogy to him, since their status and livelihood depended on the ability to trace their lineage back to him. During this time, the Ismāʿīlī *daʿvah* functioned more openly through a well-organized network of *khalīfahs*. It is in light of the changing and changed socio-political context, which was discussed at length in Chapter Three, that the middle hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw should be read and understood. These hagiographies, of course, reflect the Ismāʿīlī faith in Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s sainthood, inviting people to venerate the person through whom God works marvelous deeds. They also serve other purposes that range from preserving the community’s heritage and the saint’s spiritual legacy to increasing the inner cohesion of the community and promoting devotion to

¹¹⁰ *Siyāhat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 100-107. Raḥmonqulov, *Bāhr ul-akhbor*, 45-48.

the institution connected to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and to the Ismā'īlī doctrinal and moral teachings.

7.2.1 Spiritual Authority and Holiness

Beyond doubt, one of the most purposes of the hagiographical stories is to instill a sense of wonder at what Nāṣir-i Khusraw was as capable of doing. The hagiographical stories of Nāṣir-i Khusraw are immensely entertaining and full of warmth. It is a great source of satisfaction for the believers to read or hear stories about holy men and women whose saintly powers they believe in and with whom they associate themselves, their communities and their traditions. The role of the hagiographies, however, extends beyond mere entertainment and amazement. In addition to recording the memory of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, they were also meant to increase devotion to the *pīr* (and, through him, to the Imām) and strengthen faith in him by asserting his spiritual authority and sanctity. The hagiographical accounts examined here do this in a number of ways:

First, they link Nāṣir-i Khusraw's familial genealogy to the Prophet Muḥammad and the Shī'ī Imāms. As mentioned before, this device is found in many Islamic and other Ismā'īlī hagiographical traditions.¹¹¹ In this regard, these accounts are continuous with the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, Ḥusaynī's *Haft band* and to some extent with Mahjūr's *Dar manqabat*. Like these three works, the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* trace Nāṣir-i Khusraw's genealogy back to the seventh Twelver Shī'ī Imām Mūsá al-Kāzīm (d. 183/799). Despite slight differences in the names of the ancestors, the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* offer the same genealogy of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (see Table 1.1.) in which he is a seventh-generation descendant of Mūsá al-Kāzīm.¹¹² The choice of the Twelver Shī'ī Imām Mūsá al-Kāzīm as the ancestor of the Ismā'īlī Nāṣir-i Khusraw is noteworthy. As we will see, other important Badakhshānī *pīrs* also claim descent from Mūsá al-Kāzīm. Even the local Sunnī rulers (*mīrs*) in Badakhshān (in Shughnān and Rūshān) seem to have traced their genealogies back to him.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Algar, "Imām Mūsá al-Kāzīm and Šūfī Tradition," 1. Ali Asani, "The Ismā'īlī Pīr Sadr al-Dīn," in *Tales of Friends: Islamic hagiography in translation*, ed. John Renard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 261-68.

¹¹² *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 1. Rahmonqulov's edition omits Sayyid Hāriṣ and Imām Muḥammad Ṭaqī from the list. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 5. *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 123-125. This genealogy of Nāṣir-i Khusraw is generally accepted in Badakhshān. The *Nasabnāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* also gives the same genealogy. Copies of the *Nasabnāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* are found in MS 1961/29b, ff. 251-262 (OITAS) and MS Folder 224, f. 164a (KhRU-IIS). See also *Nasabnāmah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, MSGK-92 (copied in 1344/1925 by 'Ālam Shāh son of Sayyid Muḥammad) (KhRU-IIS).

¹¹³ Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 34-35.

	<i>Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir</i>	<i>Silk-i guhar'rīz</i>
1	Shāh Nāšir	Nāšir-i Khusraw
2	Sayyid Khusraw	Amīr Khusraw
3	Sayyid Hāriş	Mīr Sayyid Hāriş
4	Sayyid 'Alī	Mīr Sayyid 'Alī
5	Shāh Sayyid Ḥasan	Mīr Sayyid Ḥasan
6	Imām Muḥammad Taqī	Imām Muḥammad Taqī
7	Imām Sultān 'Alī Mūsā Rizā	Imām Shāh 'Alī Mūsā Rizā
8	Imām Mūsā Kāzim	Imām Mūsā Kāzim

Table 1.1. Nāšir-i Khusraw's genealogy

Claim of physical and spiritual lineage traced to Mūsā al-Kāzim is a widespread phenomenon among various Muslim communities.¹¹⁴ Mūsā al-Kāzim enjoyed respect and veneration, even among those who were not his followers. Initially, prominent among those who were not Shī'īs, but nonetheless held Shī'ī Imāms in high esteem, were those ascetics and Şūfīs who came to believe, like the Shī'ah, in the initiatic transmission of a special body of knowledge, regarding the Imāms as exemplars of the spiritual virtues. Celebrated Şūfī authors like Abū Bakr al-Kalabādhī (d. 385/995), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān al-Hujwīrī (d. c. 465/1071), the mystic Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 618/1221) and others included Shī'ī Imāms among their spiritual teachers and forbearers.¹¹⁵ Early Şūfīs drew inspiration from the teachings of the Imāms, and popular traditions, repeated down to the present, associate each of the early Imāms (usually the first eight of the Twelve Imāms) with one or more of the well-known Şūfīs. As Hamid Algar shows, the Imāms served as poles of the spiritual world for many Muslims, even after the Sunnī-Shī'ī division crystallized in sectarian form.¹¹⁶ The name of Mūsā al-Kāzim is linked, whether historically or not, with the names of Shaqīq Balkhī (d. 194/809-810), Abū Naşr Bishr al-Ḥārith al-Ḥāfī (d. 227/841-842), Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815-816) and even Ḥusayn ibn Manşūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922).¹¹⁷ Similarly, prominent Şūfīs such as Junayd Baghdādī (d. 298/910), Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī (d. 578/1183) (the eponymous founder of the Rifā'ī Şūfī order) and others claimed physical descent from Mūsā al-Kāzim, or such claims were made on their behalf.¹¹⁸ Despite the predominant view that Junayd Baghdādī was of Iranian ancestry, like Nāšir-i Khusraw, certain authors (e.g. Taqī al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī (d. 774/1373) in his *Tiryāq al-muḥibbīn*) did not

¹¹⁴ Algar, "Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim and Şūfī Tradition," 1.

¹¹⁵ John B. Taylor, "Ja'far al-Sadiq, Spiritual Forebear of the Sufis," *Islamic Culture* 40 (1966): 97-113. Algar, "Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim and Şūfī Tradition," 1.

¹¹⁶ "Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim and Şūfī Tradition," 1-2.

¹¹⁷ The *Khāksār* dervishes of Iran claim that Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim nominated Ḥallāj as the pole (*qutb*) of the age. Ibid., 7.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 9.

hesitate to claim this genealogy for him as well.¹¹⁹ In the eastern Islamic lands and Iran in particular during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, many Šūfīs gave prominence to their devotion to the family of the Prophet, emphasizing the role of the Imāms as fountainheads of spiritual traditions. The Bīktāshīs, for example, claimed that the founder of their order Ḥājjī Bīktāsh was a son of Muḥammad b. Mūsá, a great-grandson of Mūsá al-Kāzīm. The founder of the Nūrbakhshī order, Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 869/1464) claimed physical descent from Mūsá al-Kāzīm. In the 10th/16th century, the Šafavids in Iran also adorned themselves with the lineage of Mūsá al-Kāzīm.¹²⁰

There are different views as to why the lineage of Mūsá al-Kāzīm was so prominent among various claimants. Hamid Algar argues that this may be related to the numerical predominance of Mūsavī *sayyids* in Iran and the number of shrines built over the tombs of the descendants of Mūsá al-Kāzīm in Iran.¹²¹ In fact, according to Amīr Ṭāhirī, those who claim descent from the lineage of Mūsá al-Kāzīm account for some seventy per cent of all *sayyids* in present-day Persia, further illustrating this widespread phenomenon.¹²² Others attribute the prominence of the lineage to a period of intense interaction between Šūfism and Shī‘ism after the 8th/14th century.¹²³ Some suggest that the Šafavids attempted to establish descent for their house from Mūsá al-Kāzīm in order to efface their humble Kurdish origins after their transformation from a Šūfī order to a ruling Shī‘ī dynasty.¹²⁴ With their accession to power, the Šafavids established a Twelver Shī‘ī state and felt the need to demonstrate the legitimacy of their claim to power by promoting their alleged Twelver Shī‘ī descent.¹²⁵ To this end, they produced a genealogy that purported to establish their descent from Mūsá al-Kāzīm. Regardless of its cause, Mūsá al-Kāzīm enjoys a reputation for piety, asceticism, spiritual virtue and trustworthiness in transmitting Prophetic traditions that transcends the boundaries of Twelver Shī‘ism.¹²⁶

Beben sees the Ismā‘īlī attribution of genealogy through the lineage of Mūsá al-Kāzīm to Nāšir-i Khusraw in the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* as an “example of the ‘Ismā‘īlization’ of the earlier narrative traditions concerning Nāšir-i Khusraw that originated outside of an Ismā‘īlī context.”¹²⁷ The variant of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* in the *Khulāsāt al-ash‘ār* seems to present the earliest attempt at tracing Nāšir-

¹¹⁹ Taqī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāq al-muḥibbīn fī ṭabaqāt khirqat al-mashāyikh al-‘arīfīn* (Cairo: 1305/1888), 5-7.

¹²⁰ Roger M. Savory, "The Šafavid Era," in *Expectation of the Millennium: Shi‘ism in History*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr et al (Albany: SUNY, 1989), 99-101. John S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 99-101.

¹²¹ Mūsá al-Kāzīm had more than thirty-five children many of whom lived and died in Iran. Their shrines functioned as sites of pilgrimage in Iran. Algar, "Imām Mūsá al-Kāzīm and Šūfī Tradition," 11.

¹²² Amir Taherī, *The Spirit of Allah: Khomeini and The Islamic Revolution* (London: Hutchinson, 1985), 26-27.

¹²³ N. Hanif, "Mūsá al-Kāzīm, Imām (d. 810)," in *Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis: Central Asia and Middle East* (New Delhi: Sarup and Sons, 2002), 267-75.

¹²⁴ See Zeki Velidi Togan, "Sur l’origine des Šafavides," in *Melanges Louis Massignon* (Damascus: Institut d’études islamiques, 1957), 345-57.

¹²⁵ See Sholeh A. Quinn, "Notes on Timurid Legitimacy in Three Safavid Chronicles," *Iranian Studies* 32 (1998): 149-58.

¹²⁶ Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shībī, *al-Šilah bayn al-tašawwuf wa’l-tashayyu‘*, vol. 1 (Beirut: 1982), 232.

¹²⁷ Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 377-78.

i Khusraw's lineage back to Mūsá al-Kāẓim.¹²⁸ I have already discussed the possibility that Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs were responsible for the creation of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. The *Khulāsāt al-ash'ār* of Taqī al-Dīn Kāshī also calls Nāṣir-i Khusraw al-'Alavī, i.e. a descendant of 'Alī.¹²⁹ Apparently, the Ismā'īlīs were first to claim 'Alavī genealogy for Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Sources composed as early as the 9th/15th century refer to him as 'Alavī.¹³⁰ Also, as Dawlatshāh Samarqandī testifies, the people of Badakhshān (*Kuhistān*) regarded Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a descendant of the Prophet (*sayyid*) in the 9th/15th century.¹³¹ By the time the Badakhshānīs composed the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the view that the genealogy of Nāṣir-i Khusraw stretches back to Mūsá al-Kāẓim must have been accepted widely.

As mentioned, the *Kalām-i pīr* also traces the genealogy of Nāṣir-i Khusraw back to Mūsá al-Kāẓim. The work, as Ivanow observes, is strongly under the influence of Twelver Shī'ī ideas and refers to the treatises of this Shī'ī branch.¹³² It is quite possible that, in composing the *Kalām-i pīr*, its authors sought to bring a sort of reconciliation between Ismā'īlīs and the Twelver Shī'īs, which seems to have been a tendency among the Ismā'īlīs in Badakhshān. As Ivanow writes, "the passages which were introduced from the different Ithnā'asharī works change nothing in the Ismā'īlī doctrine, but might be useful to bridge the differences between the two rival religions."¹³³ The inclusion of the part that appears in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* in the first chapter of the *Kalām-i pīr* and the tracing of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's genealogy back to Mūsá al-Kāẓim in the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* and the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* reflects this attitude. Originally, the *Risālat al-nadāmah* attempted to "bridge the differences" between the followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Twelver Shī'ism, which, as mentioned, was relatively tolerated in the 10th/16th century and then towards the end of the 11th/17th century in Badakhshān. Later sources continued using this device in their narratives about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The role of Mūsá al-Kāẓim in Badakhshānī Ismā'īlism is in need of a separate study. At this stage, the most plausible explanation for linking Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Mūsá al-Kāẓim would be the prestige of the lineage of Mūsá al-Kāẓim

¹²⁸ The names of the ancestors differ in different recensions of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. Nāṣir ibn Khusraw ibn Hāriṣ ibn 'Isā (ibn Muḥammad) ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsá ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsá al-Riẓā, *Ātashkadah*, 1010. Nāṣir ibn Khusraw ibn Hāriṣ ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsá al-Riẓā, *Khulāsāt al-ash'ār*, fol. 73. Nāṣir ibn Khusraw ibn Hāriṣ ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsá al-Riẓā, *Haft Iqlīm*, 895. Nāṣir ibn Khusraw ibn Hāriṣ ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad Taqī ibn 'Alī Riẓa ibn Mūsá al-Kāẓim, *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fols. 9a-9b.

¹²⁹ Mahdī Muḥaqqiq, who argues that this term is not used in its literal sense but it is only a spiritual attribute, has challenged the idea that Nāṣir-i Khusraw refers to himself as 'Alavī in his *Dīvān*. As he says, in no place does Nāṣir-i Khusraw mention being 'Alavī or descendant of Muḥammad or 'Alī. Mahdī Muḥaqqiq, "Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his Spiritual Nisbah," in *Yād-nāmah-i Īrānī-i Mīnūrskī* ed. Mujtabā Mīnūvī and Iraj Afshār (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tīhrān, 1969), 143-48. Prior to Muḥaqqiq, Ḥasan Taqī'zādah contested Nāṣir-i Khusraw's descent from 'Alī ('Alavī), but Wladimir Ivanow insisted on his *sayyid* origin, referring – as does Taqī'zādah – to quotations to be found in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīvān*. On this also see Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1968), 185. Muḥaqqiq demonstrates that Ivanow quotes the *Dīvān* twice and both instances are misrepresentations. It is also noteworthy that some modern Twelver Shī'ī religious scholars accept the view that Nāṣir-i Khusraw is a descendant of Mūsá al-Kāẓim. Āqā Buzurg Muḥammad Muḥsin Tīhrānī and Ḥusaynī Jalālī mention this in their works. Hā'irī, "Nāṣiriyyah," 203.

¹³⁰ Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw 'Alavī in the *Haft Bāb of Abū Ishāq*. See Harātī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*, 43.

¹³¹ Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'*, ed. Fāṭimah 'Alāqah, 107-13.

¹³² Harātī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*, xxiii.

¹³³ Ibid.

among Muslims, especially in the eastern Islamic lands, particularly in Iran and Central Asia, and the fact that the Imāms are identified as links in the chains of authority (*silsilah*) that transmits a special body of knowledge from the Prophet. Apart from this, as shown by the poems of Ḥusaynī, Mahjūr and other poets, examined above, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was associated with Twelver Shī'ism and even the hidden Imām. For these poets, at least, Nāṣir-i Khusraw's authority stems from features other than a simple genealogical connection to Mūsá al-Kāẓim.

Also, we would not ignore the tendency of the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs and their texts to regard both the Twelver and the Ismā'īlī Imāms as rightful Imāms, though of different ranks. As we read in the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, after the sixth Shī'ī Imām Ja'far al-Šādiq (d. 148/765), two lines of imamate that were present in the progeny of the two sons of the Imām, Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far al-Šādiq and Mūsá ibn Ja'far al-Šādiq: the permanent (*mustaqarr*) and the temporary or trustee (*mustawda'*) Imāms.¹³⁴ According to the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, the Ismā'īlī Imāms are the permanently established and the Twelver Imāms are the trustee or temporary Imāms. The *Kalām-i pīr* also regards the Ismā'īlī Imāms as permanent and the Twelver Imāms as temporary Imāms. Hence, claiming descent from Mūsá al-Kāẓim for Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* does more than present him as an acceptable figure to Twelver Shī'īs and Šūfīs. It links Nāṣir-i Khusraw with one who, in the Ismā'īlī understanding of his time, was a *mustawda'* Imām.¹³⁵ Mūsá al-Kāẓim and the immediate two ancestors of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the genealogy presented in the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* and also in the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* are the temporary Imāms. The remaining ancestors after them served both the permanent and the trustee Imāms until the occultation of the last of the Twelver Imāms, Mahdī.¹³⁶ With the disappearance of the twelfth Imām (*chūn Ḥaẓrat-i Mahdī ghayb shud*), “both lights” (*har dū nūr*), i.e. the light of the trustee and permanent Imāms, became manifest in Mawlānā Mahdī, the Ismā'īlī Imām who ruled in Egypt.¹³⁷ The *Silk-i guhar'rīz* emphasizes that only the progeny of Mawlānā Mahdī are Imāms and the descendants of the other Imāms are either *sayyids* or *amīrs*.¹³⁸ Precisely for that reason, the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, calls him Amīr Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in addition to Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ On the distinction between the *mustaqarr* and the *mustawda'* Imāms according to the Ismā'īlīs, see Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 83-86.

¹³⁵ According to an anonymous treatise from Badakhshān titled *Duvāzdah faṣl (Twelve Chapters)*, the Imām, as the spiritual leader guides people after the Prophet, regardless of whether he is a *mustawda'* or a *mustaqarr* Imām. *Duvāzdah faṣl*, MS Folder 19 (KhRU-IIS). This manuscript is undated. On this treatise, see Baqoev, *Alfavitnyiĭ Katalog*, (#77/1959/27ж), 45-46.

¹³⁶ The *Silk-i guhar'rīz* does not provide dates, but, historically, the twelfth Imām of the Twelvers is believed by his followers to have gone into occultation in 260/874.

¹³⁷ This is Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī bi'llāh (d. 332/934), the first Fāṭimid ruler (r. 909-934). 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī openly claimed the imamate following a period of concealment after the disappearance of Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far al-Šādiq. A scholarly account of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī is found in Heinz Halm, *The Empire of the Mahdī: The Rise of the Fatimids*, trans. M. Bonner (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 58ff., 72-101, 28-40, 41-274..

¹³⁸ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 127, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 92. In this regard, it is somewhat similar to the *Kalām-i pīr* according to which the descendants of the *mustawda'* Imāms are only *sayyids*, not Imāms. Harāfī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*, Persian, 75, English, 70.

¹³⁹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 57. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 28.

This attitude to Twelver Shī'ī Imāms is obviously different from Ḥusaynī's *Haft band* and Mahjūr's *Dar manqabat*, in which Nāṣir-i Khusraw is the Mahdī, not simply a *sayyid* or an *amīr*.

The attitude of the pre-Soviet Ismā'īlīs to the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms and Twelver Shī'ism in general was briefly discussed above. Here we must state that the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān believed that prior to the arrival of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, there were Twelver Shī'īs in Badakhshān (along with Sunnīs, fire worshipers, “unbelievers” (*kāfīrs*) and “black-clad pagans” (*siyāh'pūsh*)).¹⁴⁰ According to the *Ta'rīkh-i Shughnān* of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh (completed in 1359/1941), the people of Badakhshān professed Twelver Shī'ism before the coming Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹⁴¹ As mentioned before, devotional poetry of the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs sings praise to both the Ismā'īlī Imāms, and to the Twelver Imāms, together with the Prophet and Fāṭimah, identifying them as the *chahār'dah ma'sūman-i pāk*, “the fourteen pure ones.”¹⁴² In his interview with Bobrinskoī, the influential *pīr* of Shākh'darah Sayyid Aḥmad noted that Shāh 'Alī Mūsā Rizā was a *pīr* who preached Ismā'īlism in Khurāsān just as Nāṣir-i Khusraw did so in Badakhshān (*Kuhistān*).¹⁴³ This figure is the eighth Twelver Imām 'Alī Abū al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Rizā (d. 203/818) whose famous shrine is located in Mashhad in Iran. As we have seen, according to the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* and the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, Shāh 'Alī Mūsā Rizā (Imām Sulṭān 'Alī Mūsā Rizā in the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*) is the son of Mūsā al-Kāzīm and the ancestor of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The popularity of 'Alī Abū al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Rizā, like that of his father, was not limited to Shī'ism alone, as Sunnīs have also historically revered and patronized his shrine.¹⁴⁴ This, too, seems to be connected to the prestige attached to the lineage of Mūsā al-Kāzīm among Muslims, including Sunnīs. Even without taking this into account, we must note that, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in virtue of his genealogy, which goes back to the Prophet Muḥammad through the seventh of the Twelver Imām, Mūsā al-Kāzīm, acquires the honour of being a *sayyid*, and becomes a member of the family of the *mustawda* (Twelver Shī'ī) Imāms who served the *mustaqarr* (Ismā'īlī) Imāms.¹⁴⁵

Second, unlike the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and like Ḥusaynī's *Haft band* and Mahjūr's *Dar manqabat*, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* and the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* go beyond establishing Nāṣir-i Khusraw's physical genealogy with the Imāms and the Prophet. In order to further accentuate his holiness, they attempt to establish his spiritual genealogy as well. According to the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is not simply a physical descendant of the Imāms and the Prophet. In fact, prior to

¹⁴⁰ Bobrinskoī, "Sakta Ismā'ī'ā," 5, 13.

¹⁴¹ A Russian translation of the original Persian work is found in Kharīukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 190-198.

¹⁴² See also Qurbānshāh, *Afsānah va Ḥaqīqat*. Berg, *Minstrel Poetry*, 277-78, 444-45. Muḥammadsherzodshoev, *Manobe'i*, 23. Mu'izzī, *Ismā'īlīyah-i Badakhshān*, 179-80.

¹⁴³ Bobrinskoī, "Sakta Ismā'ī'ā," 13. Sayyid Aḥmad's genealogy, as we will see, is generally traced back to Malik Jahān Shāh, a local Badakhshānī ruler. According to Bobrinskoī, however, Sayyid Aḥmad claimed descent from Imām Muḥammad Bāqir through his son “Imām Ibrāhīm.” Ibid., 11.

¹⁴⁴ Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 221-22. See also May Farhat, "Islamic Piety and Dynastic Legitimacy: The Case of the Shrine of 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā in Mashhad (10th-17th Century)" (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2002).

¹⁴⁵ As a descendant of the ninth of the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms, Muḥammad Taqī (d. 220/835), Nāṣir-i Khusraw is a Taqavī *sayyid*, but the lineage still goes to Mūsā al-Kāzīm.

appearing into the world of humans (*‘alam-i insān*), he was in the same “mine” (*kān*) with the “light” of the Prophet (*bā nūr-i nabī*) and then with the “light” of the “possessors of the command” (*‘ulu-l-amr*) in the loins (*ṣulb*) of the permanent and trustee Imāms.¹⁴⁶ He continued to bear this “light of the Imām” (*ān nūr-i Imām*) after coming into the world of humans.¹⁴⁷ The “light of the Prophet” (*nūr-i nabī*) (also invoked in Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band*) or what is generally known as *nūr Muḥammadī* or “Muḥammadan Light” is an important concept in Islam, especially in Shī‘ism and Ṣufism.¹⁴⁸ The Prophet Muḥammad is said to have announced, “I am the Light of God and all things are from the Light.”¹⁴⁹ Some sayings of the Prophet (*ḥadīṣ*) allude to him as the first thing created by God, a luminous spiritual substance from which the world itself was fashioned. Of this the Prophet said, “The first thing that God created was my light which originated from His light and derived from the majesty of His greatness.”¹⁵⁰ According to some Twelver Shī‘ī thinkers, *nūr Muḥammadī* is manifested in the Imāms and the Imāms are conceived in their mystical dimension as a light that God created before the creation of the material world.¹⁵¹ The following tradition is attributed to the Prophet: “God created ‘Alī and me from one light before the creation of Adam ... then He split (the light) into two halves, then He created all things from my light and ‘Alī’s light.”¹⁵² Thus, by pointing to the pre-existence of the essence (*gawhar*) in the “mine” and associating it with “the light of the Prophet” and the light of the “possessors of the command” or “the light of the Imām,” the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, somewhat like Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* and Mahjūr’s *Dar manqabat*, explicitly ascribes transcendent sacredness to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The *Silk-i guhar’rīz* does not simply present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a *sayyid* or an *amīr*, but brings forth the traducian concept that he inherits the “light” from his progenitors who bore it in their loins. The resplendent “light” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw manifests itself in a number of occasions in the *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*. This account, for instance, relates how the “light” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw reaches

¹⁴⁶ *Amr* means “command,” especially the divine command. According to the Ismā‘īlīs, the Imāms are “the possessors of the command” mentioned in the Qur’ān. Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 188. For instance, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī interprets the *‘ulū-l-amr* in Qur’ān 4:59 (‘O you who believe! Obey God, obey the Messenger and *‘ulū-l-amr* among you’), to be the infallible Imāms. Faqīr Muhammad Hunzai, “The Concept of Knowledge According to al-Kirmānī,” in *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought*, ed. Todd Lawson (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 132-33.

¹⁴⁷ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 128, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Èl’chibekov, 93.

¹⁴⁸ On this subject see Ignaz Goldziher, “Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīṭ,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 22 (1909): 324-26. For the light metaphor, see also Gerhard Böwering, *The Mystical vision of existence in classical Islam* (Berlin and New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1980), index, 284, s.t. *nūr Muḥammad*. Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1918), 313f. Uri Rubin, “Nūr Muḥammadī,” in *EI2*, 125. “Pre-existence and Light, Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 5: 62-119.

¹⁴⁹ Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 163.

¹⁵⁰ Carl Ernst, *The Shambhala Guide to Sufism* (Boston: Shambhala Publication, 1997), 52.

¹⁵¹ Heinz Halm, *Shi‘a Islam: From Religion to Revolution* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1997), 32-33.

¹⁵² Mojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi‘i Islam* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 148. Mojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi‘i Islam* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 148. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Islamic Intellectual Tradition in Persia* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996), 259. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Islamic Intellectual Tradition in Persia*, ed. Mehdi Amin Razavi (Surrey: Curzon, 1996), 259. See also an untitled text on God’s creation in MS Folder 207 (dated 1310/1892), ff. 3a-7b (KhRU-IIS). According to this text, before God brought the Throne, the Chair, the Tablet, the Pen, the Sky and the Earth into being, He created the light of Muḥammad and ‘Alī and kept it behind the curtain

the very gate of the throne (*dar-i 'arsh-i a'zam*) and connects with its light.¹⁵³ Fused with the light of the throne, it brightens Yumgān, outshining the light of the sun.¹⁵⁴ This also resembles Ḥusaynī's *Haft band*, according to which the dust at the shrine of Nāṣir-i Khusraw made the throne manifest.

The hagiographies further accentuate the special status of Nāṣir-i Khusraw through subtle allusions to parallels between his life and the life of the Prophet. The *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* describes how, like the Prophet, Nāṣir-i Khusraw receives divine friendship by grace and enjoys God's protection. One vivid example describes how spiders (*tārtanak*) cover Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hiding place by spinning their web that prevents his enemies from entering it.¹⁵⁵ This is clearly reminiscent of a spider weaving its web across the entrance to the grotto of Thaur in order to conceal the Prophet from his enemies.¹⁵⁶ At one point, as we shall see, Nāṣir-i Khusraw turns the bridge, which the local ruler in Badakhshān Malik Jahān Shāh was crossing on his horse, upside down, leaving both the horse and the rider suspended for some time. Having witnessed Nāṣir-i Khusraw's marvel, Malik Jahān Shāh becomes a believer in the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This, again, is reminiscent of the incident in which the legs of a Bedouin chief Suraqa ibn Malik ibn Ja'sham's horse sunk in the sand, as the rider attempted to capture the Prophet and kill him. After this miracle, Suraqa submits to God.¹⁵⁷ Apart from such subtle parallels, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* explicitly describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw's station (*jāy*) together with the Prophet beneath the Great Throne (*'arsh-i a'zam*), as shown by the following verses:

<i>Ān quṭb-i jahān, shams-i 'ālam</i>	That pole of the world, the Sun of the universe
<i>Ān murshid-i dīn zih naṣl-i khātam</i>	That guide in religion, a descendant of the "Seal" ¹⁵⁸
<i>Jāyash shudah zīr-i 'arsh-i a'zam</i>	Together with his ancestor
<i>Bā jadd-i khud ān valī-i akram</i> ¹⁵⁹	The place of that noble <i>valī</i> is beneath the Great Throne

The term throne (*'arsh*) occurs in the Qur'ān with reference to God's Throne,¹⁶⁰ and its meaning has been an object of debate among Muslim theologians for centuries.¹⁶¹ It is generally

of the unseen (*pardah-i ghayb*) for eighteen thousand years. After that God created everything else (including the Throne and the Pen) from this light.

¹⁵³ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 77. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 35.

¹⁵⁴ In Shī'ism, the Light as the first being in the higher universe is described as the throne (*'arsh*) and Muhammadan Light (*nūr muḥammadī*). See Henry Corbin, *Temple and Contemplation*, trans. Philip Sherrard with the assistance of Liadain Sherrard (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 199.

¹⁵⁵ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 40, 65, 71. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 21, 31, 33

¹⁵⁶ Muhammad Adel Salahi, *Muhammad, Man and Prophet: A Complete Study of the Life of the Prophet of Islam* (Shafsbury: Element Books, 1995), 202.

¹⁵⁷ Robert D. Smith, *Comparative Miracles* (St. Louis: Herder, 1965), 133-34.

¹⁵⁸ *Khātam al-anbiyā* (*khātim al-anbiyā*, *khātam al-nabīyīn*) or "The seal of the prophets" refers to the Prophet Muḥammad, who, according to Islam, is the last of the prophets. *Khātam al-nabīyīn* is a Qur'ānic term (Q 33:40), a linguistic metaphor, which suggests that Muḥammad is to the class of prophets as a seal or stamp is to the object, it seals.

¹⁵⁹ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 1-2. Raḥmonqulov changes *khātam* to *ḥotam* (Persian, *ḥātam*). Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 5. *Ḥātam* is the name of a man of the Arabian tribe Ṭayy, celebrated for his liberality; hence, liberal, generous, bountiful in Islamic tradition.

¹⁶⁰ The word *'arsh* appears twenty-five times in the Qur'ān with reference to God's Throne and the thrones of others (e.g. the throne of the Queen of Sheba, Qur'ān 27:23). Jamal J. Elias, "Throne of God," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, ed. Jane D. McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 276-78. The *'arsh-i a'zam* in the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* obviously refers to the Throne of God, which appears as "the noble Throne" (*al-'arsh al-'aẓīm*) in Qur'ān 9:129.

believed that it is located beyond the seven heavens.¹⁶² In his mystical journey (*mi'rāj*), the Prophet is believed to have passed through the seven heavens occupied by previous prophets (Adam, Joseph, Aaron, Moses and others) to reach the Throne, the culmination of his journey.¹⁶³ Although in the Qur'ān, the Prophet stands in the line of the prophets, in post-Qur'anic literature, he is ranked above all other prophets before him and attributed the power of intercession on the Last Day, sitting next to God on the Throne.¹⁶⁴ In Shī'ism, not only the Prophet, but also Imāms, "existed before the creation in the form of lights situated beneath the divine Throne..."¹⁶⁵ This refers to the aforementioned pre-existence of the "lights" the Prophet and the Imāms. Though it is unclear whether *'arsh-i a'zam* is used literally or metaphorically and irrespective of its meaning in the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, and its relation to Nāṣir-i Khusraw's pre-existence or his dwelling in the highest level of paradise in the hereafter, it is evident that in this work Nāṣir-i Khusraw is associated with the divine world and is therefore given an exalted status.¹⁶⁶

Third, the hagiographies stress Nāṣir-i Khusraw's charisma and holiness by describing him as a great saint who not only attracts disciples and companions from regions far away from Badakhshān, but also controls nature in the physical world and beings in the spiritual world (*rūḥāniyān*). While Nāṣir-i Khusraw controls beings in the spiritual world in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, he is not described as someone whose charisma and authority attract others to Badakhshān. I will refer to this aspect on occasion below.

Fourth, the hagiographies emphasize Nāṣir-i Khusraw's unique spiritual proximity to the Ismā'īlī Imāms, especially, Mustanṣir bi'llāh (d. 487/1094) and his grandson Mawlānā Hādī (d. after 488/1095) and highlight his most elevated position within the Ismā'īlī *da'wah*. In this regard, they also differ from the account in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, Ḥusaynī's *Haft band* and Mahjūr's *Dar manqabat*. The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* narrates how the great saint Nāṣir-i Khusraw was chosen by God (*barguzīdah-i Khudā*) and became the *pīr* of Badakhshān (*pīr-i Kuhistān*) by God's and the Messenger's command (*bih amr-i Khudā va rasūl*).¹⁶⁷ This, as we will see, gives Badakhshān a special

¹⁶¹ The Throne has figured prominently in theological and mystical debates over God's transcendence and over the status of anthropomorphic references in the Qur'ān. See Arent J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development* (London: Frank Cass, 1965), 67, 90, 93, 115, 48. For Shī'ī Imāms' definitions of the Throne, see Amir-Moezzi, *Divine Guide in Early Shi'ism, The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, 31-35.

¹⁶² This belief is by no means universal. In some schools of mystical philosophy, the throne (*'arsh*) is the lowest or the seventh heaven. See Jamal J. Elias, "Throne of God," 277.

¹⁶³ Michael A. Sells, *Early Islamic Mysticism: Sufi, Qur'an, Mī'raj, Poetic and Theological Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1996), 19.

¹⁶⁴ "Qur'an," in *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Islamic Political Thought*, ed. Gerhard Bowering and Patricia Crone (Princeton University Press, 2015), 452-453.

¹⁶⁵ Meir Mikhael Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī Shiism* (Leiden and Jerusalem: Brill and Magnes Press, 1999), 130. Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 53-54.

¹⁶⁶ For most of the Islamic thinkers, the "Divine Throne" (*'arsh*) together with another Qur'anic term "Chair" (*kursī*) are unknown to human beings. *'Arsh* may be linked with the divine world. See Oliver Leaman, "Miraculousness of the Qur'an," in *The Qur'an: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Oliver Leaman (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 406.

¹⁶⁷ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 78. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 35.

status, as God and the Messenger singled it out for Nāṣir-i Khusraw for preaching Islam. This command, however, is manifested through the Ismā‘īlī Imāms, Mustanṣir bi’llāh and his grandson Mawlānā Hādī, whom Nāṣir-i Khusraw serves. The hagiographical stories highlight Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s unique relationship with the Ismā‘īlī Imāms. As a saint, he is aware of the “light of the Imām” and serves the Imāms in this world. Historically, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was appointed as the *ḥujjat* of Khurāsān and the hagiographies also ascribe elevated positions to him and portray him as a member of the innermost circle of the Imāms. As mentioned, the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir* claims that, when Nāṣir-i Khusraw came to Egypt (together with Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāh) to meet Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh, the latter abandoned his throne, donned a parched garment, joined the two *valīs* by a bonfire and engaged in a conversation, sharing deep secrets with them.¹⁶⁸ The *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir* mentions specifically how the elite protected the Imām and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, by encircling the two during their conversation.¹⁶⁹ Also, when the Imām and Nāṣir-i Khusraw left Egypt and disappeared (*ghayb zadand*) one night, the *ahl-i khāṣṣān* built a shrine (*mazār*) at the place where they had disappeared.¹⁷⁰ Examples of this sort and of those in which the Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh travels with the saint, then the Imām and his grandson Mawlānā Hādī appointing Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the “guide of the region” (*pīr-i rukn*),¹⁷¹ the *ḥujjat* of regions (*ḥujjat-i jazā’ir*) and the chief or the absolute chief *dā’ī* (*dā’ī al-du’āt*, *dā’ī al-du’āt-i muṭlaq*) whose *da’vāh* is effective over seven climes, clearly attach a sacred and elevated status to the figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹⁷² Even the *ahl-i khāṣṣān*, the spiritual elites, fall outside of the inner circle where only the Imām and Nāṣir-i Khusraw remain.¹⁷³

Although the stories demonstrate the greatness and fame of Nāṣir-i Khusraw by presenting him with numerous spiritual honorific and saintly titles, they assert that his greatness stems from his proximity to the Imām.¹⁷⁴ Likewise, although his greatness attracts numerous saints, from all corners of the world, some of whom become able to perform miracles, because of the “breath” that he bestows upon them, and spiritual beings (*rūḥāniyān*) and angels (*parī*) obey and serve him, the hagiographies

¹⁶⁸ *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 15-16. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 11.

¹⁶⁹ *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 16, 18. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 11, 12.

¹⁷⁰ *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 17-18. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 12.

¹⁷¹ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 125, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Ēl’chibekov, 91. I discuss the *pīr* of the *rukn*, a term that appears in one copy of Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band*, below.

¹⁷² *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 25, 125, 147-48. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 15, 91, 107.

¹⁷³ The expression *ahl-i khāṣṣān* used in the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir* is significant. Similar terms, *mardān-i khāṣṣ* (“the unique people”) or *khāṣṣ/khawāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ* (“super-elite”) were applied by the Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs to the elite class of the *da’vāh* who had attained a high degree of spiritual development. See Jamal, *Surviving the Mongols*, 113. Farhad Daftary, *Ismā‘īlī Literature*, 58.

¹⁷⁴ Nāṣir-i Khusraw is referred to as *valī Allāh* (saint or “friend of God”), *quṭb al-awliyā’* (“the pole of saints”), *quṭb al-muḥaqqiqīn* (“the pole of those who seek the truth”), *quṭb al-‘ālamīn* (“the pole of mankind”), *quṭb al-‘arīfīn* (“the pole of the gnostics”), *burhān al-‘arīfīn* (“the proof of the gnostics”), *burhān-i dīn* (“proof of religion”), *ṣāqib al-valīyīn* (“the most sublime of the saints”), *ghawṣ al-ṣaqalayn* (“the sustainer of both worlds”), *rukn-i jahān* (“the pillar of the world”), *pādshāh* (“the sovereign”), *shāh-i ‘ālījanāb* (“the exalted king”), *bāz-i baland’parvāz* (“the high-flying falcon”), *andalīb-i gulshan-i rāz* (“the nightingale of the rose-garden”) and *fanā’kunandah-i jān dar ma’rifat-i Ḥaẓrat-i raḥmān* (“he who makes the soul annihilate in the recognition of God”). *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 46, 49, 107, 108, 114, 118, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Ēl’chibekov,

point out the reason Nāṣir-i Khusraw is great is related to the Imām.¹⁷⁵ In the *Kalām-i pīr*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw explicitly attributes the marvel of pointing to the mountain that came to greet him to the Imām (*‘ināyat-i bī’nihāyat-i ū būd*).¹⁷⁶ Also, as mentioned above, the *Hikāyat-i mazār’hā-yi Kuhistān* states that it was after his meeting with the Imām that Nāṣir-i Khusraw became a great saint, attained high status and became a master of unveiling (*kashf*) and acquired miraculous power (*ṣāhib-i karāmat*).¹⁷⁷ The *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir* also states clearly that Nāṣir-i Khusraw received knowledge of secrets from the Imām.¹⁷⁸ The *Silk-i guhar’rīz* calls Nāṣir-i Khusraw the “Nāṣir of Mustanṣir” (*Nāṣir-i Mustanṣir*) and the “servant of Mustanṣir” (*chākar-i Mustanṣir*).¹⁷⁹ Needless to say, Nāṣir-i Khusraw acts as a representative or *hujjat* of the Imām. In a poem attributed to him, the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* says, “I am Nāṣir, I am Nāṣir, I am the *hujjat* of Mustanṣir” (*man Nāṣiram, man Nāṣiram, man hujjat-i Mustanṣiram*).¹⁸⁰ As he is a servant of the Imām, his marvels do not issue from him, but are performed with the help of God. When Nāṣir-i Khusraw brings a slaughtered sheep back to life, the owner of the sheep says, “the sheep comes to life, by the command of God most high” (*gūsfand zindah mī-shavad bih farmān-i Khudā-yi ta’ālā*).¹⁸¹ Also, upon curing the sister of Malik Jahān Shāh, Nāṣir-i Khusraw tells her by uttering God’s name (*bih zikr-i Khudā*).¹⁸²

Wherever Nāṣir-i Khusraw goes in Badakhshān, he invites the people to the man of the age (*mard-i vaqt*), who is the Imām of the time (*imām-i zamān*).¹⁸³ The way in which the hagiographical accounts present Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s position vis-à-vis the Imām is illustrated well in the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*. In the following verses attributed to him, Nāṣir-i Khusraw addresses Imām Hādī.¹⁸⁴

32, 35, 78 (Ēl’chibekov changes *burhān al-‘arīfīn* to *sayyid al-‘arīfīn*, which means “the master of the gnostics”), 79, 83, 85. *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 1, 70, 80, 84.

¹⁷⁵ The story in the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* relates how twelve thousand saints (*valīs*) come to Badakhshān from all places in search of him (*bih ṭalab-i ū az atrāf va aknāf-i ‘alam jam’ shudand*). *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 129, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Ēl’chibekov, 94. On certain followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw able to perform miracles because of his breath, see *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 84, 92-93. On the obedience of spiritual beings and angels, see *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 22-23. Rāhmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 43. The spiritual beings obey his commands in different circumstances. For example, following his command they hold the spirit of a slaughtered sheep and then blow it back into its skin with bones to bring it back to life. Rāhmonqulov changes the sentence here from “the Pīr ordered to have the sheep slaughtered and commanded the spiritual beings to seize its spirit” (*pīr bifarmud uro ki zabh kardand va ruhoniyonro bifarmud ruhi uro qabz kardand*) (Persian, “pīr bi-farmūd ū-rā kih zabh kardand va rūhāniyān-rā bi-farmūd rūh-i ū-rā qabz kardand”) to “the Pīr ordered the rūhānīs to slaughter the sheep” (*pīr bifarmud ruhoniyon-ro ki uro zabh kardand*) (Persian, “pīr bi-farmūd rūhāniyān-rā kih ū-rā zabh kardand.”), Rāhmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 43. At his command, spirits (*rūhāniyān*) possess and hold people’s tongues. *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 19-20, Rāhmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 36.

¹⁷⁶ Harātī?, *Kalām-i pīr*, 17.

¹⁷⁷ *Hikāyat-i mazār’hā-yi Kuhistān*, 12.

¹⁷⁸ *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 14-15.

¹⁷⁹ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 131, Ēl’chibekov changes *chākar* to *charāh zī*. *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Ēl’chibekov, 95.

¹⁸⁰ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 43.

¹⁸¹ *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 44, Rāhmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 23.

¹⁸² *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 66, Rāhmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 31

¹⁸³ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 129-30, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Ēl’chibekov, 94.

¹⁸⁴ Muḥammad Riẓā Tavakkulī Ṣābirī also records the first four lines of this poem recited to him by a descendant of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, Sayyid Hāris in Dasht-i Ushangān (where Sayyid Suhrāb Valī’s shrine is located) in Afghan Badakhshān, but the Imām in this version is Mustanṣir bi’lāh, not Imām Hādī. Ṣābirī, *Safar-i dīdār*, 131-32.

Gar ma-rā farmān kunī dar qa`r-i chāh
Mī'ravam shadān bih farmān-i shumā
Gar bih dūzakh `amr sāzī, yā Imām
Mī'ravam ān jā bih shādī-i tamām
Dīn-u dunyā jumlah dar `amr-i shumāst
Ān chih qudrat-hā kih az bahr-i Khudāst
Nāšir-i Khusraw ghulām-i kamtarīn
*Bar darat ay pādshāh-i dād-u dīn*¹⁸⁵

If you order me to descend to the bottom of a pit
 I will gladly do so at your command
 If you order me to go to hell, O Imām
 I will go there with complete happiness
 The world and religion are at your command
 All your powers are from God
 Nāšir-i Khusraw is the humblest servant
 At your door, O the King of sanctity and justice

The hagiographies then remind us that, although Nāšir-i Khusraw is of the same light (*Silk-i guhar'rīz*) as the Imāms, he is their servant, as he serves the Imām Mustanšir bi'llāh and Mawlānā Hādī.¹⁸⁶ They reveal that, although Nāšir-i Khusraw is a great saint with sacred origins and is someone who is capable of performing inimitable epistemological and power marvels, he owes those to proximity to the Imām. In numerous places, the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir* depicts how after witnessing Nāšir-i Khusraw's holiness and saintly powers, individuals and groups of people become his followers (*murīds*). The story suggests that those who have faith (*ikhlāš'mandān*) in Nāšir-i Khusraw will be rewarded both in this world and the hereafter, but those who reject his authority and doubt his sacred status are punished and remain far from the truth.¹⁸⁷ Similarly, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* portrays him as the perfect *pīr* (*pīr-i kāmīl*) who is the saviour of the people.¹⁸⁸ It is through him that people attain recognition of God and the ones who obey the commandment and prohibitions of the *pīr-i kāmīl* will be saved (*rastagār shudand*), while those who do not seek him will leave this world heedless and ignorant and will descend to eternal punishment in hell.¹⁸⁹ Those who do not follow his path are lost in this world and will be ashamed (*rūsiyāh*) on the Day of Judgment, for he is the "king of the world and religion" (*shāh-i dunyā va dīn*).¹⁹⁰ According to this source, Nāšir-i Khusraw is the *pīr* who helps people (*pīr-i dastgīr*) when they are in hardship and lost.¹⁹¹ In an admirable pun on his name, the author of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, calls him "the Nāšir (helper) in religion" (*Nāšir-i Dīn*).¹⁹² The hagiographies clearly emphasize the importance of sincere faith in Nāšir-i Khusraw for well being this world and for ultimate salvation. In this, they agree with Ḥusaynī's *Haft band* according to which, while the followers of Nāšir-i Khusraw will ultimately be in paradise, his enemies will find themselves in "fire with black smoke."¹⁹³ While the hagiographies aim to increase devotion to Nāšir-i Khusraw

¹⁸⁵ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 27. Raḥmonqulov changes *dād-u dīn* to *davr-u dīn*, Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 16.

¹⁸⁶ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 125. Ēl'chibekov has Tibet (*tibbat*) instead of Ṭabas. *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 91.

¹⁸⁷ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 66, 69-70, 88-89, 92-93, 99-100. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 31, 32, 40, 42, 45.

¹⁸⁸ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 107, 110, 129, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 78, 80, 94.

¹⁸⁹ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 107.

¹⁹⁰ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 65, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 47.

¹⁹¹ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 48, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 34.

¹⁹² *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 50, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 35.

¹⁹³ *The Āghāz-i Charāgh'nāmah (The Beginning of Charāgh'nāmah)*, which was copied sometime between 1232/1817 and 1298/1881, also stresses the importance of following the path of Nāšir-i Khusraw in order to attain salvation. The following verses included in this text reflect this attitude:

Har kih zad chang dar īn silsilah az Ḥazrat-i Pīr
Ū buvad dar dū jahān rahbar-i mā fawq-u bih zīr

Those who hold onto the *silsilah* of Ḥazrat-i Pīr
 Are the leaders of everything beyond and beneath

and strengthen faith in his spiritual authority and holiness, they concurrently emphasize the contribution of the Imām to his status, and stress the importance of devotion to him. In this respect, the middle hagiographies take a route different from that of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and Ḥusaynī's *Haft band*.

Fifth, they establish two major character types: Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the performer of wondrous deeds (*karāmāt*) and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the pious and learned saint. In this, the hagiographies elaborate on certain elements in Ḥusaynī's *Haft band*, while focusing on the figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and not on his shrine. The *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* and the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* have much in common with hagiographies in other religious traditions in terms of their selection of motifs and thematic elements, establishing the two major character types. Stories of wondrous deeds and miracles assert and promote the holiness of a saint, serving one of their most common purposes: veneration of the saint in the eyes of followers. The *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* and the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* describe “custom-shattering” events that are brought about through the figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. They describe his feats of power, ability to read minds, communicate with the unseen world through dreams and visions, receive messages from “calling voices” and subdue the planet Mars, animals and stones. Like many other hagiographical accounts, marvel stories portray Nāṣir-i Khusraw's extraordinary deeds, such as flying in the air and over rivers, drying rivers up, turning dust into precious stones, creating springs, moving and toppling mountains, making the blind see and the lame walk, curing people and inflicting illness upon them, bringing slaughtered sheep back to life, making short pieces of wood longer, deceiving his enemies by theurgical means, turning his enemies into stone and so on.¹⁹⁴ Although the *Kalām-i pīr* and the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* do not contain power marvel stories, the former emphasizes Nāṣir-i Khusraw's extraordinary ability to master all the sciences at an early age, and the latter portrays Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a possessor of the “knowledge of divine unity,” both of which, as we will see, are characteristics of a saint.

For the purposes of this study, there is no need to perform a philological and narratological analysis of the sources and the motifs, tropes, plots and story formulae in them. Compiling an exhaustive list of the stock incidents of the hagiographies, in the words of Hippolyte Delehay, is “an endless task,” since they go back to a very remote antiquity and many of them are “a mass of repetitions.”¹⁹⁵ Signs of marvels are ubiquitous in hagiographical accounts in Islam and other religious

Har kih chūn sajdah kunad dar qadam-i Ḥaẓrat-i Pīr
Gasht āzād zi dūzakh bih hamah gasht amīr
Har kih mu'min būd-u dar rah-i dīn šādiq shud
Nabuvad bāk zi ātash biravad dar pay-i Pīr

Those who prostrate themselves in the path of Ḥaẓrat-i Pīr
 Are spared from hell and are commanders over everything
 Those who are faithful and are sincere in the path of religion
 They follow in the footsteps of the Pīr and have no fear of the fire
 [of hell]

Āghāz-i Charāgh'nāmah, Folder 164, f. 83b (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁹⁴ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 31, 32, 46, 48, 51, 98-99. *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 10. Harātī?, *Kalām-i pīr*, 17.

¹⁹⁵ Delehay, *Legends of the Saints*, 23-24.

traditions. Levitation or flying through the air (*ikhtirāq al-hawā'*), which is the most common of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's saintly attributes, is a characteristic of some Ṣūfī saints in Islam, and hagiographical accounts about flying saints are abundant in Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism and other religions.¹⁹⁶ Similarly, miracle stories that depict animals, plants and stones obeying saints abound in the hagiographies of different religious traditions, including Islam.¹⁹⁷ Saints curing illnesses by means of religious formulae and bringing animals back to life are well-known motifs in different religious hagiographical traditions.¹⁹⁸ The saints that turn enemies into stones or deceiving them through marvels recur in various hagiographical traditions.¹⁹⁹ The motifs are too many to list. Suffice it to say that the hagiographies employ these motifs and tropes in order to personify an abstraction or the character type, which is that of a saint with *inimitable* qualities and a miracle-worker. Such motifs employed in the Badakhshānī hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw reflect and strengthen the belief of the Ismā'īlīs in the power marvels of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The purpose of the marvel stories, as in other hagiographies, is to enhance the glory of the saint who deserves respect, admiration and faith. Marvels and miracles, however, are not disembodied phenomena, as they occur or are believed to occur in specific localities in reaction to specific circumstances. Beyond mirroring the faith of the people and enhancing the glory of the saint, narratives of marvels and miracles express socio-political concerns. I will examine this aspect of the marvels depicting Nāṣir-i Khusraw below.

The other character type that emerges in the hagiography is that of a saint with extraordinary degree of holiness, knowledge and piety. The sources emphasize Nāṣir-i Khusraw's ability to learn sciences within a short span of time.²⁰⁰ They describe him as a teacher of subtle realities. He is aware of all mysteries (*az hama kār-hā va sir-hā bā-khabar*)²⁰¹ and is the true knower of God (*'ārīf Allāh*).²⁰² He is the master (*ṣāhib*) and the cupbearer (*sāqī*) of the wine of divine unity (*kham-i vāḥdat-i llāhī*),²⁰³ the guide in religion (*murshid-i dīn*)²⁰⁴ and of the people of certainty (*hādī va murshid-i ahl-i yaqīn*).²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁶ Binyamin Abrahamov, *Ibn al-'Arabī and the Sufis* (Oxford: Anqa Publishing, 2014), 109. Louis Jacobs, *Holy Living: Saints and Saintliness in Judaism* (Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aronson, 1990), 109. Saint Joseph of Cupertino, for example, is known as the “flying saint” in Christianity. Pablo Ricardo Quintana, *The Comprehensive Dictionary of Patron Saints* (iUniverse, 2014), xix. Reginald A. Ray, *Buddhist Saints in India: A Study in Buddhist Values and Orientations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 131.

¹⁹⁷ Hippolyte Delehaye, *Legends of the Saints*, 29, 34. Dominic Alexander, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 44. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 206, 08.

¹⁹⁸ *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 206, 08. Issachar Ben-Ami, *Saint Veneration Among the Jews in Morocco* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 62. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, 182. Similar to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Saint Cainnech calls to a lamb that was killed for his dinner and the lamb is restored to life whole. Dominic Alexander, *Saints and Animals in Middle Ages*, 82.

¹⁹⁹ Hippolyte Delehaye, *Legends of the Saints*, 26. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 211.

²⁰⁰ *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 10. Harātī?, *Kalām-i pīr*, 5-6.

²⁰¹ *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 10.

²⁰² *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 45, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Èl'chibekov, 32.

²⁰³ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 49-50, 131, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Èl'chibekov, 35, 95.

²⁰⁴ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 1.

²⁰⁵ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 45, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Èl'chibekov, 32.

He is the *ṣarrāf-i dīn* or “banker in religion” or “he who changes in religion.”²⁰⁶ In his discussion of a work by Shaykh Muḥammad Karīm-Khān Kirmānī’s (d. 1870), which uses the word *ṣarrāf*, Henry Corbin explains the significance of the word as follows:

According to the double meaning connoted by the root *ṣrf* send back, expedite; exchange; change the direction of something (whence, in grammar, the *ṣarf* signifies declension and conjugation); *taṣarruf* means “to dispose freely of something”; *ṣarrāf* means “he who changes.” The spiritual hermeneutist is in some sense an “exchanger” of value or a “changer” of direction.²⁰⁷

Nāṣir-i Khusraw is therefore described as someone who exchanges the literal value for the value of the treasures. As a *ṣarrāf*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw owns treasures of “a casket with pearls” (*durj-i guhar*).²⁰⁸ In this sense, *ṣarrāf* is someone who knows the real meanings of the exoteric. The hagiography describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a *ṣarrāf* in an allegorical sense, as someone who understands the spiritual import well.²⁰⁹ It is for this reason that the hagiography also describes him as “the master in religion” (*ustād-i dīn*) and “the guide of the people of religion” (*rah’namāh-i ahl-i dīn*).²¹⁰ As the “the master in religion”, he is unparalleled in his knowledge of the “pearls” or spiritual knowledge (*nīst dar ‘ālam chūnīn gawhar’shinās, ghayr Nāṣir dar jahān bā īn qiyās*).²¹¹ He shows the way to the inner realities (*rāh-i ḥaqā’iq*) not only to ordinary people, but also to other saints.²¹² He is also able to know the intention of people through the hidden world (*‘ālam-i bāṭin*).²¹³

Epistemological marvels of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the hagiographical stories are related to esoteric knowledge (*‘ilm-i bāṭin*). In the words of John Renard, the Shī‘ī Imāms “enjoy preferential awareness of both seen and unseen worlds as well as of hidden meanings of divine revelation in all its manifestations. ... They can restore life to the dead, heal all ailments, and be transported great distances instantly.”²¹⁴ The Shī‘īs refer to these wondrous feats as “amazing things” and “power.”²¹⁵ As Seyyed Hossein Nasr explains, for the Shī‘īs, the Imām is “someone who bears the Muhammadan Light (*al-nūr al-muḥammadī*) and ... is the master of both the exoteric and esoteric sciences.”²¹⁶ While Shī‘īs ascribe mastery over nature and time to some Imāms, the primary marvel of an Imām is his

²⁰⁶ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 68, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Èl’chibekov, 48.

²⁰⁷ Corbin, *Temple and Contemplation*, 38.

²⁰⁸ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 68, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Èl’chibekov, 48.

²⁰⁹ It is obviously used in the sense of *ṣarrāf-i nuqūdi ma’ānī*, which, as Francis Joseph Steingass explains, refers to “Those who well understand, or can give change (so to speak) in matters of recondite meaning or spiritual import.” Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 785.

²¹⁰ *Siyāhat’nāmāh-i Nāṣir*, 70, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 65, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Èl’chibekov, 47.

²¹¹ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 65, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Èl’chibekov, 47.

²¹² *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 46, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Èl’chibekov, 32.

²¹³ *Siyāhat’nāmāh-i Nāṣir*, 32, Rahmonqulov omits *‘ālam-i bāṭin*, Rahmonqulov, *Bāhr ul-akhbor*, 18.

²¹⁴ Renard, *Tales of God’s Friends*, 274.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Heart of Islam: Enduring Values for Humanity*, 1 ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 66.

divine investiture with insight into truth hidden from ordinary believers.²¹⁷ The Imām is capable of performing marvels, because “he is part of the divine being and his knowledge is of divine origin.”²¹⁸ The first Shī‘ī Imām ‘Alī is reported to have explained the supernatural origin of Imāms this way: “[God] uttered a word, which became a light. From that light He created Muḥammad and created me and my progeny.”²¹⁹ As the living representative of the Prophet, the Imām is “the sustainer and interpreter par excellence of the revelation.”²²⁰ For the Shī‘īs, including the Ismā‘īlīs, the legitimacy of the Imāms is grounded in their possession of the esoteric wisdom that ‘Alī received from the Prophet and passed on to his descendants.²²¹ As David Weddle observes, “the secret and infallible knowledge given to Shiite Imams is ... the undeniable sign of their divine authority to both teach and embody eternal truth.”²²² According to the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, this secret knowledge or esoteric wisdom was passed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw from the Imām. Having tasted “the wine of divine unity” given to him by the Imām, Nāṣir-i Khusraw becomes a knower of everything (*gashtah bad-īshān hamagī bas ‘iyān*) and the cupbearer of the “wine of divine unity” (*sāqī-i [may-i] vaḥdat*).²²³

The case of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an inspired spiritual leader or *pīr* is not unique in Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlism. The Ismā‘īlīs believe that God also inspires *pīrs* as well. The 12th century Ismā‘īlī *pīr*, Pīr Shams al-Dīn, for example, is believed to have performed marvels, thus confirming his sainthood and authority. In one story, when he led prayer, the minarets of the mosque bowed in reverence. On other occasions, he raised the dead son of a king to life by his command and brought the sun close enough to earth to cook his meal. Wherever he went, he gave inner wisdom to people, disclosing the true religion, and thus winning many followers.²²⁴ Both his outer marvels of controlling natural forces and his inner wisdom serve as signs of the authority and holiness of the *pīr*, proving him to be the embodiment of supernatural knowledge and power. As in the accounts of Pīr Shams al-Dīn, the

²¹⁷ The eighth Twelver Imām ‘Alī al-Riḏā (d. 203/818) is said to have restored the dead to life. Ibn Bābūya, *‘Uyūn akhbār al-Riḏā*, ed. M.H. Lājīvardī, vol. 2 (Tehran: 1378/1958), 167ff. The eleventh of the Twelver Imāms al-Ḥasan al-Askarī (d. 260/873) is said to have provided gold to needy petitioners by drawing figures on the ground, healed a blind boy, restored the dead to life, tamed wild animals and so on. Powers of the Imām over forces of nature and animals, according to Shī‘īs, stem from his inner illumination. Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfi*, ed. J. Muṣṭawafī, vol. 1 (Tehran: , 1397/1978), 507ff. Hāshim b. Sulaymān al-Bahrānī, *Hilyat al-abrār fī faḍā’il Muḥammad wa ālihi-l aṭhār*, vol. 2 (Qumm: 1397/1978), 491. For a review of the various types of marvels that Twelver Shī‘ī sources attribute to different Imāms, see Amir-Moezzi, *The Spirituality of Shi‘i Islam: Belief and Practices*, 204-09. On the issue of the knowledge of the Imāms as miracles, see David Weddle, *Miracles, Wonder and Meaning in World Religions* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 191-97.

²¹⁸ Amir-Moezzi, *The Spirituality of Shi‘i Islam: Belief and Practices*, 208.

²¹⁹ Halm, *Shi‘a Islam: From Religion to Revolution*, 32. Mahmoud Ayoub, *Redemptive Suffering in Islam: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of ‘Ashura in Twelver Shi‘ism* (The Hague: Mouton, 1978), 216., cited according to Biḥār al-Anwār of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d. 1111/1699). Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. LIII (Tehran: al-Maktabah al-Islāmiyyah, 1384/1965), 46.

²²⁰ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam* (San Francisco: Aquarian, 1966), 162.

²²¹ Lalani, *Early Shī‘ī Thought*, 77-80.

²²² Weddle, *Miracles, Wonder and Meaning in World Religions*, 192.

²²³ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 44-45, 49. Èl’chibekov has *junbish-i* (“the movement of”) instead of *justan-i* (“in search of”), *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Èl’chibekov, 31, 35.

²²⁴ An account of Pīr Shams’ marvels is translated in Tazim Kassam, *Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance: Hymns of the Satpanth Ismā‘īlī Muslim Saint, Pīr Shams* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 375-80.

Badakhshānī hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw present his control over natural forces and his esoteric wisdom as signs of saintly authority.

Overall, the presence of both familial and spiritual lines of transmission strongly authenticates the spiritual authority and sanctity of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the true successor of the Prophet, a member of his “family,” not only by genealogical, but also by spiritual descent. By evoking the concept of “light,” the hagiographies spiritually connect Nāṣir-i Khusraw not only with the Prophet and the Imāms, but also with the Great Throne itself. Before creation, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was with the “light” of the Prophet (*nūr-i nabī*), which is “the light of Muḥammad” (*nūr muḥammadī*) or his pre-existence as God’s primal creation in the form of a column of light, from which Adam was shaped. This alone firmly establishes his sacred and supernatural origins and reveals them to his followers. Further, Nāṣir-i Khusraw derives his charge from God, the Prophet and the Imām. His greatness is attested by his ability to control nature and even angels and other spiritual beings. The fact that other great saints from outside of Badakhshān enter into his service and companionship further enhances his spiritual authority and sanctity. The hagiographies depict Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint with inimitable qualities and a performer of awe-inspiring power and epistemological marvels. He is a saint with extraordinary degree of insight, knowledge and authority. He is the true knower and the path to the knowledge of God’s oneness and salvation. With all these attributes, he remains as the servant of the Ismā‘īlī Imām.

7.2.2 The Status of Badakhshān

According to the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh appointed Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the *ḥujjat* of Badakhshān (*Kuhistān-zamīn*), also referred to as the *pīr-i rukn* in this work and the *Sayāḥat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*.²²⁵ While *pīr-i rukn* appears to be used as an honorific title (“the pillar *pīr*”) in several places in both accounts, there are other places that suggest that *rukn* is used here in the sense of “corner,” “region,” “territory” or “clime” and that the title may carry the same sense as the earlier *ṣāḥib al-jazīrah*, or the *ḥujjat* in a particular region. For example, we find “Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw... became the *pīr-i rukn* in Kuhistān” (*Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw ... dar Kuhistān pīr-i rukn shudand*).²²⁶ In the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, we encounter sentences such as “when the people of the *rukn* of Kuhistān assembled” (*chūn khalq-i rukn-i Kuhistān jam ‘ āmadand*), “the believers of the *rukn* of Kuhistān” (*mu`minān-i rukn-i Kuhistān*) and “Bābā Sayyid-nā guided the clime (*iqḷīm*) of Daylam and Nāṣir-i Khusraw guided the *rukn* of Kuhistān” (*iqḷīm-i rūy-i Daylam-rā Bābā Sayyidinā va Nāṣir-i Khusraw rukn-i Kuhistān bih [sic] hidāyat mī’kardand*) in the text.²²⁷ For this reason, *rukn* should be understood as equivalent to the

²²⁵ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 45, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Èl’chibekov, 32. *Siyāḥat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 25, 38, 95, 97, 104. Rahmonqulov, *Bāhr ul-akhbor*, 15, 20, 43, 44, 47.

²²⁶ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 107, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Èl’chibekov, 78.

²²⁷ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 129-130, 132, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Èl’chibekov, 94-96.

word “region.” The *rukn* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw was *Kuhistān* or Badakhshān.²²⁸ According to some manuscripts from Badakhshān, there exist four *pīr-i rukn*. They are usually in charge of four regions, Khvājah Aḥmad Yasavī of Turkistān, ‘Alī Mūsā Rizā of Khurāsān, Shaykh Farīd Shakar-Ganj of Hindūstān and Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw of Kuhistān.²²⁹

By emphasizing Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s sacred origins, his ties with the Prophet and the Imāms, and his embodiment of supernatural knowledge and power, the hagiographies inevitably attach significance to Badakhshān through its *pīr* (*pīr-i Kuhistān*, *pīr-i rukn*). While Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band* attributed special status to Yumgān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s resting place, the middle hagiographies grant it to the entire region. As mentioned, in the *Siyāḥat’-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh himself takes note of Badakhshān and appoints Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the *pīr* of the region (*mā irshād-i pīr-i tū-rā dādīm dar Kuhistān-i Badakhshān*). As the *pīr* of Badakhshān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is the *hujjat* of the islands and the chief *dā’ī*, who is in control of seven climes.²³⁰ Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh Abū’l-Ma’ālī, as mentioned in Chapter Five, describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as *ṣāhib al-jazīrah* or “master of the island”²³¹ and Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī points out that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a contemporary of Mustanṣir and bore the title of *hujjat*.²³² In his own works, Nāṣir-i Khusraw refers to himself as the *hujjat* of Khurāsān.²³³ This is confirmed by the Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318) in his *Jāmi’ al-tawārīkh*.²³⁴ The Fāṭimid *da’wah* organization, of which Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a member, divided the world into twelve regions or *jazīrahs*, at the head of which was a *hujjat*.²³⁵ Khurāsān was one of the *jazīrahs*, and it is possible that Badakhshān, which is not mentioned explicitly in any Fāṭimid sources, was considered part of Khurāsān, headed at that time by Nāṣir-i Khusraw. After

²²⁸ In his edition of the *Siyāḥat’-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, Rahmonqulov either omits the word *rukn* or changes it to *dakna* and *dakan*. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhhbor*, 15, 20, (*dakna*) 43, 44, (*dakan*) 47. *Dakan* has several meanings, which include “the Deccan” and “the south.” In response to my questions about this part of Rahmonqulov’s text, some Ismā’īlīs in Shughnān insisted that Nāṣir-i Khusraw is the *pīr-i dakan* or “the *pīr* in [the highest] mountains” (or, “the *pīr* of [the people in the highest] mountains”) by which they mean the Pamirs. Although the word *dakan* indeed means “the highest point of a mountain” in Tajik-Persian, with the exception of Rahmonqulov’s edition of the *Siyāḥat’-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is not described as *pīr-i dakan* in any other sources. As for the word *dakna*, my informants said it was a typographical error. This word does not exist in Tajik-Persian or even Pāmīrī languages.

²²⁹ See *Bāb dar bayān-i tarīqat va ḥaqīqat*, fol. 153b, 155a. Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 1959/14ж.. Bobrinskoĭ, “Sakta Ismail’īa,” 13. According to the *Bāb dar bayān-i tarīqat va ḥaqīqat*, in addition to the *pīr-i rukns*, there are other *pīrs*, who include “the *pīrs* of truth” (*pīr-i ḥaqīqat*), Jabraīl, Mikaīl, Azraīl and Israfil, “the *pīrs* of the path” (*pīr-i tarīqat*), ‘Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, “the *pīr* of sincerity” (*pīr-i ikhlās*), Khizr, “the *pīr* of religious law” (*pīr-i shari’at*), “the *pīr* of spiritual knowledge” (*pīr-i ma’rifat*), “the *pīr* of purity” (*pīr-i tahārat*), etc. *Bāb dar bayān-i tarīqat va ḥaqīqat*, fol. 153-157.

²³⁰ *Siyāḥat’-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 25, Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhhbor*, 15.

²³¹ Abū al-Ma’ālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, 55. *Ṣāhib al-jazīrah* or “the lord of the island” is usually the *hujjat* of one of the twelve *jazīrahs* that the Ismā’īlīs divided the world into. See Farhad Daftary, “The Ismaili Da’wa outside of the Fatimid Dawla,” in *L’Égypte Fatimide, son art et son histoire*, ed. Marianne Barrucand (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 37. The term is attested in early Ismā’īlī sources, e.g. in the work of the 10th century Ismā’īlī scholar Ja’far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman (d. ca. 346/957). See Ja’far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *Sarā’ir wa asrār al-nuṭaqā’*, ed. Mustafā Ghālib (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1984), 251.

²³² Qazvīnī, *Ta’rīkh-i guzīdah*, 753. Schefer, *Sefer Nameh*, 2. Tarzī, *Nāṣir-i Khusraw-i Balkhī*, 4.

²³³ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Zād al-musāfirīn*, 397. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Jāmi’ al-ḥikmatayn*, ed. Corbin and Mu’īn, 15. *Hujjat* is also Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetic pen name. See *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 309, 21, 272, 78.

²³⁴ Bertel’s, “Nazariyāt-i barkhī az ‘urafā,” 99.

²³⁵ Daftary, *The Ismā’īlīs*, 217-18.

fleeing to Badakhshān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw continued working for the Ismāʿīlī *daʿvah* as the *hujjat* of Khurāsān. In the hagiographies, Badakhshān, therefore, is presented as an important center in the history of Ismāʿīlī *daʿvah* and it is with his seat in Badakhshān that Nāṣir-i Khusraw controls the *jazīrahs* or even the seven climes.

Historically, the chief *dāʿī* or *dāʿī al-duʿāt* during Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s time was the administrative head of the Fāṭimid *daʿvah* organization.²³⁶ By indicating that the Imām appointed Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the *dāʿī-i duʿāt* based in Badakhshān and in control of other regions, the *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir* attributes central importance to the region. While this term is uncommon in Ismāʿīlī texts of the Fāṭimid period, it does appear frequently in non-Ismāʿīlī sources in the prestigious sense of the chief *dāʿī*. As mentioned above, according to the *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, Imām Mustanṣir biʿllāh left Egypt together with Nāṣir-i Khusraw and settled in Badakhshān, where he passed away in Māy-i Naw of Darvāz. By associating the Imām with Badakhshān and transferring the office of the chief *dāʿī* (*dāʿī-i duʿāt*) from Cairo to this mountainous region of Central Asia, the hagiography renders it a holy space. While the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw fled to Badakhshān due to persecution in his homeland and complained of his bitter situation, but the hagiographies present Badakhshān as a region with which the Imām blessed, where people believed in and served him. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, therefore, serves as a bridge, linking Badakhshān spatially, symbolically and temporally with Ismāʿīlī centers and history, thus sanctifying this region and confirming its significance despite its remoteness.

I have already mentioned how the *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir* describes the “light” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw that reaches and opens the gate of the Great Throne. This hagiographical narrative also describes how the Great Throne shines its light over the cave of Yumgān and how the people of the world witness “a sun on earth with its rays spread in the sky” (*āftābī dar zamīn āmad va shuʿā-i ū dar āsmān ast*). The *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir* states that all those seeking help from the saint (*ḥājat-mandān*) arrive to visit him, and the saint performs miraculous healings.²³⁷ In this, the work follows Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band*. However, unlike the *Haft band*, which relates these marvels taking place at Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s tomb, in the *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, it is Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself who performs these

²³⁶ With headquarters in Cairo, the chief *dāʿī* was closely supervised by the Imām and was responsible for appointing subordinate *dāʿīs* within the Fāṭimid caliphate and non-Fāṭimid provinces. Unless the same person held both posts, the chief *dāʿī* was second in rank after the chief judge (*qāḏī*). As Daftary observes, the title of *dāʿī al-duʿāt* rarely appears in Ismāʿīlī texts, but it is used frequently in non-Ismāʿīlī sources. The Ismāʿīlī sources reserve the term *bāb* (“warden,” “gateway”) for the dignitary following immediately after the Imām in spiritual hierarchy. The most prominent *dāʿī al-duʿāt* or chief *dāʿī* of Imām al-Mustanṣir biʿllāh’s time was al-Muʿayyad fīʾl-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1078) who held the post for nearly twenty years from 450/1058 until his death. In Ismāʿīlī sources, al-Muʿayyad is also called the *bāb* of Mustanṣir biʿllāh. *Ibid.*, 204, 17. Regardless of whether the *bāb* and *dāʿī al-duʿāt* were one post or not, it is clear that *dāʿī al-duʿāt* was a dignitary that held the first or the second position after the Imām. None of the hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw refer to him as *bāb*. When in Badakhshān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw maintained correspondence with al-Muʿayyad fīʾl-Dīn al-Shīrāzī and Cairo. *Ibid.*, 207. According to the anonymous Ismāʿīlī treatise titled *Duvāzdah faṣl* (*Twelve Chapters*), *dāʿī al-duʿāt* is immediately below the *hujjat-i aʿzam* in the Ismāʿīlī spiritual hierarchy, but he receives teachings directly from the Imām and is always one person. Sometimes his rank is above the rank of the “limited *hujjat*” (*hujjat-i maḥdūd*). *Duvāzdah faṣl*, MS Folder 19, f. 47a (KhRU-IIS). On this treatise, see Baqoev, *Alfavitmyi Katalog*, (#77/1959/27zh), 45-46.

²³⁷ *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 77. Rahmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhhbor*, 35.

marvels. The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* further relates that other saints of the world (*buzurgān-i 'ālam*) carry good tidings to the world's inhabitants about the pole (*quṭb*) in Badakhshān. As a result, many great saints come to serve Nāṣir-i Khusraw from the corners of the world.²³⁸

The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* mentions an important companion and servant of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, named Sayyid Muḥammad Madanī, who subsequently becomes the commander of the *pīr*'s army.²³⁹ Apart from Madanī, the text mentions another of his companions named Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī, also known as Shāh Ṭālib-i Sarmast. He comes to Badakhshān from India.²⁴⁰ These individuals are famous historical figures and Ṣūfī masters. In the *Āghāz-i Charāgh'nāmah*, Sayyid Muḥammad Madanī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw are described as the authors of the *Charāgh'nāmah*.²⁴¹ Although a poet (with the pen name of Nizāmī) refers to the Prophet Muḥammad as Muḥammad Madanī (i.e. Muḥammad of Madīna), it is clear that this is not the referent in the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*.²⁴² “Sayyid Muḥammad Madanī” must stand for a certain “Madīn Šāhib,” who according to Hanif, was commonly known in Kashmīr under this name and who was originally from Medina. He left his home and entered the service of Tīmūr (d. 807/1405), the Turco-Mongol conqueror and the founder of the Tīmūrid Empire. When Tīmūr invaded India, he took Sayyid Madanī with him. In 801/1399, he dispatched Sayyid Madanī from Sindh as his envoy to the court of Ṣulṭān Sikandar (d. 816/1413) of Kashmīr, where he settled with his family. His tomb, constructed in 848/1444, is presently located in present-day Srīnagar.²⁴³

The other figure, Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī, is regarded as a holy *pīr* in Badakhshān. His shrine (*mazār*) is located in Tavdīm of Shākh'darah, where he is believed to have died. There is also a sacred place in the Tārqaḥ (Vamār) of Rūshān, which is locally known as *gulkhan-i Sayyid Jalāl* (literally, “the fire-place of Sayyid Jalāl”), where, as people believe, he preached Ismā'īlism by a bon-fire together with Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Shāh Ṭālib Sarmast.²⁴⁴ He is believed to have accompanied Nāṣir-i Khusraw in his trips to the regions of Badakhshān. Some contemporary Badakhshānī families trace their genealogy back to Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī, whom they consider to be a *sayyid*.²⁴⁵ Given that, according to the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī comes from India, this figure is clearly the Suhrawardī master Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Shāh Mīr Surkh-pūsh (“red-dressed”) Bukhārī (c. 595-

²³⁸ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 43. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 22.

²³⁹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 79. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 36.

²⁴⁰ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 100. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 45.

²⁴¹ *Āghāz-i Charāgh'nāmah*, MS Folder 164, ff. 81a-84a (KhRU-IIS).

²⁴² Nizāmī eulogizes 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Muḥammad Madanī, describes them as two friends and “two pearls from one shell.” It is clear that, in the poem, Muḥammad Madanī (i.e. Muḥammad of Madīna) is Prophet Muḥammad, because the poet says the one ('Alī) makes hardship disappear with the “light of authority” (*nūr-i vilāyat*) and “the one (Muḥammad) brought God's message to people...” MS Folder 12, ff. 367-8 (KhRU-IIS).

²⁴³ Hanif, *Biographical Dictionary of Sufis*, 203. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans* (Delhi: Aakar Books, 2005), 288.

²⁴⁴ Bakhtiërov, *Ta'rīkh-i Rushon*, 23-26.

²⁴⁵ According to a local tradition, he married a Rūshānī woman and the people who trace their origin to him are the *sayyids* of Vamār. *Ibid.*, 27.

690/1199-1292), who was a *khalīfah* of the Suhravardī Sūfī *shaykh* Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' (d. 660/1262) of Multan.²⁴⁶ Born in Bukhārā, he came to India, settled and established a Suhravardī centre in Uchch. Many tribes of Uchch claim that he was responsible for their conversion to Islam.²⁴⁷ Under Mīr(-i Gul) Surkh, which is a title of Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī, the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān know a *pīr*, who they believe, came to the region from Khurāsān after Nāṣir-i Khusraw.²⁴⁸ His shrine is located in the village of Sarchashmah in Shughnān of Afghanistan.

According to the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī and Shāh Ṭālib Sarmast are the same person. The Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān believe that Shāh Ṭālib Sarmast was also a companion of Nāṣir-i Khusraw with whom he travelled in Badakhshān. At a place called Langar, near Vamār in Rūshān, there are two sacred plane trees, which, according to local people, grew from the staffs of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Shāh Ṭālib Sarmast.²⁴⁹ The people also believe that Shāh Ṭālib Sarmast is buried at this place, and the shrine is called Shāh Ṭālib.²⁵⁰ Apart from the shrine in Vamār, there are other shrines (*āstān*) in Roshorv of Bartang, in Sākhcharv in Shughnān and in Shākh'darah, named after Shāh Ṭālib Sarmast.²⁵¹ Contrary to the account of the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, some Ismā'īlīs believe that Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī and Shāh Ṭālib Sarmast are distinct individuals who were companions and disciples of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and, together with their teacher, spread Ismā'īlī faith in different places in Badakhshān.²⁵² There is a place outside of Vamār called "The Shrine of Damgāh" (*āstān-i damgāh*) where Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī and Shāh Ṭālib Sarmast are believed to have rested while travelling in Badakhshān.²⁵³ However, Shāh Ṭālib Sarmast is the famous Central Asian saint Shāh Abū Ṭālib Sarmast (or Khvājah Abū Ṭālib Sarmast) who lived in the 3rd/10th century and propagated Islam in Urgut, south of Samarqand. His shrine is presently located in Sulaymān-tepa, near the town of Urgut.²⁵⁴ Notably, there is a plane tree (*chinār*) about a thousand years old, thought of as sacred, located near the shrine of this Islamic missionary and holy man.²⁵⁵

These examples indicate that, through the figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* incorporates famous Muslim figures from regions beyond Badakhshān and transplants them

²⁴⁶ Ismā'īlī tradition in India, meanwhile, depicts Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' as someone who, at least initially, opposed the spread of Ismā'īlism in the region of Multān, and was particularly hostile to the Ismā'īlī Pīr Shams. Shafique N. Virani, "The Voice of Truth: Life and Works of Sayyid Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, A 15th/16th Century Ismā'īlī Mystic" (Master's thesis, McGill University, 1995), 37-43.

²⁴⁷ Hanif, *Biographical Dictionary*, 169. K.A. Nizami, "Popular movements, religious trends and Sufi influence on the masses in the post 'Abbasid period," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century*, ed. M.S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (Delhi: MBPPL, 1992), 378.

²⁴⁸ "Iz dokumenta otnosyashegosya k istorii zapadnogo pamira," in Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 218-231.

²⁴⁹ In the village of Bārdara in Bartang, there are three sacred fir trees, which are believed to have grown from the walking staff of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Shakarmamadov, "Hakim Nosiri Khusrav dar tasavvur-i mardum," 595.

²⁵⁰ Nisormamad Shakarmamadov, *Folklori Pomir*, vol. 2 (Dushanbe: 2005), 98. Bakhtiërov, *Ta'rikihi Rushon*, 27.

²⁵¹ *Folklori Pomir*, 4, 98.

²⁵² Bakhtiërov, *Ta'rikihi Rushon*, 26.

²⁵³ Ibid. Shāh Ṭālib Sarmast is believed to have advised the ruler of Rūshān to build the famous Vamār fortress in Rūshān. Ibid., 23.

²⁵⁴ Robert McChesney, *Central Asia: Foundations of Change* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1996), 67.

onto the history of the region.²⁵⁶ Their presence together with Nāṣir-i Khusraw in different villages of Badakhshān validates and sanctifies the localities. Through them, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* also connects Badakhshān to important regions of the Islamic world such as Transoxania and India, in addition to granting the region a special status. Not only do the people of the world come to Badakhshān for their “needs” (*hājats*), but also the great ones come to visit Nāṣir-i Khusraw, travel with him to different parts of Badakhshān with him and, finally, visit the shrine of the Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh in Darvāz. This hagiographical narrative offers a vision of a locality's legitimation and sanctification.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw is credited with inspiring or actively implementing efforts that led to the Islamization of the people in Badakhshān. Wherever he goes, he builds *chillah'khānahs* or “houses of forty days,” *takyahs* or abodes of mendicants, *langars*, mosques and libraries, as well as composes books.²⁵⁷ It is impossible to ascertain whether the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw traveled in the regions beyond the Panj River, such as Shughnān, Vakhān, Rūshān, Shākh'darah and so on. He does not mention any trips to these areas in his authentic works. The *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Ḥikāyat-i mazar'hā-yi Kuhistān*, however, bring him closer to these areas and, through him, the Ismā'īlīs to the wider Muslim communities of Badakhshān. Through foundation, Islamization and conversation narratives such as the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Ḥikāyat-i mazar'hā-yi Kuhistān*, the Ismā'īlīs of

²⁵⁵ Christoph Baumer, *Traces in the Desert: Journeys of Discovery Across Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), 43.

²⁵⁶ According to the Ismā'īlīs of Zībāk in Afghanistan, a person named Dīvānah Shāh Valī was an Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* who lived in the village of Khulkhān of Zībāk. Presently, there is a shrine associated with Dīvānah Shāh Valī. Khan, *Living Traditions of Nasir Khusraw*, 191. In my conversation with Ismā'īlīs from Zībāk, whom I met in Ishkāshim and Khorog in 2013, I found that some Zībākī Ismā'īlīs call him Ṣāhib Dīvān Shāh Valī, think that he came from India and regard him as a famous Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* and poet. Unfortunately, they did not know any of his poems. Others regarded him as a disciple of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and indicated that he was among the *qalandars* such as Sayyid Suhrāb and Malik Jahān Shāh. On Dīvānah Shāh's shrine, see also Sayyid Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāmiyānī, *Badakhshān dar ā'īnah-i zamān* (Shu'bah-i nasharāt, 1381/2002), 135-36. The *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* mentions Aḥmad-i Dīvānah who could well be the same person. Presently, nothing concrete can be said about the other individuals named Khvājah Hamdīn, Khvājah Batalmān and Khvājah Bashīr. Their names are also mentioned in the *Bayt-i maydān* (verses that are in praise of the Prophet, Imām 'Alī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ṣāhib-i Zamān Muḥammad Mahdī recited in the *da'vat-i baqā*). As the translation shows, the verses are rather confusing: *Khvājah Hamdīn maqām-i pākān ast, Takhtgāh-i hamah buzurgān ast, Chūn Bashīr ast yār-i ṣādiq ū, Dar naẓar Khvājah Batalmān ast* (“Khvājah Hamdīn is the station of the pure, [He] is the throne of all the great ones, Like Bashīr, he is a sincere friend, In contemplation he is [like] Khvājah Batalmān”). See *Hāza bayt-i maydān*, MS Folder 173 (copied by Sayyid Shāh'zādah Muḥammad in 1325/1907), ff. 26b-27b (KhRU-IIS). See also *Maydān'nāmah*, MS Folder 50 (date of copy either 1217/1802 or 1272/1855), ff. 173b-174a (KhRU-IIS). In *Bayt-i maydān*, MSGK93, it is “*Dar naṣab*” (in pedigree) instead of “*Dar naẓar*,” which makes it even more confusing. *Bayt-i maydān*, MSGK93, 30 (KhRU-IIS). According to the *Shajarah'nāmah* of the *pīrs* of Shākh'darah (undated – only mentions Saturday, but most likely produced before advent of the Soviet Union), Khvājah Hamdīn and Nāṣir-i Khusraw spread Ismā'īlism. *Shajarah'nāmah*, MS Folder 92, 6 (KhRU-IIS). The *Bāb dar bayān-i charāgh* (*On the Explanation of the Lamp*) (undated), the tradition of *Chirāgh'rawshan* passed from Nāṣir-i Khusraw to Khvājah Hamdīn and from him to the *charāgh'dārān* (literally, “possessors of the lamp”) in Badakhshān. This manuscript belongs to the PC of Sohībshohī Zivorī in Shītam, Shughnān.

²⁵⁷ The belief that Nāṣir-i Khusraw performed forty-day long retreats (*chillah*) is also found among the Ismā'īlīs of Chitral in Pakistan. They believe that while travelling in the region, he performed a *chillah* in a cave in Garamchashma. Today, a shrine has been built near the cave and a festival named Pathak is held annually to mark the end of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's forty-day retreat at this shrine. <http://hunzanews.com/chitral-thousands-gather-to-remember-the-teachings-of-pir-nasir-khusraw/> (accessed July 16, 2016). The Turkish word *tekke* for a Ṣūfī lodge is taken from Persian *takyah*. Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1974), 584. *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 27, 43, 47, 49, 51, 77, 94, 101. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 16, 22, 24, 25, 35, 43, 46.

Badakhshān are, in the words of Nile Green, “anchoring Islam to their local territory.”²⁵⁸ Islam also becomes the ancestral religion, and conversion to Islam is seen as the founding moment of the community as such. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the bearer of Ismā‘īlī Islam, becomes the foundational figure with and through whom the Ismā‘īlīs identified themselves and their religious tradition.

The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* traces the origin of the *Charāgh'rawshan* ritual (also known as the *da‘vat-i Nāṣir*), the devotional songs in praise of God, the Prophet and Imāms (*maddāh*) and the traditional stringed instrument (*rubāb*) to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The *rubāb*, as I explain below, is another significant symbol of the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān. It is a sacred instrument, since it is believed to contain the breath of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The origins of the *Charāgh'rawshan*, which is a defining factor of the identity of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī community, do not end with Nāṣir-i Khusraw. According to the Ismā‘īlīs, the tradition was passed down from Prophet Muḥammad to ‘Alī and from ‘Alī to Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*az Muḥammad bih ‘Alī az ‘Alī bih Nāṣir-i Khusraw silsilah bih silsilah āmad*) who brought it to Badakhshān. The tradition is linked with the *da‘vah* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who is associated with the Ismā‘īlī Imām of his time, Muṣṭansir bi’llāh (“he is the help of Mustansir, he is the *hujjat* of Muṣṭansir” – *ū nuṣrat-i Mustansir ast, ū hujjat-i Muṣṭansir ast*) or the Imāms in general (“reminds of the Imāms” – *dihad yād az imāmān*).²⁵⁹ In other words, contrary to Abū al-Ma‘ālī’s observation, a Nāṣirī is a follower of the Ismā‘īlī Imām in the path of Nāṣir-i Khusraw rather than someone with a distinct *ṭarīqah*. This also suggests that we should reject Bertel’s’s, according to which, for the authors and compilers of the *Charāgh'nāmah*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is the founder of a mystic *silsilah* called the Nāṣiriyyah (*asāsguzār-i silsilah-i ‘urafā, silsilah-i Nāṣiriyyah*).²⁶⁰ However, the Nāṣiriyyah cannot be regarded as a separate Ismā‘īlī sect.²⁶¹ In the pre-Soviet socio-political context, it was perhaps safer to designate the religious tradition after Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who, in addition to bringing the faith to the region, was also revered by the Sunnīs and the Twelver Shī‘īs.²⁶²

The Badakhshānī hagiographies of this period, unlike Ḥusaynī’s *Haft band*, are not marked by a focus on the shrine of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Yumgān. This is evidently due to the fact that the region was still under the control of the more politically dominant Sunnī community. As discussed in Chapter Three, none of the decrees, dated to as early as the 9th/15th and as late as the late 13th/19th century, describe Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an Ismā‘īlī, and the figures who patronized the shrine are all Tīmūrid,

²⁵⁸ Nile Green, "Stories of Saints and Sultans: Re-membling History at the Sufi Shrines of Aurangabad," *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 2 (2004): 424.

²⁵⁹ Folder 168, 20. Folder 206, 5. USBk54, 8. Muḥammadsherozodshoev, *Manobe'i*, 69. *Dū gīsū-yi siyāh-i ‘anbarīnat, dihad yād az Imām Shāh Nāṣir* (“Your locks fragrant as amber, remind of my Imām, oh Shāh Nāṣir”), Folder 168, 23.

²⁶⁰ Bertel’s, "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az ‘urafā," 111.

²⁶¹ The Iranian scholar ‘Abd Allāh Ābādānī lists the followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, “the Nāṣiriyyah” (*fīrqaḥ-i Nāṣiriyyah*), as a separate sect in his chapter on Ismā‘īlī branches. ‘Abd Allāh Ābādānī, *Ta’rīkh-i adyān va mazāhib*, vol. 3 (Qumm: 1373/1994), 208-09.

²⁶² Wladimir Ivanow also points to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s popularity among Sunnīs and Shī‘īs. Wladimir Ivanow, “Introduction,” *Harātī?, Kalām-i Pīr*, xv.

Uzbek and Afghan rulers of a Sunnī background.²⁶³ The production of hagiographies is usually associated with shrine traditions such that certain figures become “patron saints” of regions where their shrines are located.²⁶⁴ Hagiographical records ensure the legacy of a shrine tradition and solidify the sacred status of some spaces.²⁶⁵ In the Ismā‘īlī hagiographies, however, Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s shrine is virtually absent. According to Shokhumorov, it was Sunnīs who built the shrine over Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s tomb, committing an act that is “forbidden according to the teachings of Pamiri Ismailism.”²⁶⁶ The religious identity of the initial builders is unclear; neither can we say with certainty to which “the teachings of Pamiri Ismailism” Shokhumorov refers. In light of present evidence, the most viable explanation for the absence of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s shrine in the hagiography is that the narratives are not associated with the tradition of this shrine, which in all probability was controlled by Sunnīs, but with the figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself and the region of Badakhshān in general. For this reason, etiological legends, which explain the origin of phenomena of nature, social life and toponyms in various parts of Badakhshān, play an important role in the hagiographies.²⁶⁷ This, too, is an attempt at connecting Nāṣir-i Khusraw to different localities and at situating the entire region, not only Yumgān, within the sacred geography of the Islamic world.

Hagiographical stories offer numerous etiological explanations of the origins of phenomena of natural phenomena, social life and toponyms. Marvels, described above, exemplify this feature of hagiographies quite well. One of the two tall sacred plane trees in Vamār, for example, grew from the staff of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.²⁶⁸ On the Afghan side across from Vanj, there is a rock that resembles a man carrying a leather sack made of a whole goatskin (*sanāch*). The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* explains this as the work of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s follower, Shāh Ṭālib, who turned to stone an evil man about to kill both him and Nāṣir-i Khusraw.²⁶⁹ The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* credits Nāṣir-i Khusraw with building the first walkways on overhanging cliffs by the river (*āvring* or *ovring* in Pāmīrī languages), still visible today.²⁷⁰ Both the *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* and the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* credit Nāṣir-i Khusraw with creating springs, the most famous of which is the sacred *Chashmah-i Nāṣir* in

²⁶³ Khalīlī, “Yumgān va vaṣā’iq,” 440-76.

²⁶⁴ See for instance, Devin DeWeese, “Sacred History for a Central Asian Town: Saints, Shrines, and Legends of Origin in Histories of Sayram, 18th-19th Centuries,” *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 89/90 (2000): 245-95. Alexandre Papas, “So Close to Samarqand, Lhasa: Sufī Hagiographies, Founder Myths and Sacred Space in Himalayan Islam,” in *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes*, ed. Anna Akasoy (Farhnam: Ashgate, 2011), 261-80.

²⁶⁵ Scholars of South Asia have produced significant works in this area. See for example Nile Green, *Making Space: Sufis and Settlers in Early Modern India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012). Chitralekh Zutshi, *Contested Past: Narratives, Sacred Geographies, and the Historical Imagination* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014).

²⁶⁶ Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 28.

²⁶⁷ The role of etiological legends in the cult of saints is a widespread phenomenon in Islam. See for instance, Anna Suworova, *Muslims Saints of South Asia: The Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 201.

²⁶⁸ Shakarmamodov, “Ḥakīm Nosiri Khusraw dar tasavvur-i mardum,” 595.

²⁶⁹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 111. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 50.

²⁷⁰ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 107-108. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 49.

Pārshinīv.²⁷¹ The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir* describes how Nāšir-i Khusraw shows people how to dig canals that bring water from the mountains down to the lowlands.²⁷²

Not only does Nāšir-i Khusraw plant trees and create *āvriings*, canals and springs, but he also names places and blesses them and their inhabitants. For instance, he blesses the village of Sākhcharv in Shughnān with plenty of victuals and calls it *Sākhcharv-i hamīshah-charv*, which literally means “The Sākhcharv that always has plenty of victuals.”²⁷³ Even today, the people of Sākhcharv proudly attribute the name of their village and the multitude of apricot, apple, cherry, pear, nut, mulberry, and other fruit trees that grow there, to the blessing of Nāšir-i Khusraw. According to the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, Nāšir-i Khusraw calls the people of Ghārān, “the possessors of treasure of Ghārān” (*ganj'dārān-i Ghārān*) and blesses them with abundance of provisions for their hospitality.²⁷⁴ He blesses the people of Viyar who heeded his preaching and were prepared to fight for him, and calls them “the courageous ones of Viyar” (*bahādurān-i Viyar*).²⁷⁵ The people of Vīr in the Ghund region of the Shughnān district in Tajikistan, who proudly mentioned this to me on numerous occasions, believe that Nāšir-i Khusraw called their ancestors “the courageous ones.” In fact, Qalandarov, who has apparently drawn on research conducted by the Pamir Branch of the Institute for the Study of Humanities of the Tajik Academy of Sciences, also mentions that Nāšir-i Khusraw called the people of the Wer of Ghund “the courageous ones” (*khrairie*).²⁷⁶ The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, however, indicates clearly that this place is close to Darmārakht of Shughnān (from where Nāšir-i Khusraw and his company came there) and Dehmurghān (the next place visited by the group).²⁷⁷ For this reason, this place is most probably Viyar, located in the Afghan Shughnān, not in Wer (or Vīr) in Tajik Shughnān.²⁷⁸ These two different versions provide a clear example of the way various groups in Badakhshān contest the hagiography of Nāšir-i Khusraw. I will examine this in the next section in detail, but here I should mention that both versions link Nāšir-i Khusraw to their ancestors/places and connect their roots to the saint. They connect, through foundational stories, the history of places and their beginnings to Nāšir-i Khusraw. Many other places and people are linked to Nāšir-i Khusraw (e.g. the people of Barpanjah, which was until the early 20th century the capital of Shughnān, are called “lions and tigers” (*shīr-u babr*) for their devotion and service to Nāšir-i Khusraw).²⁷⁹

²⁷¹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 106. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 48. *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 10. Other sacred springs, which are believed to have been created by Nāšir-i Khusraw are in Barzūd and Dīrūshān in Rūshān. Shakarmamadov, “Hakim Nosiri Khusrav dar tasavvuri mardum,” 597.

²⁷² *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 72. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 33.

²⁷³ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 106. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 48.

²⁷⁴ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 103. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 46.

²⁷⁵ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 103. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 47.

²⁷⁶ Qalandarov, “Agiografiā,” 63.

²⁷⁷ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 103. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 47.

²⁷⁸ The confusion clearly stems from the fact that both Viyar (also Viyad) and Vīr are spelled exactly the same in Persian (وير).

²⁷⁹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 104. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 47. The attribution of rhyming parables describing characteristics of people and places is common in Badakhshān. Some examples that are not included in the hagiographies are:

Apart from names of places, which, according to the Ismā‘īlīs, were given to them by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the hagiographies emphasize his connection to the social life of Badakhshān in other ways. We have already mentioned the *da‘vah*, which, as the Ismā‘īlīs believe, Nāṣir-i Khusraw instituted in Badakhshān. Similarly, as we will see below, both the devotional poetry (*maddāh*) and the sacred *rubāb* in accompaniment of which the poetry is sung in the *da‘vah* ceremony were introduced and made respectively in Badakhshān by Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The origins of many famous sayings (e.g. *quvvat-i kār*, “may you have the strength to do the work,” used to wish someone strength to complete the work he or she is doing; *yakī dū shavad*, “may your wealth increase” or *yakī dū na-shavad*, “may your wealth not increase”) are attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw.²⁸⁰

As Nāṣir-i Khusraw is believed to have passed through all the main valleys of Badakhshān (including Vakhān, Shughnān (Ghund), Shākh‘darah and Rūshān), many places, which he visited, became his *qadam‘gāhs* (literally, “stepping place”) or shrines (*mazārs*).²⁸¹ The *Hikāyat-i mazār‘hā-yi Kuhistān* mentions that in the village of Pashār (Paxor in Shughnānī) in Pārshinīv, the place where Nāṣir-i Khusraw is believed to have retreated for forty days and created a spring, became *mazār-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* or the shrine of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.²⁸² The text also mentions the famous sacred spring (*chashmah-i Nāṣir*) in Midenshār (Miðenshor in Shughnānī), where the saint is believed to have stayed for some time. *Mazār-i Ḥaẓrat-i Pīr Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw* is located there.²⁸³ There are sacred stones on which Nāṣir-i Khusraw is believed to have rested in Vakhān and other *qadam‘gāhs* (e.g. a cave in Shitamdarah in Shughnān, a stone in Yimit of Vakhān, places by the road in the village of Shujānd in Rūshān and the village of Khijīz (Khijez in Pāmīrī) in Bartang where he is believed to have walked or spent a night while travelling in these valleys.²⁸⁴ The hagiographical narratives describe such places as the ones “blessed with his [i.e. Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s] feet” (*barakat-i pā-yi qudūm-i ū*).²⁸⁵

The hagiographies attribute the success of Islam in Badakhshān to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s charisma and the egalitarian values he embodied. They emphasize his spiritual authority and represent him as a

“Sarsil is a place where you find butter in abundance and Kalafzāl is known for its apricots” (*sarsil maska babūl, kalafzāl zardālūzār*), “Āstāna (present Ḥaẓrat-i Sa‘īd where Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s shrine is located) is a place of my dwelling, Kārān is a place of my confinement, Munjān is my love, Anjuman is my treasure” (*Āstāna makān-i man, Kārān karān-i man, Munjān jānān-i man, Anjuman ganj-i man*), “Travel on the desert of Sanjalī with enough provision or it will kill you” (*Dar dasht-i sanjalī tusha nadārī mī-mīrī*), “Going to hell is preferable to going to the Tang-i Kārān” (*Gar jānīb-i dūzakhat bikhvānd-u biraw, Zinhār, maraw bih jānīb-i Tang-i Kārān*). Khan, *Living Traditions of Nasir Khusraw*, 223.

²⁸⁰ *Siyāhat‘nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 46, 49. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 24, 25.

²⁸¹ There are many sacred sites associated with Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān. In Tajik Badakhshān, these sites are in Shujand, Vaznavd, Vāmd, a place between Vāmd and Dīrūshān, Barrūshān, Dīrūd and Barzūd in Rūshān, Nisur, Barchadīv and Khijīz in Bartang, Vīr, Shitam (Xitam), Barsīm and Bārchīd in Shughnān. See Oshurbekov, “Places, Memories and Religious Identity,” 157-59.

²⁸² *Hikāyat-i mazār‘hā-yi Kuhistān*, 10.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Bobrinskoī, *Gorīsy*, 109-10. Shakarmamadov, “Ḥakim Nosiri Khusrav dar tasavvuri mardum,” 593. Among numerous sacred places associated with Nāṣir-i Khusraw are the *āstāns* of Pīr Shāh Nāṣir in the villages of Nisur and Dasht in Bartang. Ibid. Mock, “Shrine Traditions,” 117-45. Bahrām Shīr-Muḥammad, “Nāṣir-i Khusraw dar Tājīkistān,” in *Dānā-yi Yumgān: Majmū‘ah-i maqālāt-i simīnār-i bayn al-milālī-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw – nakhustmard-i gusturda-i khīrad, dānish va adab*, ed. Ḥusayn Farmand (Kābūl: Maṭba‘ah-i dawlatī, 1366HSh/1988), 296-97.

saint who shuns political authority. He is not a warrior saint and his preaching of Islam is peaceful.²⁸⁶ Although the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* mentions that Nāṣir-i Khusraw had an army (*lashkar-i pīr*), neither this account nor others mention any military conflicts in Badakhshān in which Nāṣir-i Khusraw was involved.²⁸⁷ Instead, it describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his fellow travelers as peaceful *faqīrs*. The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* describes Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh, who before leaving Egypt with Nāṣir-i Khusraw, proclaimed that he would go and see all the seven climes without an army, because he does not want any creatures to be troubled or ants to die under the hooves of horses.²⁸⁸ Instead, the Imām travels to the seven climes with only Nāṣir-i Khusraw, finally arriving in Badakhshān.²⁸⁹ Reference to the ants illustrates the Imām's for living beings and implies that emphasis should be placed on the spiritual, not worldly, authority of the Imām. Similarly, Badakhshānī rulers who accept the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw abandon their kingdom. Thus, for instance, Gīv ibn Kaykāvūs, a native Badakhshānī king, whose ancestors ruled the region for a long time (*az malik'hā-yi qadīmī-i Badakhshān*), gave his kingdom to his son Malik Jahān Shāh, after coming to believe in Nāṣir-i Khusraw.²⁹⁰ Malik Jahān Shāh also abandons his throne and enters into the service of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.²⁹¹ The hagiographical sources then suggest that the seeds of Islam were planted in Badakhshān without any coercion and the people accepted it with readiness. It shows that Badakhshān is the place of those who seek spiritual well being, rather than material gains and political authority. It is a spiritual place in itself, which explains why the saints who came to see Nāṣir-i Khusraw also wanted to visit the shrine of the Imām in Darvāz and to travel in different places in Badakhshān.²⁹²

To conclude, Badakhshān, which is usually considered to be on the periphery of the Islamic world, is quite at the centre of the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and is given vital importance through his figure. Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the Imām serve as a bridge, linking Badakhshān with Ismā'īlī centers and history; thus, sanctifying it and confirming its significance. Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *da'vah* is valid in seven climes, but his headquarters are in Badakhshān. The focus on his travels in the region, coupled with the emphasis on religious conversion, highlights relationships and contacts that go beyond the borders of Badakhshān and link its community to distant places, times past, and a global community of Muslims. It is in the fusion of the local with the universal character of Islam that the sacred history of Badakhshān is presented. This fusion is most vivid in the blending of local figures with famous Muslim figures contextualized within Badakhshān's past. This confirms the region's

²⁸⁵ *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 10.

²⁸⁶ In discussing Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the spread of Ismā'īlism in Badakhshān with Bobrinskoī, Pīr Sayyid Aḥmad mentioned that the conversion of the local people to the new faith took place peacefully and without coercion. Bobrinskoī, "Sakta Ismā'īlī," 13.

²⁸⁷ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 79. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 36.

²⁸⁸ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 17. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 11.

²⁸⁹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 25. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 15.

²⁹⁰ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 52, 64. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 26, 30.

²⁹¹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 70. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 32.

sacred character and compensates for its remoteness. Although the shrine of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which most probably was in the hands of the dominant Sunnīs, is absent in the hagiographies, the narratives connect him to the Ismā‘īlī populated areas of Badakhshān through etiology. Nāṣir-i Khusraw performs marvels, teaches faith, names and blesses places and people in Badakhshān. He is connected to Badakhshān through physical things like springs, canals, walkways on overhanging cliffs, food, fruits, *rubāb*, and less concrete things like toponyms, blessing, music, devotional poetry, sayings, faith and more. Numerous sacred places are associated with him. In this sense, in the hagiography, Badakhshān is imbued with the spirit of Nāṣir-i Khusraw through physical, cultural and spiritual means. In the media of hagiographic stories, the memory of Nāṣir-i Khusraw travels through time, and he is remembered as someone proximate. Exercising their creative gifts, the authors convince the local audiences that the religious truths recounted had become manifest among themselves, and not only in faraway places. They draw close a historical life to reach across space and time. Most importantly, through Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s spiritual discipline, charisma, and spiritual power, the region is simultaneously Islamized and sanctified, as people are attracted to the saint’s teachings and settle around him.

7.2.3 Legitimation and Contest

Badakhshānī traditions identify Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a major “missionary” to all the regions of Badakhshān. The hagiography clearly seeks to highlight his role in the spread of Islam. The accounts describe conversion as a communitywide event; hence, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is presented as more than just a missionary. He is the spiritual ancestor of the entire Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī community. The narratives pay significant attention to the most fundamental feature of social organization and projections of communal identity, namely the idiom of kinship and heredity. At the heart of the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* and the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir* are genealogical traditions that trace the origins of the Khvājah (locally known as Khūjahs) *sayyid* clan, the descendants of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Bābā ‘Umar Yumgī. As in other hagiographical traditions, the genealogy assigns a central position to Arab origin, which is a common hagiographical motif in Central Asia and India.²⁹³ The sources associate the Kh(v)ājahs (also locally known as *khūjahs* and *khājagān*) and the other *sayyids* with Nāṣir-i Khusraw, both in familial and spiritual aspects.

According to both the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* and the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, the ancestry of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, like that of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, reaches back to Mūsā al-Kāzīm. Whilst Nāṣir-i Khusraw is

²⁹² *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 101. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 45-46.

²⁹³ Devin DeWeese, "Sacred descent and Sufī legitimation in a genealogical text from eighteenth-century Central Asia: the Sharaf Atā‘ī tradition in Khwārazm," in *Sayyids and Sharīfs in Muslim Societies: The Living Link to the Prophet*, ed. Kazuo Morimoto (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 210-30. Ashirbek Muminov, "Dihqāns and sacred families in Central Asia," in *Sayyids and Sharīfs in Muslim Societies: The Living Links to the Prophet*, ed. Kazuo Morimoto (London and New

descended through the Twelver Imām ‘Alī ibn Mūsá al-Rizā, the first son (*farzand-i buzurġ*)²⁹⁴ of Mūsá al-Kāẓim, Sayyid Suhrāb Valī is a descendant of Mīr Sayyid Ibrāhīm Rizā, the second son of the Imām.²⁹⁵ Just as Nāšir-i Khusraw’s ancestors migrated to the city of Balkh from Baghdād, fleeing the persecution by “the accursed” (*mal’ūn*) (‘Abbāsīd caliph) Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809), Sayyid Suhrāb Valī’s forefathers migrated to the city of Yazd, and like Nāšir-i Khusraw’s ancestors, served both the trustee (i.e. the Twelver) and the permanent (i.e. the Ismā‘īlī) Imāms.²⁹⁶ The *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāšir* lists eight generations between Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and his alleged forefather Mūsá al-Kāẓim.²⁹⁷ Khvājah Ahrār, the author of the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, who is a descendant of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, lists ten generations between his ancestor and Mūsá al-Kāẓim (see Table 1.2.).²⁹⁸ Despite this slight difference in the genealogy, both sources trace the genealogy of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī back to Mūsá al-Kāẓim through Mīr Sayyid Ibrāhīm Rizā.²⁹⁹

Being a descendant of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, Khvājah Ahrār attaches significant importance to his ancestor and his own Khvājah clan in the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*.³⁰⁰ According to Khvājah Ahrār, his family (*avlad*), like the essence (*gavhar*) of Nāšir-i Khusraw, dwelled in the same “mine” (*kān*) with the “light” of the Prophet (*bā nūr-i nabī*) and then with the “light” of the “masters of resolution” (*ulu-l ‘amr*), in the loins (*ṣulb*) of the permanent and trustee Imāms, before coming into the world of humans (*‘ālam-i insān*). After their arrival, they, too, continue holding fast to the “light” of the Imām (*ān nūr-i Imām-rā az dast nadādīm*).³⁰¹

York, 2012), 198-209. Arthur F. Buehler, "Trends of ashrafization in India," in *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies*, ed. Kazuo Morimoto (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 231-46.

²⁹⁴ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 122.

²⁹⁵ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 126, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Ēl’chibekov, 91.

²⁹⁶ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 122-126.

²⁹⁷ *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāšir*, 55-56. Rahmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhhbor*, 27.

²⁹⁸ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 123-125.

²⁹⁹ Beben lists the genealogy of both Nāšir-i Khusraw and Sayyid Suhrāb Valī somewhat differently. First, he places the name of Bābā Ḥaydar between Mīr Sayyid Ḥasan Shāh and Sayyid Suhrāb Valī. This makes Bābā Ḥaydar Sayyid Suhrāb Valī’s father. In fact, both the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāšir* and *Silk-i guhar’rīz* name Mīr Sayyid Ḥasan Shāh or Shāh Ḥasan Shāh respectively as the father of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī. Bābā Ḥaydar appears in the sources as the servant (*ghulam*) of Mīr Sayyid Ḥasan Shāh in the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāšir*. See *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāšir*, 57. Rahmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhhbor*, 28. As for Nāšir-i Khusraw’s genealogy, Beben omits the name of Imām Muḥammad Ṭaqī after Imām Shāh ‘Alī Mūsá Rizā. Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 377.

³⁰⁰ Although the *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāšir* also attaches importance to the figure of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, its author does not use expressions like “we” (*mā*), “our ancestor” (*jadd-i mā*), “our household” (*khānadān-i mā*), “our *avlad*,” “my *ajdad*” (*ajdad-i man*) and so on, which is another indication that Khvājah Ahrār is not its author. See for example, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 104, 126, 128, Ēl’chibekov, 75, 91.

³⁰¹ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 128, Ēl’chibekov, 94. The genealogy in the *Nasab’nāmah-i Ḥazrat-i Sayyid Sūhrāb* is different: Sayyid Suhrāb, Sayyid Ḥasan, Sayyid ‘Alī, Sayyid Muḥammad, Sayyid Ibrāhīm, Sayyid Ibrāhīm Rizā, Sayyid Maḥmūd, Sayyid Ibrāhīm, Sayyid Qāsim, Sayyid Ḥasan, Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh, Sayyid Yaḥyā Qalandar, Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī, Sayyid Ibrāhīm Rizā, Ibrāhīm, Imām Mūsá Kāẓim. It is noteworthy that, although according to the list Sayyid Suhrāb is a fifteenth-generation descendant of Mūsá Kāẓim, later the *Nasab’nāmah* mentions that he is a twelfth-generation descendant of Mūsá Kāẓim. The *Nasab’nāmah* refers to Fātimah as “the son of” (*pisar-i*) of the Prophet. *Nasab’nāmah-i Ḥazrat-i Sayyid Sūhrāb*, MS Folder 231 (copied in 1390/1891?) (KhRU-IIS).

	<i>Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir</i>	<i>Silk-i guhar'rīz</i>
1	Sayyid Suhrāb Valī	Sayyid Suhrāb Valī
2	Mīr Sayyid Ḥasan Shāh	Shāh Ḥasan Shāh
3	Mīr Sayyid Qāsim	Mīr Sayyid 'Alī
4	Mīr Sayyid Maḥmūd	Mīr Sayyid Ibrāhīm Maḥmūd
5	Mīr Sayyid 'Abd Allāh	Mīr Sayyid Qāsim
6	Mīr Sayyid Yaḥyā Qalandar	Mīr Sayyid Ḥasan
7	Mīr Sayyid 'Alī	Mīr Sayyid 'Abd Allāh
8	Sayyid Ibrāhīm Rizā	Mīr Sayyid Yaḥyā Qalandar
9	Imām Mūsā Kāzīm	Mīr Sayyid 'Alī
10		Mīr Sayyid Ibrāhīm Rizā
11		Imām Mūsā Kāzīm

Table 1.2. Sayyid Suhrāb Valī's genealogy

According to the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Sayyid Suhrāb Valī was four years old when a man named Bābā Ḥaydar brought him to serve Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*dar khizmat-i pīr-i kāmīl*). Sayyid Suhrāb Valī served Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*kāsaḥ-i āb mī'dādand*, “gave him a cup of water”) and learned knowledge from him (*'ilm taḥsīl mī'kardand*). Pīr Nāṣir-i Khusraw held him dear, because “the two were jewels from the same mine” (*ū-rā 'azīz mī'dāshtand azbas-kih har dū gawhar-i yak kān būdand*).³⁰² Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Sayyid Suhrāb Valī worshipped (*tā'at kardand*) in the cave of Yumgān for thirty years before coming out to preach and summon the people (*khalq-rā da'vat kardand*) to the Imām of the time (*imām-i zamān*).³⁰³ The *Silk-i guhar'rīz* tries to establish that the familial connection of the Kh(v)ājahs to Mūsā al-Kāzīm and through him to the Prophet is no different from that of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Similarly, it establishes a sacred origin for Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and his descendants.

The *Silk-i guhar'rīz* evidently associates the beginnings of the Ismā'īlī *da'vah* with Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, who, together with Nāṣir-i Khusraw, invited the people of Badakhshān to the Ismā'īlī Imām. This is a clear attempt at legitimating descendants of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī as the leaders of the community. The *Silk-i guhar'rīz* and the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* do this in several other ways. As the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* demonstrates, Nāṣir-i Khusraw possesses the knowledge of divine unity, because the Imām passes the goblet of the wine of divine unity to him. In turn, Sayyid Suhrāb Valī inherits it from the *pīr* and passes it down to his descendants.³⁰⁴ We can see this claim in the following verses from the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*:

Nāṣir-i Khusraw shāh-i vālā-guḥar

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the king of lofty essence

³⁰² *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 129-30, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Èl'chibekov, 94.

³⁰³ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 129-30. Thirty-two years according to *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Èl'chibekov, 94.

³⁰⁴ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 50, 129-30, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Èl'chibekov, 35, 94.

Yāft zih Mawlā-yi khudash ū nāzar
Sāqī-i vaḥdat shudah ham muqtadā
*Bar hamagī khalq-i jahān rah'namā*³⁰⁵

Had an encounter with his Master
He became the cupbearer of [the wine of] divine unity
And the guide for the people of the world

Possessor of divine knowledge and the cupbearer of the spiritual wine, Nāṣir-i Khusraw gave of this drink to thousands of people of truth (*ahl-i haqq*) who came to him. However, he placed the cup of this desired wine in the hand of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī:

Sāghar-i in bādah-i jān-i murād
*Nāṣir-i dīn bar kaf-i Suhrāb dād*³⁰⁶

Nāṣir placed the cup of this desired wine
Into the hand of Suhrāb

The descendants of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī then inherit their status from him:

Ḥazrat-i Nāṣir shah-i dunyā va dīn
Dād bih Suhrāb khabar īn-chunīn
Z-ū shudah mīrās bih avlād-i ū
*Dārand hamah tā bih abad guftugū*³⁰⁷

Nāṣir, the king of the world and religion
Informed Suhrāb in such a way
His descendants inherited it from him
They will hold it eternally

The *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* also relates that Nāṣir-i Khusraw gave the wine of divine unity (*bādah-i vaḥdat*) to his *charāgh'dārān* (literally, “the possessors of lamps”)³⁰⁸ or to the men in his service, but gave “the cup of the wine of divine unity” to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, who became the cupbearer (*sāqī*), a designation that expressed his elevated position.³⁰⁹ Similarly, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* relates that the servant of his father Bābā Ḥaydar brought Sayyid Suhrāb Valī to Nāṣir-i Khusraw from Yazd when he was four years old. It adds that he suffered from paralysis (*bād-i ustukhānshikān*) and was brought to Nāṣir-i Khusraw to be cured. Upon hearing the saint’s voice, Sayyid Suhrāb Valī was miraculously healed. In addition to attributing marvels to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* attributes saintly qualities to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, who recognized Nāṣir-i Khusraw upon hearing his voice and miraculously disappeared with Nāṣir-i Khusraw at the amazement of Bābā Ḥaydar.³¹⁰ Unlike the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, which only stresses the sacred origins of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and the fact that he was the possessor of the special knowledge, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* speaks of his abilities to work marvels. At one point, for instance, he asks his companions to close their eyes, and, when they open them again, they find themselves in a different place.³¹¹ As we will see, he is able to perform marvels due to his close association with Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

³⁰⁵ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 49, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 35.

³⁰⁶ I have replaced the word *sāqī* or “cup-bearer” with *sāghar* or “cup” in the first line. *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 50, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 35.

³⁰⁷ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 33.

³⁰⁸ In the *Charāgh'nāmah*, the *charāgh-dārān* are twelve thousand *pīrs* in Badakhshān (*Kuhistān*) who inherited the *charāgh* (lamp) from Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Muḥammadsherozodshoev, *Manobe'i*, 17.

³⁰⁹ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 80. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhhbor*, 37.

³¹⁰ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 57-58. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhhbor*, 28.

³¹¹ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 82. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhhbor*, 37-38.

The *Silk-i guhar'riẓ* presents Sayyid Suhrāb Valī as a knowledgeable disciple of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as he, at the command and presence of the *pīr* (*bih 'amr-i pīr*), answers a question about the origin of the soul so well that those who asked it praise him for knowledge (*āfarīn bar Suhrāb kardand*) and call him as their leader (*pīshqadam-i māyānī*).³¹² According to the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, Sayyid Suhrāb Valī acquired knowledge of secrets or divine symbols (*'ilm-i rumūz*), the Qur'ān with fourteen readings (*rivāyāt*), wisdom (*ḥikmat*), alchemy (*kīmiyā*), astronomy (*falakiyāt*) and astrology (*nujūm*) from Nāṣir-i Khusraw.³¹³ Everything in the universe (*az zamīn tā bih ṣurayā*, literally, “from the earth to the Pleiades”) became known to him. At the request of the *pīr*, he composed a book called *Ṣaḥīfah (pīr-i qudṣ-i sara farmūd kih kitāb taṣnīf kun. Kard, Ṣaḥīfah nām)*.³¹⁴ This work is presumably the *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāẓirīn* (also known as the *Tuḥfat al-nāẓirīn*) or *Sī-u shish ṣaḥīfah*, attributed to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī Badakhshānī. I referred to this work in Chapter Two, indicating that although many manuscripts attribute it to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī Badakhshānī, others believe that the author was Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, a historical figure who served the Tīmūrīds in Badakhshān in the second half of the 15th century and wrote the *Dānish'nāmah-i jahān*.³¹⁵ In addition to the *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāẓirīn*, the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs consider Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Iṣfahānī to be the author of another work on astrology.³¹⁶ The *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, however, attributes the work to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and highlights his role as an Ismā'īlī author who was well-versed in the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

The author of the *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāẓirīn* is indeed versed in the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in particular and Nizārī Ismā'īlism in general. He refers to Nāṣir-i Khusraw in numerous places, calling him Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *ḥujjat al-ḥaqq*, Amīr Nāṣir and Amīr Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw-i 'Alavī.³¹⁷ In no place, however, does the author of the *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāẓirīn* refer to himself as a descendant of the Prophet or the Family of the Prophet; instead, he identifies himself as “the servant of the Family of the Prophet” (*bandah-i ahl-i bayt-i nabī*).³¹⁸ Towards the end of the *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāẓirīn*, the author describes his search for answers to a set of religious questions (e.g. Can God be seen? Why are there *mazḥabs* given that in the Prophet's time there existed none?). According to this account, he was twelve years old when he discovered that the best people to follow in his search were members of

³¹² *Silk-i guhar'riẓ*, Gulzār Khān, 108-109, “*pīshqadam-i māyānī*” in *Silk-i guhar'riẓ*, Èl'chibekov, 79.

³¹³ *Rivāyāt* (pl. of *rivāyat*) are different ‘traditions’ of ‘readings’ as valid modes of transmitting the Qur'ān. By the 4th/10th century, Muslims recognized seven ‘authentic’ *rivāyāt*, but later scholars added three, or even seven, further traditions. Accordingly, seven, ten or fourteen traditions of accepted “readings” are cited in the Muslim literature. William A. Graham and Navid Kermani, “Recitation and aesthetic reception,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ān*, ed. Jane D. McAuliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 118.

³¹⁴ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 77. Rahmonqulov omits “*kard, Ṣaḥīfah nām*” in his edited text. Rahmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 35.

³¹⁵ See Richter-Bernburg and Said, “Medical and Veterinary Sciences,” 314.

³¹⁶ Ghiṣṣuddin Alii Isfahonī, *Nujum*, ed. Umedi Shohzodamuhammad (Khorog: Meros, 1994).

³¹⁷ Badakhshānī, *Sī-u Shish Ṣaḥīfah*, 7, 9, 13, 22, 30, 48, 58, 69. *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāẓirīn*, MSGK54, 16, 22 (Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir), 32 (*Ḥazrat-i ḥujjat al-ḥaqq*), 49 (Amīr Nāṣir-i Khusraw), 78.

³¹⁸ *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāẓirīn*, MSGK54, 116.

this group (*īn ṭā'ifāh*), the followers of this *Ḥaẓrat* (the Ismā'īlī Imām) (*taḥqīqāt-rā az tābi'ān-i ān Ḥaẓrat tafahḥuṣ bāyad namūd*). If, as this account suggests, the author of the *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāẓirīn* is Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, he must have converted to Ismā'īlism at the age of twelve.³¹⁹ Also, although the *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāẓirīn* demonstrates close familiarity with the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, it does not suggest that its author was a physical disciple of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This obviously contradicts the narrative of the *Siyāḥat'nāmāh-i Nāṣir* and the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*.

The hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw indicate that the descendants of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, as the inheritors of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's position, are the legitimate leaders of the community. They follow the path of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and guide the people to this path. In the following verses, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* makes it abundantly clear that the path of salvation leads through these individuals:

<i>Ahl-i Kuhistān hamagī khāṣṣ-u 'ām</i>	The people of Badakhshān, the elite and the commoners
<i>Mu'minī-shān hast bad-īn rah tamām</i>	Have complete faith on this path
<i>Har kih bi-pīchad sar az īn rāh-i shāh</i>	He who turns away from this path of the King
<i>Rūz-i qiyāmat buvad ū rūsiyāh</i> ³²⁰	Will be disgraced on the Day of Judgment

Apart from Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* and the *Siyāḥat'nāmāh-i Nāṣir* ascribe an elevated position to Malik Jahān Shāh and his descendants. As we have seen, the name of this person also appears in the *Risālat al-nadāmāh*. According to *Siyāḥat'nāmāh-i Nāṣir*, Malik Jahān Shāh was a king in Yumgān and had inherited the kingdom from his father Gīv ibn Kaykāvūs, one of the ancient kings of Badakhshān.³²¹ In other words, unlike Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, Malik Jahān Shāh's lineage is not Arab, but local. The circumstance in which Malik Jahān Shāh comes to believe in Nāṣir-i Khusraw is quite noteworthy. As mentioned, the story recounts how Nāṣir-i Khusraw cures the young sister of Malik Jahān Shāh, who could not speak and walk, by giving her water into which he blew. She becomes pregnant the second time she drinks the water touched by his breath. The story mentions two individuals, named Qāzī Naṣr al-Dīn who was in good terms with Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Qāzī Naṣr Allāh who was his enemy. When Qāzī Naṣr Allāh gets wind of the pregnancy of Malik Jahān Shāh's sister, he instigates the king against Nāṣir-i Khusraw accusing him of committing an unlawful deed (*kār-i nā'mashrū*) and whom he considers to deserve death.³²² In anger, Malik Jahān Shāh then charges towards Nāṣir-i Khusraw with his army in order to punish him, but is unable to do so, as the saint (*valī-i barkamāl*) performs a marvel that prevents the king from coming close to him. After this

³¹⁹ Badakhshānī, *Sī-u shish ṣaḥīfah*, 68-69. Some manuscripts (e.g. a manuscript in the KhRU-IIS with the accession number USBk10) do not contain the account of the author.

³²⁰ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 33, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Èl'chibekov, 23.

³²¹ *Siyāḥat'nāmāh-i Nāṣir*, 64. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 30.

³²² Raḥmonqulov incorrectly changes the sentence in this place. According to his published text, Naṣr Allāh says "if he was our messenger (*agar u payghambari mo budī*) (Persian, *agar ū payghambar-i mā būdī*), he would have married your sister after curing her and would not have committed this unlawful deed." Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 30-32. The original text of the manuscript reads differently: "the best [among the people] in the world was our messenger who married (*bīhtarīn-i 'ālam payghambar-i mā būdah, zawjat kardand*), but this should have married your sister after curing her with and should

feat, the king responds with sincere faith in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's sainthood. He abandons his kingdom and throne and enters saint's service by taking care of the fireplace at the cave.³²³

Narratives of marvels express something beyond their mere description. In this context, the marvel of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, through which he defeats the king of Badakhshān who abandons his kingdom and serves him, indicates Nāṣir-i Khusraw's superior position and transcendent power. It also demonstrates the superiority of Nāṣir-i Khusraw over Qāzī Naṣr Allāh, who accuses him of committing an unlawful deed that violates the practice of the Prophet. This is similar to the story discussed below, in which the learned men at the court of the king of the *malāḥidah*, accuse Nāṣir-i Khusraw of acting against the *sharī'ah*. The *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* does not describe Qāzī Naṣr Allāh as a Sunnī, but the *Risālat al-nadāmah* clearly describes him as a zealous Sunnī. According to the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, when Nāṣir-i Khusraw was in Badakhshān, he found the people belonging to two camps: The majority of people of Badakhshān were followers of the *mazhab* of the *ahl al-bayt*³²⁴ and the "lovers" of the family of the Prophet (*dūstārān-i ahl-i bayt*).³²⁵ Yet again, there were those who envied him and sought confrontation. Nevertheless, these "fanatic *faqīhs*,"³²⁶ headed by Naṣr Allāh Qāzī,³²⁷ unlike the followers of the *mazhab* of the *ahl al-bayt* and the "lovers" of the family of the Prophet were antagonistic to Nāṣir-i Khusraw because of his higher status in faith and knowledge³²⁸ and issued a death *fatvāh* on him, because of the book (*ān kitābī*) that he wrote for the *malāḥidah*.³²⁹ The *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* does not mention the book that Nāṣir-i Khusraw wrote for the *malāḥidah* here. Yet, it mentions another person named Qāzī Naṣr al-Dīn who, unlike Qāzī Naṣr Allāh, was in good terms with Nāṣir-i Khusraw.³³⁰ The *Risālat al-nadāmah* in the *Khulāsat al-ash'ār* also mentions Naṣr Savirī and associates him with the lovers of the family of the Prophet, again, in contrast with Naṣr Allāh Qāzī.³³¹ The *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, in addition to Qāzī Naṣr Allāh, mentions Naṣr al-Dīn Sāvīr, who was a learned man in Badakhshān, associated with the majority of the people who belonged to the *mazhab* of the family of the Prophet.³³² Although the manuscripts on the basis of which the edited *Ātashkadah* was prepared do not mention Naṣr Allāh Sāravī, his name

not have committed this unlawful deed." *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 65-68. In no place does the text refer to Nāṣir-i Khusraw as "our messenger."

³²³ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 69-71. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 32-33.

³²⁴ *Ātashkadah*, 1024. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 14b. *Khulāsat al-ash'ār*, 75. *Haft Iqlīm*, 848.

³²⁵ *Haft Iqlīm*, 898.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ "The majority of them [belong] to the *mazhab* of the family of the Prophet, except the zealous jurists who claim to have faith. [In fact], they do not belong to the people of faith and have no knowledge of faith. Their leader Naṣr Allāh Qāzī was a learned jurist who became an enemy to me. He envied me because of I was closer to Sayyid 'Alī ibn Asad al-Ḥusaynī in position and the latter who considered me more knowledge." *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 14b.

³²⁸ *Haft Iqlīm*, 898. *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 14b.

³²⁹ The *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* and the *Haft Iqlīm* do not mention the book. Āzar, *Ātashkadah*, 1024, *Khulāsat al-ash'ār*, fol. 75.

³³⁰ The names of these two men appear in the *Risālat al-nadāmah fī zād al-qiyāmah*, but scholars who have examined the work, have confused the two.

³³¹ *Khulāsat al-ash'ār*, fol. 75.

³³² *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 14b.

appears in the edited text. The *Ātashkadah*, too, associates Naṣr Allāh Sārivī with the people of the *maẓhab* of the family of the Prophet.³³³ In short, both the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Risālat al-nadāmah* present the Sunnī Qāzī Naṣr Allāh, not Naṣr al-Dīn Sāravī, as the person who criticizes and attacks Nāṣir-i Khusraw.³³⁴ This narrative of marvels is, therefore, a subtle indication that the message of Nāṣir-i Khusraw was accepted not only by the people beyond Badakhshān, but even by those, including hereditary kings, that were under the influence of people like Qāzī Naṣr Allāh. This affirms the legitimacy of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's authority over Qāzī Naṣr Allāh, Ismā'īlism over Sunnism.

Like Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, Malik Jahān Shāh acquires an elevated position after serving Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Likewise, Malik Jahān Shāh is able to perform marvels by virtue of his proximity to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which allows him to benefit from his breath, a motif that already appears in Ḥusaynī's *Haft band*. The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* relates how, being inspired by the *pīr*'s breath, even wild beasts and birds (*vaḥsh-u ṭayr*) fall under his command.³³⁵ Malik Jahān Shāh is able to perform marvels “in the name of the breath of Nāṣir-i Khusraw” (*bih ḥaqq-i nafas-i pīr*). At one instance, he makes a sign to a herd of mountain goats (*nakhchīr*), which come to him in obedience.³³⁶ We encounter *dam-i jān'baksh* or “life-bestowing breath,” *dam-i jān'fizā* or “soul-refreshing breath” and *nafas-i pīr* or “the *pīr*'s breath” in a number of places in the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*.³³⁷ According to one passage, Nāṣir-i Khusraw “possesses such breath that if he orders a stone, it breaks into two [pieces].”³³⁸ This concept is as important as the “goblet of the wine of divine unity,” both of which are inherited by Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh. In fact, Nāṣir-i Khusraw gives Malik Jahān Shāh the name of Bābā 'Umar-i Yumgī, because he had bestowed (*bakshīdah*) breath upon the latter and gave him the status (*martabah*) of *shaykhī*.³³⁹

As mentioned, Malik Jahān Shāh looked after the fireplace of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, considered a service for the saints. Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself looked after the fireplace or bonfire of Imām Mustanṣir

³³³ *Ātashkadah*, 1024.

³³⁴ Hunsberger's reading of this passage is most probably based on the edited *Ātashkadah*. None of the pseudo-autobiographical accounts and the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiographies regard “Saviri” as a Sunnī scholar. “The Qur'anic commentary he had written in Gilan had found its way to Badakhshan, and no one less than the zealous Sunnī scholar Naṣr Allāh Sawiri denounced the ideas it contained and pronounced a death sentence on Naṣir Khusraw.” Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 28.

³³⁵ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 84, Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 38.

³³⁶ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 84, Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 38. 'Umar-i Yumgī's *Nasab'nāmah* also mentions that because of his service for Nāṣir-i Khusraw, mountain goats showed him reverence (*bih dūshī-shān andar khidmat-i pīr, bih pābūsi rasīd az kūh nakhchīr*). This poem, which is about 'Umar-i Yumgī's genealogy, is attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It ends with the following words: “Hear from Nāṣir about 'Umar, Follow the word of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.” See Bāmiyānī, *Afsānahā-yi tārikhī*, 52. In the *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 'Umar-i Yumgī, together with Shāh Khāmūsh, Shāh Kāshān and Shāh Malang who came from Khurāsān, became the leaders of the people in the path of *shaykhīyat* (*bih ṭarīq-i shaykhīyat pīshvā-i qawn gardīdah*). Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*, 118b.

³³⁷ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 65, 84, 86, Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 30-31, 38.

³³⁸ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 46, Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 24.

³³⁹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 84, 85-86, Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 38, 39. The poem included in 'Umar Yumgī's *Nasab'nāmah* also mentions that 'Umar Yumgī received the status of *shaykhī* from Nāṣir-i Khusraw (“His name was 'Umar-i Yumgī, [He] was inspired in [the path] of *shaykhī* by Nāṣir” - *mar ū-rā 'Umar-i Yumgī būd nām, zih Nāṣir dārad andar*

bi'llāh in Māy-i May. In the story, Nāṣir-i Khusraw bestows the status of *shaykh* (*martabah-i shaykhī*) to Malik Jahān Shāh, because the latter keeps his fireplace clean.³⁴⁰ In Badakhshān, the individuals, or, commonly, families that look after shrines and other sacred places were known as *shaykhān-i mazār* (pl. of *shaykh-i mazār*) in Badakhshān. Being a *shaykh* of *mazārs* was hereditary and brought with it the benefits of the pious donations (*nuzūrāt*) left at the shrines and sacred places.³⁴¹ The family of *shaykhs* is distinctly called *shaykh-avlād*, and its history is usually entwined with that of *mazārs*, while most of their earnings came from the *nuzūrāt*.³⁴² In the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, Malik Jahān Shāh claims that he was bestowed with the breath [of Nāṣir-i Khusraw], granted the status of *shaykh* and commanded to summon sincere believers and collect their donations.³⁴³ *Shaykhs* or custodians of shrines were regarded as saints and influential figures up until 1917, when Ivan Zarubin visited the Pamir. Zarubin records a story according to which, about seventy years prior to 1917, a certain local *shaykh* with a large following challenged the local rulers of Rūshān and Shughnān. This demonstrates their authority in the region.³⁴⁴

Not only human beings, but also objects that have the breath of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in them are regarded as sacred. As mentioned before, the Pāmīrī *rubāb* (a long-necked stringed lute) is a sacred musical instrument in Badakhshān. It is viewed as essentially spiritual and is approached with reverence.³⁴⁵ It is mostly used to accompany the singing of *maddāh* (literally, “praise”), devotional poetry that is in praise of God, the Prophet and the Imāms. *Maddāh* is performed in funeral ceremonies and for other cultural purposes,³⁴⁶ including the maintenance of health and healing.³⁴⁷ According to *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, it was Nāṣir-i Khusraw who created the *rubāb* from the saddle of Malik Jahān Shāh's horse by “blowing his breath” into it (*chūb-rā pur-i dam andākht bi-partāfi*). The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* also tells us that Nāṣir-i Khusraw gave the *rubāb* to Malik Jahān Shāh to play and told him to perform *maddāh*.³⁴⁸ Malik Jahān Shāh sang seventy songs beginning with one in praise

shaykhī ilhām). Bāmiyānī also mentions about this *Nasab'nāmah*, which links the genealogy of 'Umar-i Yumgī back to 'Alī. See Bāmiyānī, *Afsānahā-yi tārikhī*, 51-53.

³⁴⁰ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 72-73, Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 34.

³⁴¹ *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 3.

³⁴² Shakarmamadov, *Folklori Pomir*, 4, 65-67. *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 3.

³⁴³ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 84. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 38.

³⁴⁴ Zarubin, *Materialy i zametki*, 140, 42-43.

³⁴⁵ Benjamin D. Koen, *Beyond the Roof of the World: Music, Prayer, and Healing in the Pamir Mountains* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 78-81.

³⁴⁶ On the genre of *maddāh* and its functions, see Berg, *Minstrel Poetry*. Koen, *Beyond the Roof of the World*.

³⁴⁷ *Beyond the Roof of the World*, 14.

³⁴⁸ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 71. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 33. It is noteworthy that, as Beben notes, the association of Nāṣir-i Khusraw with musical instruments is found in non-Islāmī sources as well. A 17th century author, Muḥammad Amīn Bukhārī (in his *Muḥīṭ al-tavārīkh*) considers Nāṣir-i Khusraw, along with Ibn Sīnā (d. 980/1037), to be the inventor of *ghīchak*. Similarly, a 17th century author, Maḥmūd b. Valī Balkhī (in his *Baḥr al-asrār*) points to the existence of musical instruments at Nāṣir-i Khusraw's tomb. As he adds, “whoever wishes to learn to play an instrument need only to travel there and pick one up and will be miraculously endowed with the skill of it.” Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” 180.

of ‘Alī.³⁴⁹ The *rubāb* is thus sacred, because it contains the breath of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, and, as soon as it is touched, it begins to praise God, the Prophet and the Imāms.³⁵⁰ Similarly, as one *khalīfah* in Shughnān pointed out to me, Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Vajh-i dīn* and *Kalām-i pīr* contain not only the views of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but also his breath/spirit (*Vajh-i dīn-at Kalām-i pīr-and am fikr-i pīr-at am dam-i pīr*). This is consistent with the pre-Soviet period practices among the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān, which involved putting a copy of the *Kalām-i pīr* by the side of babies to protect them or reading passages from it to cure the sick.³⁵¹

The Ismā‘īlīs still practice what is generally called *damyā dedow*, which consists of blowing into a cup of water after the recitation of Qur’ānic verses and other special prayers. The water is then given to patients to cure their illness. The person whose prayers are efficacious is said to possess *bashānd nafas* (Shughnānī, “good breath.”) The person whose *tūmār* (or *tamār*, prayer-amulet often used to treat a specific disease or ailment) is efficacious is also believed to have *bashānd nafas*. As a *shaykh* who collects donations and receives reward for *damyā dedow*, writing *tūmār* and so on, there is clearly economic benefit involved. The *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, as we will see, explicitly mentions that the people who believe in Nāṣir-i Khusraw should come to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and his descendants for *fātiḥah* and *tūmār* and leave vowings or spiritual donations (*nuzurāt*) for him, ‘Umar-i Yumgī and their descendants.³⁵²

In terms of legitimation of authority, the *Silk-i guhar’rīz* relates that Nāṣir-i Khusraw called Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh his “friends of the cave” (*yārān-i ghār*). Like Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, Malik Jahān Shāh is intoxicated with the wine of the knowledge of divine unity, as demonstrated by the following verses:

Kīyānand-u tū-rā yārān-i ghārand
Valī Allāh Bābā Shāh Nāṣir?
Ān kasān-i kih dar in jā gul-i bī-khār būdand
Mast az vaḥdat-i ān jān-i guhar-bār būdand
Pāk-aṣl-u nasab az Aḥmad-i mukhtār būdand
*‘Umar-i Yumgī va Suhrāb ma-rā yār būdand*³⁵³

Who are your friends of the cave
 O friend of God, Master Shāh Nāṣir?
 “Those who are thornless roses
 And intoxicated with the wine of [divine] unity
 Of pure lineage, descendants of Aḥmad, the chosen
 ‘Umar-i Yumgī and Suhrāb are my companions”

³⁴⁹ The first *maddāh* that is attributed to Malik Jahān Shāh is famous in Badakhshān: “My tongue sings the praise of ‘Alī, My lips sing the litany of ‘Alī, As my head lowers in prostration for the one to be worshipped, My thirty-two teeth utter oh ‘Alī, My eye beheld the face of Mawlānā (Our Master), By truth, the truth utters oh ‘Alī...” (*Yak zabānam ṣanā-yi ‘Alī gūyad, Dū labam vird-i yā ‘Alī gūyad, Chūn saram sajdah gīrad bā ma ‘būd, Sī-yu dū dandānam yā ‘Alī gūyad, Chashm-i man dīd rū-yi Mawlānā, Haqq bih haqq haqqā ‘Alī gūyad...*). See this and the remaining part in MS USBk59 (dated 1278/1861), f. 1a. KhRU-IIS.

³⁵⁰ On the general spiritual significance of *rubāb* (not related to Nāṣir-i Khusraw) in Badakhshān, see Koen, *Beyond the Roof of the World*, 78-81. In the village of Basīd of Bartang, there was a *rubāb* in the shrine dedicated to a certain Khvājah Nūriddīn (Nūr al-Dīn). The local people would take it from the shrine and play it to cure the sick and prevent all sorts of danger for the village. This *rubāb* was presented to Āghā Khān IV when he visited Bartang in 1998. Bakhtiērov, *Ta’rīkh-i Rushon*, 31-32. For other Badakhshānī traditions concerning *rubāb*, see Haīdarmamad Tavakkalov, “Rubobi shughnoni,” in *Shughnon*, ed. Tillo Nekqadamov (Dushanbe: Irfon, 2014), 327-32.

³⁵¹ Semēnov, “Iz oblasti religioznykh verovaniĭ” 554-57.

³⁵² *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 96. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akḥbor*, 43-44.

³⁵³ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 108, Ēl’chibekov, 78.

The expression “friends of the cave” could be understood both literally and symbolically. As mentioned, according to the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, in Yumgān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, refusing to serve as the vizier of the chief, chose to live in a cave and devote his remaining years to spiritual retreat.³⁵⁴ Jahān Shāh ibn Gīv visited him once a week with his army in order to learn from him and seek his blessing.³⁵⁵ According to the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Sayyid Suhrāb Valī lived with Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the cave of Yumgān for thirty-(two) years.³⁵⁶ Similarly, according to the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, Malik Jahān Shāh, together with his sister, served Nāṣir-i Khusraw for thirty-two years while he was living in the cave of Yumgān.³⁵⁷ Symbolically, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, as we have seen, connects the “cave of Yumgān” with the Great Throne. It is a cave full of divine light, and to be a friend of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the cave is to be aware of this light. The notion of the cave as a sacred place of protective enclosure, revelation, spiritual retreat, burial, and symbolic passage to another dimension is a universal motif in various traditions from ancient times to the present.³⁵⁸ It is a place where one receives knowledge through contemplation, revelation, or the meditation of a safe or spiritual advisor.³⁵⁹ A classic example is the Prophet Muḥammad, who received his first revelations in a cave on Mount Ḥirā'. In the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, after Nāṣir-i Khusraw passes away, the ‘*ulamā*’ compare him with the Prophet: “Oh, Ḥakīm-i zamān, like the Messenger of God (*rasūl-i khudā*) you lived in the cave (*ghār*), but he came out of the cave and you did not.”³⁶⁰ This links the motif of the cave to spiritual knowledge and since “the cave” is a symbol of spiritual knowledge, both Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh partake in the special knowledge of the saint as “friends of the cave.” This is similar to the way the Naqshbandīs consider the moment when the Prophet Muḥammad and his companion Abū Bakr were hiding in a cave as a paradigm for the transmission of knowledge and initiation into

³⁵⁴ *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, fol. 15a. *Khulāsāt al-ash'ār*, fol. 75. Āzar, *Ātashkadah-i Āzar*, 1024.

³⁵⁵ The *Khulāsāt al-ash'ār* mentions *sulṭān*. *Khulāsāt al-ash'ār*, fol. 75; One of the manuscripts used for the edition of the *Ātashkadah* mentions *kalāntar*. Āzar, *Ātashkadah-i Āzar*, 1025.

³⁵⁶ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 129-30. Thirty-two years in *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Èl'chibekov, 94.

³⁵⁷ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 74, Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 34.

³⁵⁸ The motif of Nāṣir-i Khusraw staying in a cave can also be found in the oral traditions of the Sunnī inhabitants of the villages of Kar (Darah-i Ābdarah), Jīr 'Alī and Darah-i Khāvāk in Panjshīr, a region neighbouring Badakhshān in Afghanistan. They also believe that Nāṣir-i Khusraw spent some time in a cave in each village. In the village of Kar, there is an annual ritual connected with Nāṣir-i Khusraw's cave. Every year on the sixtieth day of the winter, the people of the village get together in a field at the foot of the cave, bring and share food with one another and celebrate this sixtieth day of the winter, known as *Gūrbalā-yi karāchī*. On this day, the ice by the cave begins to crack, break and melt. It is for this reason that the sixtieth day of winter is called *shaṣt-u shikast* (literally, “sixty and broke”) in Panjshīr. As the village suffers from shortage of water, the beginning of the melting of the ice is an occasion to be celebrated. People pray to God for spiritual and worldly bounties and for the spiritual peace of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The people of Kar believe that Nāṣir-i Khusraw came from Ghazna to Kar and proceeded to Yumgān from there. Although there are caves associated with Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the Darah-i Khāvāk and Jīr 'Alī, these places do not have any ceremonies connected with it. The people of these places, however, show respect for the caves. On these, see Nīlāb Raḥīmī, “‘Ubūr-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw az Panjshīr,” in *Dānā-yi Yumgān: Majmū'ah-i maqālāt-i simīnār-i bayn al-milālī-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw – nakhustmard-i gusturda-i khirad, dānish va adab*, ed. Ḥusayn Farmand (Kābūl: Maṭba'ah-i dawlatī, 1366Sh/1988), 327-35.

³⁵⁹ On “the motif of the cave” as a central feature in the oral traditions of Badakhshān and the written accounts concerning Nāṣir-i Khusraw, see Gross, “The Motif of the Cave,” 131.

³⁶⁰ Nāṣir-i Khusraw uses the term “friend of the cave” in his *Dīvān*, but to him, it is “reason” or “intellect” (*aql*). As he says, “If my friend of the cave (*yār-i ghār*) be reason, what more can my heart desire?” *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī), 126:36. Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 240.

the *silsilah*.³⁶¹ Hence, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* and the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* highlight the stature of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh as the fountainhead of the chains of authority in Badakhshānī Ismā'īlism and confer superior legitimacy on the rights of the descendants of these two figures.

According to the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw appointed Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and 'Umar-i Yumgī as his main deputies and successors (*sar'khalīfah*).³⁶² Following his instructions, they taught the *pīr*'s followers and gathered spiritual donations for him in different localities.³⁶³ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was the *hujjat* and the absolute *dā'ī*, appointed Sayyid Suhrāb Valī as his limited *dā'ī* (*dā'ī-i maḥdūd*), the senior licentiate (*ma'zūn-i akbar*) and truthful teacher (*mu'allim-i ṣādiq*) and 'Umar-i Yumgī as his junior licentiate (*ma'zūn-i asghar*).³⁶⁴ Calling Sayyid Suhrāb Valī his son (*farzand*) and 'Umar-i Yumgī his brother (*barādar*), Nāṣir-i Khusraw bequeathed his *Vajh-i dīn* to the progeny of the former and his *Ash'ār* or the book of poetry to that of the latter.³⁶⁵ In some Badakhshānī manuscripts, *mu'allim-i ṣādiq* is a higher rank, which appears right after *dā'ī* in the religious hierarchy. For example, the anonymous *Risālah dar bāb-i haft ḥudūd-i dīn*, which was transcribed in 1346/1928 by Mullā Shāh Sayyid 'Alī in Badakhshān, gives the spiritual hierarchy in the following order: 1) Imām, 2) *hujjat* (proof), 3) *dā'ī* (summoner, caller), 4) *mu'allim-i ṣādiq* (truthful teacher) 5) *ma'zūn-i akbar* (senior licentiate), 6) *ma'zūn-i asghar* (junior licentiate), 7) *mustajīb* (respondent).³⁶⁶

In some Nizārī Ismā'īlī texts, *mu'allim* is a position in the Ismā'īlī hierarchy immediately after *dā'ī*. Khayrkhvāh-i Harātī provides the order for the ranks of faith similar to *Risālah dar bāb-i haft ḥudūd-i dīn*, but instead of *mu'allim-i ṣādiq*, he has *mu'allim*.³⁶⁷ Similarly, according to Bū Ishāq Quhistānī, *mu'allim* is a rank below *dā'ī*, and *mu'allims* were a special class among the senior licentiates (*ma'zūn-i akbar*).³⁶⁸ Despite this, some manuscripts from Badakhshān claim that *mu'allim* forms part of the ranks of faith after junior licentiates (*ma'zūn-i asghar*).³⁶⁹ For instance, in the *Dar bayān-i haft ḥadd-i jismānī*, which was copied in 1367/1947-8 by Shāh Fiṭūr in Shughnān, the seven ranks of the spiritual hierarchy are given in the following order: 1) Imām, 2) *hujjat*, 3) *dā'ī*, 4) *ma'zūn-*

³⁶¹ Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005), 130.

³⁶² *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 107, Ēl'chibekov, 78.

³⁶³ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 80-84, Rāhmonqulov, *Bāhr ul-akhbor*, 37-38.

³⁶⁴ Beben translates *mu'allim-i ṣādiq* as "the trusted confidant," but the manuscripts have *mu'allim-i ṣādiq*. Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 370. According to the Shughnānī poet Sayyid Zamān al-Dīn 'Adīm Shughnī, who traces his lineage back to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, his ancestor was appointed as *ma'zūn-i akbar* by Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Sayyid Zamān al-Dīn Shughnī's brother Sayyid Munīr continued to be an active religious leader among the Ismā'īlīs in the later 19th and early 20th century. Sayyid Zamān al-Dīn Shughnī, *Ashk-i ḥasrat* (Rawalpindi: 1380/2001), 4. Ēl'chibekov, *Ierarkhiā*, 126.

³⁶⁵ *Bābā 'Umar-rā ma'zūn-i asghar kardah va barādar khwānd*, Sayyid Suhrāb-i Valī-rā farzand-i khud khwāndah va dā'ī-i maḥdūd va ma'zūn-i akbar va mu'allim-i ṣādiq-i khud kardah ... va kitāb-i Vajh-i dīn-rā mīrās bih avlād-i ū kard va kitāb-i ash'ār-rā bih Bābā 'Umar-i Yumgī 'aṭā farmūd. *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 147-148, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Ēl'chibekov, 107

³⁶⁶ Its description is found under #117/1959/21g in Baqoev, *Alfavitmyi Katalog*, 58. This work is also known as *Risālah-i haft martabah*. See #118/1959/25z in *ibid*.

³⁶⁷ See for example 15091, 14 and 2326, 4. According to the text of the *Risālah* in MS 64, *mu'allim* forms a rank in the hierarchy, but the rank is after *ma'zūn-i asghar*, which is similar to that of the *Dar bayān-i haft ḥadd-i jismānī*. 64/203.

³⁶⁸ Quhistānī, *Haft Bāb*, Persian, 49-50, English, 49-50. *Mu'allim* is also known as *lāḥiq* (literally, "the conjoined one"). See Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 154.

³⁶⁹ On the Ismā'īlī spiritual hierarchy in different historical periods, see Ēl'chibekov, *Ierarkhiā*.

i akbar, 5) *ma'zūn-i asghar*, 6) *mu'allim*, 7) *mustajīb*.³⁷⁰ Although some texts do not include *mu'allim-i* or *mu'allim-i šādiq* in the hierarchy, based on the sources mentioned above, it is evident that this is a high-ranking position within the Ismā'īlī hierarchy.³⁷¹ As for the *Vajh-i dīn*, it is the most sacred and important text in Badakhshān after the Qur'ān, and is considered to be the meaning of the Qur'ān itself. By presenting the descendants of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī as the inheritors of this extremely important treatise, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* highlights the special status of the Khvājah *sayyids* one more time. Similarly, the descendants of 'Umar-i Yumgī are privileged as inheritors of the *Ash'ār* of Nāšir-i Khusraw. Both figures are given important positions in the hierarchy of his *da'vah*, although, understandably, the author of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* assigns the more important role to his own ancestor Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and his descendants.

We find what appears to be the most explicit legitimation of the rights of the descendants of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh on the final pages of the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*. There, Nāšir-i Khusraw tells the people that those who recognize him as their guide (*pīshvā*) and the *pīr-i rukn* by the order of the legatee (*vašī*) of the Prophet should follow Sayyid Suhrāb and Malik Jahān Shāh after his passing. The text has him say, "Those who disobey them, have disobeyed my command, the command of the Imām of the Time and the Messenger. Those who disobey the command of the Messenger disobey God and become unbelievers (*kāfīrs*)."³⁷² Nāšir-i Khusraw then divides the places (*takāvah*) under his *da'vah* between Sayyid Suhrāb and Malik Jahān Shāh. Places such as Sangtīgh (probably Sanglīch), Zībāk, Ishkāshim, Vakhān, Shughnān, Rūshān and Darvāz, are placed under Sayyid Suhrāb's control. Other places including Shāhsalīm,³⁷³ Chitrār (Chitrāl), Khāsh (in Yumgān valley?), Ispanj³⁷⁴ and other areas are assigned to Malik Jahān Shāh.³⁷⁵ The text further enjoins the people to seek guidance from none other than these two *khalīfahs* and their descendants (*avlād*) and to submit their spiritual offerings only to these households, for they are the noblest. Those who disobey the injunctions are doomed and will go to hell.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁰ Its description is found under #76/1959/7z in Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 45.

³⁷¹ There exist many copies of a treatise titled *Sharḥ al-marātīb*, according to which the order of the hierarchy is as follows: 1) Imām, 2) *bāb-i aqdas*, 3) *ḥujjat*, 4) *dā'ī*, 5) *ma'zūn-i akbar*, 6) *ma'zūn-i asghar*, 7) *mustajīb*. Some copies of Khayrkhvāh's *Risālah*, e.g. Sayyid Munīr's lithograph edition, 3 and MS 2490, 5 do not include *mu'allim* in the hierarchy. On the Ismā'īlī religious hierarchy, see Ēl'chibekov, *Ierarkhiia*. See also Wladimir Ivanow, *Brief Survey of the evolution of Ismailism* (Leiden: Brill, 1952). "The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda," 4 (1939): 1-35. On the development of the concept of *mu'allim-i šādiq* at Alamūt, see Shafīque N. Virani, "Alamūt, Ismailism and Khwājah Qāsim Tushtarī's *Recognizing God*," *Shii Studies Review* 2, no. 1-2 (2018): 193-227. A more detailed explanation can be found in "Persian Poetry, Sufism and Ismailism: The Testimony of Khwājah Qāsim Tushtarī's *Recognizing God*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: forthcoming*. For an early reference to *mu'allim* in the first known prose text to be composed after the fall of Alamut, see Shafīque N. Virani, "The Right Path: A Post-Mongol Persian Ismaili Treatise." In *Journal of Iranian Studies* 43, no. 2 (April 2010): 197-221.

³⁷² *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 95. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhhbor*, 43.

³⁷³ An area close to the Durah Pass (also known as Shāh Salīm Pass) in Chitrāl, Pakistan.

³⁷⁴ A former area in Vakhān. See Wood, *A Journey*, lxxiv.

³⁷⁵ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 96. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhhbor*, 43.

³⁷⁶ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 96-99. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhhbor*, 44.

To fulfill its legitimating agenda, the hagiography attacks rival groups. After all, various groups use the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in power struggle. In the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Khvājah Ahrār, while advancing the cause of his Khvājah family (*khājagān*) attacks the *sayyids* of Shughnān, Ishkāshim and Zībāk. He calls his *silsilah* legitimate, but those rival *sayyids* as “the worthless thieves in religion” (*nākasān-i duzd-i dīn*), the “accursed Satan” (*shayṭān-i la 'īn*), “accursed infidel/guebre” (*gabr-i la 'īn*) and the “accursed Antichrist” (*dajjāl-i la 'īn*). The following verses reflect this attitude:

Payrav-i īshān Guhar'rīz az yaqīn
Rawshan az ajdād-i ū shud rāh-i dīn
Gar-chih na'āyam dar ḥisāb-i mu'minān
Dast bar silk-i guhar dāram 'iyān
Az 'adam tā āmadam andar bashar
Tasbīḥ-i man dānah-i silk-i guhar
Jumlah ajdād-i man dar rāh-i dīn
Buda-and ḡābit-qadam kul 'īn-chunīn
Nīstam naw-yāftah chūn nākasān
Yak diram duzdī kunand az mā chunān
Ṣāḥib-i kānam bih tawfīq-i Khudā
Ham ṭufail-i Muṣṭafā ham Murtaẓā
Nīstam chūn nākasān-i duzd-i dīn
Sayyid-i Zībāk-u Ishkāshim zamīn
Ham zi Shughnān yak dū shayṭān-i la 'īn
Nām kardand khvīsh-rā sayyid chunīn
Hamchū dajjāl-i la 'īn-i rāh-zan
Bar hama nādān-i Shughnān mard-u zan
Az namāz-u rūzah-yu ḥajj-u zakāt
Nīst az shar 'i nabī-shān yak ṣifāt
Chūn nadārī shar 'i dīn-i Muṣṭafā
Rāh kujā yābī bih nazd-i Murtaẓā
Būdah-and chūn Khājagān-i avvalīn
Kardah-and mardūd bābat-rā chunīn
Gah bih nazd-i sayyid-ū gah Khājagān

Pīr mī'gīrī bih khūd tū har zamān...
La 'nat-i ḥaqq bād bar ajdād-i tū
Ham bih dīn-ū mazhab-u ābā-yi tū³⁷⁷

Their follower, the Pearl-scatterer in certainty
The path of faith has been made bright by his ancestors
Though I cannot be deemed among the believers
My hand is clearly tied to the thread of pearls
From pre-eternity to the time of arriving amidst mankind
My rosary is the thread of pearls
My ancestors, all of them
Were steadfast on the path of religion
I am not new like those worthless
Who steal one *dirham* from us like this
I am the master of treasure by the grace of God
And by the grace of Muṣṭafā and Murtaẓā
I am not like a thief in religion like those worthless ones
The *sayyids* of Zībāk and Ishkāshim
Also, one or two accursed satans from Shughnān
Call themselves *sayyids*
Like the accursed Antichrist they deceive
All the ignorant ones in Shughnān, men and women
Prayer, fasting, pilgrimage and alms giving
They have none of these Prophet's *sharī'ah*
If you don't have any of the Prophet's *sharī'ah* in practice
How will you find your way to Murtaẓā ('Alī)?
The Kh(v)ājahs are the first
They have rejected your affair
Sometimes you go to Kh(v)ājahs and sometimes to
Sayyids
To choose a guide (*pīr*) for yourself...
May the curse of God be upon your ancestors
Your religion and *mazhab*, and fathers

As we can see, there is rivalry between the Kh(v)ājahs and the *sayyids* of Shughnān, Ishkāshim and Zībāk and it is reflected in the hagiographical sources. The part of the poem from *nīstam chūn nākasān* to the end, where the author of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* disparages the *sayyids* of Shughnān, Ishkāshim and Zībāk is not included in Gulzār Khān's manuscript. This is understandable, because the manuscript was copied in Shughnān and a native Shughnānī of a *sayyid* origin would not include the disparaging verses of Khvājah Ahrār in his copy. Although the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* mentions Zībāk, Ishkāshim and Shughnān (along with Vakhān, Rūshān and Darvāz), which were placed under various *khalīfahs* by a descendant of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, it says nothing about Nāṣir-i Khusraw's

³⁷⁷ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 104, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Èl'chibekov, 75.

travels in these regions.³⁷⁸ In fact, these regions receive little attention from the author of the *Silk-i guhar'riż*, in contrast to the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāşir*, which relates how Nāşir-i Khusraw travels and preaches in various villages in these regions. Since a native of Shughnān composed it, it ties Nāşir-i Khusraw to different localities in that region. However, the author still attaches importance to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh and their descendants. This may be because by the beginning of the 20th century the descendants of the Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh were influential in Shughnān and Shākh'darah.³⁷⁹

The competitive nature of the hagiography of Nāşir-i Khusraw is reflected more vividly in the *Ĥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, which was produced in Shughnān. First of all, Shughnān remains at the centre of this work's attention. According to the author,

Nāşir-i Khusraw came to the land of Shughnān and travelled in different parts of the region to lay the foundation of the *Ismā'īlī da'vāh* and teach the people who belonged to other *mazhab* (*Sayyid Shāh Nāşir dar mulk-i Shughnān āmadah dar īn jā³⁸⁰ bih ādamān binā-yi³⁸¹ da'vat va ta'līm namūd ammā pīsh az āmadan mardumān dīn va mazhab-i dīgar dāshtand va hamīn mazhab-i Ismā'īlī az vaqt-i Ĥazrat-i Pīr shudand va Ĥazrat-i Pīr dar har jā³⁸² dar mulk-i Shughnān sair-u³⁸³ siyāhat³⁸⁴ mī-kard*).³⁸⁵

Second, the *Ĥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* mentions that

Jurm was the place of a king famous for his tyranny and this king consumed two bowls of people's eyes every day (*va dar qishlāq-i Jurm yak pādshāh būd va nām-i ū va āvāzah-i zulmkārī-i ū bih har atrāf³⁸⁶ mashhūr shudah būd kih dar yak rūz dar dū tabaqchah pur kardah chashm-i ādam-hā mī-kand*).³⁸⁷

When Nāşir-i Khusraw arrives at Jurm, he does not remain there. He leaves for Yumgān and then Shughnān. The choice of Jurm as the seat of a tyrant king is particularly revealing because the author of the *Silk-i guhar'riż* and the then influential members of the Kh(v)ājah clan were natives of Jurm. Khvājah Ahrār describes Jurm as his home place (“my Jurm” – *jurm-i man*, “the Jurm of *Guhar'riż*,” – *jurm-i Guhar'riż*, etc.) several times in the *Silk-i guhar'riż*.³⁸⁸ The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i*

³⁷⁸ *Silk-i guhar'riż*, Gulzār Khān, 147-148, *Silk-i guhar'riż*, Èl'chibekov, 107.

³⁷⁹ *Ĥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* mentions the two influential *pīrs* Sayyid Mursal from Sūchān of Shughnān as a descendant of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Sayyid Maḥmūd of Shākh'darah as a descendant of Malik Jahān Shāh, *Ĥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 12. Sayyid Maḥmūd was the brother of Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh of Shākh'darah who migrated from Munjān to Chitrāl, then Vakhān and finally Shākh'darah towards the end of the 19th century. Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 74-75. According to Shokhumorov, Sayyid Maḥmūd is the son of Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh, but according to L. Khariukov, the two are brothers. Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe sopernichestvo*, 142. Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh was one of the three influential *pīrs* in Shughnān that were interviewed by Bobrinskoī in the beginning of the 20th century. Bobrinskoī, however, mentions that he is a descendant of “Imām Ibrāhīm” the son of Imām Muḥammad Bāqir. Apart from Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh, Bobrinskoī interviewed Sayyid Mursal from Sūchān, a descendant of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī. Bobrinskoī, “Sakta Ismail'ia.”

³⁸⁰ The word appears in the form of *jāh* in the text. *Ĥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 13.

³⁸¹ *Bināh-i* has been corrected to *binā-yi*, *Ĥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 13.

³⁸² *Jāh* corrected to *jā*, *Ĥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 13.

³⁸³ *Sail* corrected to *sair*, *Ĥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 13.

³⁸⁴ *Sayā'at* corrected to *siyāhat*, *Ĥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 13.

³⁸⁵ *Ĥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 13.

³⁸⁶ *Atrāf-hā* corrected to *atrāf*, *Ĥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 11.

³⁸⁷ *Ĥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 11.

³⁸⁸ See for example *Silk-i guhar'riż*, Gulzār Khān, 20, 32, 48, Èl'chibekov, 34.

Nāšir, more sympathetic to this locality, identifies the ruler of Jurm in *Nāšir-i Khusraw*'s time as Sayyid 'Alī, who, along with Qāzī Našr al-Dīn, was on good terms with *Nāšir-i Khusraw*.³⁸⁹

Third, the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* identifies Suhrāb-i Valī and Malik Jahān (Jān in the text) Shāh as the two servants (*khizmat'gār*) of Shāh *Nāšir-i Khusraw*, unlike the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, which calls them the head deputies (*sar'khalīfah*), licentiates (*ma'zūn*), etc.³⁹⁰ The *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* mentions nothing about their knowledge, and does not depict them as pupils of *Nāšir-i Khusraw*. Although it mentions that the *pīr* instructed Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh to find disciples and followers (*murīds*), it quickly adds that the *pīr* did not want them to have *murīds* of more than seven households (*pīr farmūdand kih har dū-yi³⁹¹ shumā ziyādtar³⁹² az haft³⁹³ khānah na'gīrīd barā-yi shumāyān bas³⁹⁴ mī'bāshad*).³⁹⁵ In other words, the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* limits the authority of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh to over seven households only. This contrasts with the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, according to which *Nāšir-i Khusraw* places many parts of the modern-day Tajik and Afghan Badakhshān, and the Northern Areas of Pakistan under the authority of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh.

Fourth, according to the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, when *Nāšir-i Khusraw* came to Shughnān, he gave the *Vajh-i dīn*, the most important work for the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān to Shāh Malang, the ancestor of the *sayyids* in Shughnān (*va kitāb-i Vajh-i dīn³⁹⁶ ham dar hāmān³⁹⁷ vaqt bih Bābā-i hamīn avlād Shāh Malang dāda būd*).³⁹⁸ According to the text, Shāh Malang, is the ancestor of the *sayyids* that are scattered in Pārshinīv, Ghund and other places, including the areas on the other side of the Panj river. Sayyid Yūsuf 'Alī Shāh, one of the three *pīrs* who was interviewed by Bobrinskoī, was a descendant of Shāh Malang (*va az ū nabīrah-hā shudand ānhā-rā³⁹⁹ sayyid-hā mī-gūyand hamīn sayyidhā-ī kih az qavm-i ū mī-bāshand Sayyid Shāh Fāzil Kalān va Sayyid Yūsuf 'Alī Shāh va qavmhā-ī ū va nišf-i dīgar dar ū bar-i daryā va nišf-i dīgar dar mulk-i Ghund dar har jā⁴⁰⁰ parishān shudand*.)⁴⁰¹ This contradicts the narrative in the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*. As mentioned, according to it, *Nāšir-i Khusraw* gave his *Vajh-i dīn* to Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and appointed him as his successor. The rivalry between the Kh(v)ājah *sayyids* and the Shāh Malangī *sayyids* is evident. Like the Kh(v)ājah (or the Kh(v)ājagān) *sayyids*, the Shāh Malangī *sayyids* also claim descent from Mūsā al-Kāzīm

³⁸⁹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 67. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhsor*, 31.

³⁹⁰ *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 11.

³⁹¹ *Dū* in *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 12.

³⁹² *Ziyādat* in *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 12.

³⁹³ *Haftah* in *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 12.

³⁹⁴ *Pas* in *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 12.

³⁹⁵ *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 12.

³⁹⁶ *Vaj 'al-dīn* in *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 13.

³⁹⁷ *Amān* in *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 13.

³⁹⁸ *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 13.

³⁹⁹ *Ū-rā* in *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 8-9.

⁴⁰⁰ *Jāh* in *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 8-9.

⁴⁰¹ *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 8-9.

through his son Sayyid Ibrāhīm. According to the *Nasab'nāmah-i Sādāt-i Mūsavī Shāh Malangī*, Shāh Malang is the sixteenth descendant of Mūsá al-Kāzīm (Sayyid Shāh Malang, Sayyid Muḥammad Malang, Sayyid Shāh Sulṭān Muḥammad Khurāsānī, Sayyid Shāh Malang-i Khurāsānī, Sayyid Ḥusayn, Sayyid 'Isā, Sayyid Mūsá, Sayyid Yahyā, Sayyid Muḥammad, Sayyid 'Alī, Sayyid Yūsuf, Sayyid Muḥammad, Sayyid Ja'far, Sayyid Ḥusayn, Sayyid 'Abd Allāh, Sayyid Ibrāhīm, Sayyid Imām Mūsá Kāzīm).⁴⁰²

It is also noteworthy that, although the author of the *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* mentions the other *qalandars* Shāh Burhān and Shāh Kāshān and notes that the descendants of Shāh Kāshān are *sayyids* (“*va nabīrahā-i Shāh Kāshān ham bisyār shudand, ānhā-rā ham Sayyidhā mī-gūyand, Sayyid Kāmrān va avlād-i ū va Sayyid Ja'far va avlād-i ū dar har jā bisyārānd*”), while Shāh Burhān left no offspring (“*va Ḥaẓrat-i Shāh Burhān Valī zan nadāsh, az ū nabīra va avlād nabūd.*”), he does not mention Shāh Khāmūsh, the ancestor of the *mīrs*, at all.⁴⁰³

These hagiographical compilations clearly serve the interests of those who inherited leadership and needed Nāṣir-i Khusraw's charisma to sustain its legitimacy. Like other hagiographical accounts in Central Asia, the hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw contain motifs of Islamization and conversion, and associate individuals with the saint.⁴⁰⁴ Such associations lend prestige and authority to familial and spiritual lineages linked to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the Islamizing figure. The writers of the hagiographies sought to associate themselves with Nāṣir-i Khusraw genealogically through tracing their own and the *pīr*'s lineage back to Mūsá al-Kāzīm. Being identified as *sayyids*, both Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and his descendants, including the author of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, partake of the charisma of the Prophet Muḥammad's family. They also emphasize that the *sayyids* are spiritually related to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as “pearls” from the same “mine” and “lights” from the same light. They are also the inheritors of the knowledge, status and “breath” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and, therefore, are his legitimate successors. As they began Islamizing Badakhshān together with Nāṣir-i Khusraw, they hold an elevated position in the community. This, of course, renders them entitled to socio-economic benefits. The hagiography then clearly reflects a power struggle and the hagiographical tradition serves particular purposes. It is appropriated and transformed by different groups and thereby also contested, thus shedding light on their respective motives and interests in the confrontation conceptualized as of “us” vs. “them.”

⁴⁰² An original copy of the *Nasabnāmah-i Sādāt-i Mūsavī Shāh Malangī* belongs to the family of Sayyid Yūsuf 'Alī Shāh in Pārshīnīv, Shughnān. It is noteworthy that there are Pāmīrī Twelver Shī'īs that trace their origin back to Shāh Malang currently living in Shughnān of Afghanistan.

⁴⁰³ *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 9.

⁴⁰⁴ DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*, 138.

7.2.4 Apologetics

One of the ideological purposes of the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlī hagiographies is to distance Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his Ismāʿīlī followers from the *malāḥidah*. Careful examination of the choice and creative presentation of elements in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* reveals the apologetic tone of the hagiographies. As the analysis in the section demonstrates, the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān from the 10th/16th through the early 20th centuries felt the need to defend Nāṣir-i Khusraw and, through him, their community against the charge of heresy, immoral acts and heterodoxy in their teachings and practices.

As mentioned before, according to Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself, he was accused of being a *mulḥid* (heretic). We have already seen the numerous negative portrayals of Nāṣir-i Khusraw by other Muslims in Chapter Three. Many Muslims accused Ismāʿīlīs of all sorts of teachings and practices purportedly warranting the label of “heretics” (*malāḥidah*).⁴⁰⁵ The Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān have shared this fate. Moreover, in Chapter Three, we saw how some Sunnī rulers, such as the Shaybānīds and the Yārīds, attacked the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs, specifically because of what was seen by their opponents as false and shameful heresy. Similarly, the Qataghānīs, Afghans, the Bukhāran *bīgs* and even many of the local Sunnī *mīrs* saw the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs as “heretics” and subjected them to oppression and persecution.⁴⁰⁶ Prior to them, Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt referred to the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān as the *malāḥidah*, describing their faith as “the worst form of heathenism in the world” and others, similarly, claimed that the people of Badakhshān stood far from “truth and sincerity” (*ḥaqīqat va ikhlās*).⁴⁰⁷ The accusation of the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān of heresy (*ilhād*) was so widespread that John Biddulph has suggested that the self-designated name of the Ismāʿīlīs of Northern areas of Pakistan, Maulai “may be a corruption of ... Mulahidah, from *Mulhed*, “an infedel.”⁴⁰⁸ It goes without saying that the word “Maulai” or “Mawlā” has no etymological connection with the word *malāḥidah*. “Mawlā” means “Master” and is a term used by the Ismāʿīlīs in reference to the Imām. “Mawlā,” therefore, means “a follower of the Master” (*Mawlā*) or “a follower

⁴⁰⁵ On the anti-Ismāʿīlī writings of other Muslims depicting Ismāʿīlism as the arch-heresy, *ilhād*, of Islam, see Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 7-10. Some rulers and scholars labeled the Ismāʿīlīs in derogatory terms such as *kāfir*, *mulḥid*. Alnoor Merchant, “Types and Uses of Argument in Anti-Ismāʿīlī Polemics” (MA Thesis, McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies, 1991).

⁴⁰⁶ Surkhafsar, *Taʾrīkh-i Badakhshān*, 43b-44a. Emadi, “Praxis of taqiyya,” 254. Elias, “Report of a Mission,” 48. Stanislavskii, *Ismailizm na Pamire*, 28. Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 101-102. Kakar, *Government and Society in Afghanistan*, 160. D.L. Ivanow, who was in Shughnān towards the end of the 19th century, wrote about the terrible attitude of the Sunnī *mīrs* towards the Ismāʿīlīs. “The Mohammadan regarded the Shiʿites as “heretics” and as people with no rights that are worthy of punishment.” Ivanow, “Shughnan – Afganskie Ocherki,” 640. Montgomerie, “Report of “The Mirza’s” Exploration,” 156-57.

⁴⁰⁷ Dūghlāt, *Tāʾrīkh-i Rashīdī: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 346. Welsford, *Four Types of Loyalty*, , 219, footnotes 168 and 70.

⁴⁰⁸ Biddulph, *Tribes*, 120.

of the Imām.”⁴⁰⁹ As far as I know, the Ismā‘īlīs of Central Asia have not used the *malāḥidah* or a “corruption” of the term as self-designation.

The Ismā‘īlīs of Central Asia use the term *malāḥidah* to designate unbelievers or irreligious people. Khayrkhvāh-i Harātī who had followers in Badakhshān, for example, writes that the notables of the religion of truth, i.e. Ismā‘īlism, confer the term *mulḥid* or “deviant” upon the commoners who have not reached the inner meaning (*bāṭin*) of religion.⁴¹⁰ As mentioned before, the *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat* that comes from Badakhshān is the only text that uses the word *kāfir* in relation to the *malāḥidah*; thus, expressing this view more strongly.⁴¹¹ An Ismā‘īlī text that contains a foundational narrative about Fāqī, an ancestor of the *pīrs* of Shākh‘darah, features a poem attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. In this poem, Nāṣir-i Khusraw juxtaposes the faithful (*mu‘min*) with heretics (*mulḥidān*), the heretics.⁴¹² The hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw go even further and identify the heretic as someone worse than an unbeliever, and who has nothing to do with Islam or with their faith, Ismā‘īlism.

As mentioned above, according to the *Siyāhat‘nāmah-i Nāṣir*, when the ruler of the *malāḥidah* sent an envoy to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Imām Hādī ordered the saint to invite the ruler and the people of Baghdād to Ismā‘īlism.⁴¹³ When the ruler of the *malāḥidah* desires his own daughter, he approaches Nāṣir-i Khusraw and asks him if “a person plants a tree in the garden, should he eat its fruits himself first or give it to the people?” The *pīr*, through spiritual insight (*bāṭin* and *karāmāt*), knew that the ruler was misled by Satan and became an unbeliever. Nāṣir-i Khusraw tells him to cut one span (*yak vajab*) from the bottom and one span from the top, noting that, if it bleeds, it is forbidden (*ḥarām*) to eat. The heretic ordered to make one cubit (*gaz*) long wooden shoes and headgear for the daughter to wear. For this reason, when he cut one span from the bottom and one span from the top, he made it lawful for himself to copulate with her. When Nāṣir-i Khusraw found out about this, he saw that the ruler became a “heretic” *mulḥid*, worse than an unbeliever (*kāfir*). When the people and the scholars (*khalq va ‘ulamā‘*) became aware of this act of the ruler, they reproached him for violating the law (*shar‘*). In response, the ruler said that he did that according to the teachings (*mazḥab*) and guidance of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. At this point, the heretic tells Nāṣir-i Khusraw to reject final gathering (*az ḥashr inkār kun*) and to write a commentary on the Qur‘ān according to his *mazḥab* or he would kill him.⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁹ In his interview with Bobrinskoī, *pīr* Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh explains that the term *mawlā* is used by outsiders to refer to the Ismā‘īlīs of Chitrāl (Northern Areas of Pakistan). The *pīr* also says that the term *mawlā* means “master” and is “a designation” of ‘Alī. Bobrinskoī, “Sekta Ismailī‘a,” 7.

⁴¹⁰ Harātī, *Taṣnīfāt*, 4, 72.

⁴¹¹ See for example, *Risālah dar bayān-i nadāmat-i rūz-i qiyāmat*, 10a, 10b, 12a, and 12b. MS Folder 232, 172.

⁴¹² *Shajarah‘nāmah-i pīrān-i mawrūṣī-i vādī-i Shākh‘darah*, MS 92, 11 (KhRU-IIS).

⁴¹³ *Siyāhat‘nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 28, Rahmonqulov changes “he said: go and summon him together with the people of Baghdād” (*guft bi-rav ū-rā da ‘vat kun bā mardum-i Baghdād*) to “he said: go and cure him” (*guft birav uro sihat kun*) (Persian, *guft bi-rav ū-rā shīhat kun*). Rahmonqulov, *Bāhr ul-akhbor*, 16.

⁴¹⁴ Rahmonqulov changes “O Nāṣir, reject resurrection” (*yā Nāṣir az ḥashr inkār kun*) to “O Nāṣir, find a way out in this situation” (*Ē Nosir iloji in kor kun*). Rahmonqulov, *Bāhr ul-akhbor*, 19.

He then orders to convene the scholars and stage a debate with Nāṣir-i Khusraw. During the debate, Fārābī, a companion (*sharīk*) of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, asks the saint whether he rejected the notion of the final gathering.⁴¹⁵ Nāṣir-i Khusraw recites the aforementioned verses that reject this notion. After a friend comes to him in private, asking for an explanation, Nāṣir-i Khusraw claims that he did so because of fear of his life. The scholars, nonetheless, do not accept this and seek his death.⁴¹⁶

This passage is extremely informative in a number of ways. First, as we can see, it shares much in common with the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, but changes certain elements. Both mention how Nāṣir-i Khusraw was compelled to write a commentary on the Qurʾān for the ruler of the heretics, and in both cases, the texts seek to the agendas of both is to distance Nāṣir-i Khusraw from the *maẓhab* of the heretics. As mentioned before, Nāṣir-i Khusraw has been criticized for questioning the belief in final gathering. The name of Fārābī also appears in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, where Nāṣir-i Khusraw asks the son of the ruler of the heretics to bring Fārābī to him, but finds out that the latter had passed away. The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* depicts an exchange between Fārābī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw. In the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, in his final hours in Yumgān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw recounts his debate with Fārābī, in which he asserted his own beliefs in the miracles of the Prophet and criticized Fārābī for questioning this tenet.⁴¹⁷ The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* reverses the roles of the two figures. Despite the reversal of roles, the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, like the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, confirms Nāṣir-i Khusraw's belief in the final gathering. Unlike the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* cites the aforementioned infamous verses, as it fulfills one of its objectives, namely, to provide a response to them. The accusation against the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs of not believing in resurrection or future state is well known.⁴¹⁸

While the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* distances the heretics from the Ismāʿīlīs, it demonstrates beyond doubt that Nāṣir-i Khusraw constantly discussed faith with the scholars in *sharīʿah* (*dar sharīʿat*) and had companions among them.⁴¹⁹ These scholars also criticize the ruler of the heretics for violating the *sharīʿah*, not only in having intercourse with his daughter, but also in not performing ritual purification (*ghusl*) afterwards. One of the main reasons why the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs became designated as the *malāhidah*, at least according to Rashīd al-Dīn and Kāshānī, is because of the alleged abolition or suspension of the *sharīʿah* or religious law by Imām Ḥasan ʿalā dhikrihi'l-salām in the second half of the 12th century, following the proclamation of the Qiyāmah or Resurrection.⁴²⁰ The hagiography distances Nāṣir-i Khusraw from the heretics and draws him closer to the scholars of the

⁴¹⁵ Raḥmonqulov changes *hashr* to *ashr*, the meaning of which is unclear to me. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhhbor*, 19.

⁴¹⁶ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 27-35, Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhhbor*, 16-19.

⁴¹⁷ Azorabek, "Safaromai Ḥazrati Sayyid Nosiri Khusravi quddusi sara," 65.

⁴¹⁸ Dūghlāt, *Tā'rikh-i Rashīdī: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 217.

⁴¹⁹ See for example, *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 34, Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhhbor*, 19.

⁴²⁰ Jamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Kāshānī, *Zubdat al-tavārikh: bakhsh-i Fāṭimiyān va Nizāriyān*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, 2 ed. (Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi Muṭāli'āt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1366/1987), 202.

religious law. In this regard, too, its agenda, like that of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, is to present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a law-abiding Muslim, unlike the heretics, who are worse than unbelievers. It is, however, significantly different from the *Risālat al-nadāmah* in one important aspect. Nāṣir-i Khusraw comes to the ruler of the heretics not as an envoy of the caliph of Baghdād, but as a *dā'ī* of Imām Hādī. Also, he comes to him from Badakhshān, but in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, he goes there before fleeing to Badakhshān. The *Risālat al-nadāmah* presents Badakhshān as a refuge, but the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* presents the region as an intended destination, according to the order of the Imām. What is also noteworthy is that Nāṣir-i Khusraw comes to Badakhshān for the second time when fleeing from the army of the heretics. In other words, Nāṣir-i Khusraw comes to hide in Badakhshān, not because of the persecution at the hands of the Sunnīs in Balkh that forced the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw to flee there, but because of the persecution of the heretics.⁴²¹ This, again, is an attempt of the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* at depicting the heretics, and not the Sunnīs, as the enemies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Among accusations of immoral practices leveled against the Ismā'īlīs, including the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān, is that of condoning incestuous relations.⁴²² The accusation of incest against Ismā'īlīs is an element of the anti-Ismā'īlī heresiographers. Nizām al-Mulk, for instance, charges the Ismā'īlīs of this practice.⁴²³ This accusatory topos was so widespread that even the envoy of the Roman emperor Frederick Barbarossa Burchard of Strasburg, who made his journey to Egypt and Syria in 1175, includes the following in his account of the Syrian Nizārī Ismā'īlīs, whom he calls the Assassins: “This breed of men live without law; they eat swine’s flesh against the law of the Saracens, and make use of all women without distinction, including their mothers and sisters.”⁴²⁴ In writing about the Ismā'īlīs in Badakhshān, Dūghlāt claims that for them “sexual intercourse (*vaṭī*) with their own kindred is lawful, and the enjoyment of it is, in no respect, dependent on marriage; thus, should one have a passion for somebody with whom its indulgence is practicable, it is lawful to gratify it – be it with daughter or son or mother.”⁴²⁵ He uses the word *Chirāgh-kush* or “lamp extinguishers” as a synonym of *malāḥidah*. In other words, he accuses the Ismā'īlīs of having sexual orgies in the dark.⁴²⁶ This accusation is ingrained in people’s mind so firmly that even the Tajik historian Bobojon Ghafurov, famous for his earlier criticism of Ismā'īlism, is reported by Karl Jettmar to have said (in 1973) that the Ismā'īlīs of Pamir had a certain ceremony, connected with wine-making, in which they

⁴²¹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 40-42. Raḥmonqulov has the army (*lashkariyān*) instead of the army of the *malāḥidah* (*lashkar-i malāḥidah*), Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 21-22.

⁴²² On the so-called “black legends,” see Farhad Daftary, *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Isma'ilis* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1994).

⁴²³ Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsatnāma*, trans. Hubert Darke (Boston: Routledge, 1978), 229.

⁴²⁴ Meriem Pages, “The Image of the Assassins in Medieval European Texts” (PhD Diss., University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2007), 110.

⁴²⁵ Dūghlāt, *Tā'rīkh-i Rashīdī: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 217.

⁴²⁶ Ney Elias’ commentary in Footnote 1 in *ibid.*, 218.

engaged in sexual orgies.⁴²⁷ Gholib Ghoibov, another Tajik historian quotes Dūghlāt’s account on the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān in his recently published *Ta'rikhi Khatlon az oghoz to imruz* (*The History of Khatlān From the Beginning Till Now*). Ghoibov writes that Dūghlāt had a reason for calling Razī al-Dīn, the leader of the Ismā‘īlīs, *charāgh'kush*. Although Ghoibov says nothing about the Ismā‘īlīs of Tajikistan, he quotes Muḥammad Fārūq Furqānī and notes that the Ismā‘īlīs of Quhistān, in Iran, are called *charoghkush* or *buzgholaband* (Persian, *buzghālah'band*), because women and men gather for prayer at “*jam'khona*” (Persian, *jam'khānah* - a house of assembly) on the night of Yaldā. After the completion of prayer, they drink wine and tie the leg of a goat (*buzghālah*) to the candleholder. Then, they scare the goat, and when it moves, it pulls the candle and extinguishes the flame. After this, the men and women in the “*jam'khona*” begin having sexual intercourse in the darkness.⁴²⁸ Ghoibov takes this for a fact, but Furqānī is very clear in stating that the Ismā‘īlīs were accused of this practice and that this accusation has no basis in reality. According to Furqānī, it is “a false rumour” (*guftār-i afvāhī*) and “an ancient widespread rumour” (*shāyi'ah-i kuhan*).⁴²⁹ Ghoibov also mentions that the Ismā‘īlīs on the left side of the Panj river, i.e. Afghanistan, practiced a custom known as *tut-mol*, as late as the beginning of the Soviet period. Men and women would cover their faces with the juice of mulberry (*shahtut*), enter a dark room, extinguish the lamp and engage in sexual intercourse regardless of age and kindred.⁴³⁰

In their foreword to Badakhshī and Surkhafsar’s *Tā'rikh-i Badakhshān*, Ghoibov and Kholov claim that the Ismā‘īlīs allowed the practice of incest (*ibohai marohim*, Persian, *ibāḥah-i maḥārim*, literally “allowing the forbidden”) from the beginning of their history and provide an inaccurate quote of Furqānī’s words regarding Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, “the initial founder of Ismā‘īlism,” and his purported willingness to permit this practice along with adultery, theft, drinking wine, and failure to perform prayer, fasting and pilgrimage.⁴³¹ In fact, Furqānī simply writes that the Ismā‘īlīs were accused of these practices by their enemies and provides a brief introduction of their writings.⁴³² Needless to say,

⁴²⁷ Karl Jattmer, *Religii Gindukusha* (Moscow: GRVL, 1986), 276.

⁴²⁸ Ghoibov, *Ta'rikhi Khatlon az oghoz to imruz*, 356-57.

⁴²⁹ Furqānī, *Tā'rikh-i Ismā'īlīyān-i Quhistān*, 328-29. Ghoibov places the quote within quotation marks, but he changes the original quotation (e.g. he adds “men and women” (*zan-u mard, zanān-u mardān*) to the original quotation) in his “Foreword” to Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshon*, 15.

⁴³⁰ Ghoibov, *Ta'rikhi Khatlon az oghoz to imruz*, 356-57. Ghoibov repeats this in his introduction to Surkhafsar, *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshon*, 15.

⁴³¹ Ghoibov and Kholov, “Foreword,” in *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshon*, 15.

⁴³² The page numbers that Ghoibov and Kholov refer to (96, 97, 147, 148) do not have this quotation in Furqānī, *Tā'rikh-i Ismā'īlīyān-i Quhistān*. Furqānī’s quotation that is used in Ghoibov and Kholov’s “Foreword” is based on Sa’d ibn ‘Abd Allāh Qummī, *al-Maqālat wa al-firaq*, ed. Muḥammad Javād Mashkūr (Tehran: Markaz-i intishārāt-i ‘ilmī va farhangī, 1361), 50-51. It is also based on ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, trans. (into Persian) Muḥammad Javād Mashkūr (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ishrāqī), 39. Furqānī, *Tā'rikh-i Ismā'īlīyān-i Quhistān*, 98. First, as Furqānī writes, these are age long accusations that were leveled against the Ismā‘īlīs by anti-Ismā‘īlī authors. Second, Furqānī mentions, on the same page from which the quotation is taken, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb was disowned by the Ismā‘īlī Imām Ja’far al-Ṣādiq for divinizing him. Ibid., 97-98. Furqānī briefly introduces the sources in which the Ismā‘īlīs were accused on “disbelief” (*kāfirī*), “antinomianism” (*ibāḥah*), “heresy” (*ilhād*), “adultery” (*zinā*), “incest” (*ibāḥah-i maḥārim*), innovation (*bid'at-guzārī*) and other transgressions. Ibid., 19-25. The account of the Ash’arī scholar al-Baghdādī, in which he severely criticizes the

Ghoibov, Kholov and other scholars are representing the anti-Ismā‘īlī attitude of Muslims in Central Asia and elsewhere.⁴³³

The name *charāgh'kush* is obviously an abusive term and, according to Ney Elias, who travelled in Badakhshān in the late 19th century and provided commentaries on Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt's account:

It is a term which has been applied to many religious sects, besides those of the Shīahs: indeed, it was applied to the early Christians, and is meant to stigmatize their proceedings as immoral or obscene, by conveying the charge that, after their gatherings for worship, the lamps are extinguished and obscene orgies indulged in.⁴³⁴

As he further adds, “it is merely an abusive term, invented by intolerant religious opponents. In our times, (as far as the European traveller among them has opportunities of judging) their morality is no worse than that of their neighbours.”⁴³⁵ This is not the place to discuss the history of this accusation, but smaller branches within Islam have been accused of this practice in other places.⁴³⁶ Alexander Burnes, for example, accuses the ‘Alī Illāhīs of Afghanistan of having sexual orgies in the dark, for which they were named *charāgh'kush*.⁴³⁷ It is in the context of these widespread accusations that the episode in which the ruler of the heretics has intercourse with his daughter should be understood. The hagiography accepts that even though the ruler of the heretics had intercourse with his daughter, stating that it was a practice according to the teachings or faith (*mazhab*) of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in reality, as the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* shows, the *pīr* advised him to the contrary and criticized him for failing to heed his advice. It attempts to show that this practice is consistent not with the *mazhab* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but with that of the *malāhidah*, who have nothing to do with Nāṣir-i Khusraw or his followers.

I have already mentioned the incident with the young girl who became pregnant. The marvel performed by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the subsequent accusations by (the Sunnī) Qāzī Naṣr Allāh and Nāṣir-i Khusraw's success in proving his innocence through additional marvels are accounts of competition between Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the adherents of other *mazhabs*. The victory prompted the vanquished

Ismā‘īlīs, is based on that of the anti-Ismā‘īlī author Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Rizām (Razzām, 4th/10th century). Ibn Rizām's anti-Ismā‘īlī tract, *Kitāb radd ‘alā al-Ismā‘īlīyya* has not survived, but it is quoted in Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist*, completed in 377/987. Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 8. Similarly, Furqānī indicates that it is the opponents of Ismā‘īlism (*mukhālīfīn-i Ismā‘īlīyah*) that have accused them of not performing Islamic rituals. In fact, in addition to performing the rituals, the Ismā‘īlīs emphasize their spiritual significance. Furqānī, *Tā'rikh-i Ismā‘īlīyān-i Quhistān*, 319-24. Furqānī regards the accusations (*ittihāmāt*) of “antinomianism” (*ibāḥah*) and “incest” (*ibāḥah-i maḥārim*) as “false rumours” (*guftār-i afvāhī*). It is their enemies that called the Ismā‘īlīs of Quhistān “chirāgh-kush,” “ibāḥī” and “buzghāla-band.” *Ibid.*, 328-29. For some reason, Ghoibov and Kholov ignore all this.

⁴³³ The Afghan scholar Šāhib Nazar Murādī also uncritically quotes Gholib Ghoibov. See Šāhib Nazar Murādī, *Badakhshān dar ta'rikh* (Kābul: Intishārāt-i khayyām, 1389/2009). On the anti-Ismā‘īlī writings of other Muslims, see Daftary, *Ismā‘īlīs*, 7-10.

⁴³⁴ Dūghlāt, *Tā'rikh-i Rashīdī: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 218, n. 1.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁶ Moosa, *Extremist Shiites*. Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 60, 64. al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, 192.

⁴³⁷ Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara II* (London: John Murray, 1835), 154.

religious opponent to accept Nāṣir-i Khusraw's teaching. Such demonstrations of his power could also bolster religious credentials within Islam. In short, one of the most important ideological agendas of the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw is to dissociate Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his Ismā'īlī followers from the heretics or the *malāhidah*. In the environment dominated by Sunnīs during the mid-18th through the early 20th centuries, the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān felt the need to defend Nāṣir-i Khusraw and, through him, their community against the charge of heresy, immoral acts, and heterodoxy in teachings and practices.

7.2.5 Hagiography, Morality and Ismā'īlī thought

Hagiographers often tell stories with a clear pedagogical intent. Many accounts seek to communicate a parabolic message, a “moral,” and thus transcend culture, geography, and chronology. In his discussion of the themes of Islamic hagiography, John Renard discusses the “dyad of admiration and imitation,” where certain saints appear as objects of admiration and veneration and as moral paradigms.⁴³⁸ The hagiographies of the pre-Soviet period do not seem to present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a moral paradigm, but rather as someone to be venerated and believed in as a saint with inimitable saintly qualities. The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, for example, mentions how people believed in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, especially after his performance of marvels. He is the only saint able to cure the sister of Malik Jahān Shāh, which leads the people, including the king himself, to believe in him (*ikhlāṣ kardand*).⁴³⁹ Or he is the only saint capable of treating the illness of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, which made the latter to believe in, serve and learn from him.⁴⁴⁰ The narrative enjoins the people to follow Nāṣir-i Khusraw. For example, one *khalīfah* of a village tells the people to obey Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as he is a great saint whose breath splits a stone into pieces.⁴⁴¹ Or when Nāṣir-i Khusraw brings a slaughtered sheep back to life, its owner tells the people to recognize and obey Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint (*valī*).⁴⁴² People believe in (*i'tiqād dāsh(t)and, ikhlāṣ āvardand*) Nāṣir-i Khusraw, visit and serve him.⁴⁴³ He bestows his breath on selected individuals who can use it to subdue wild animals and birds (Malik Jahān Shāh), fulfill people's wishes (Bīshakmurād, the young woman who sheltered Nāṣir-i Khusraw when he was followed by the heretics) and so on, but his ability to perform marvels cannot be imitated.⁴⁴⁴ In short, in the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, just like in the *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw does not appear as a moral paradigm, as it only emphasizes his extraordinary and

⁴³⁸ John Renard, *Friends of God: Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment, and Servanthood* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 2.

⁴³⁹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 66. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhhbor*, 31.

⁴⁴⁰ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 56-61, 76-77. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhhbor*, 27-29, 35.

⁴⁴¹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 46. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhhbor*, 23-24.

⁴⁴² *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 45. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhhbor*, 23.

⁴⁴³ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 52, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 92, 104, 101. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhhbor*, 25, 26, 30, 31, 42, 45, 47.

⁴⁴⁴ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 43, 84. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhhbor*, 22, 38. In Afghan Badakhshān, Bīshakmurād is regarded as Nāṣir-i Khusraw's adopted sister (*khāhar-khvāndah*) and her tomb, also referred to as shrine, (*maqbarah, mazār*) is located in the village of Sipamjī in Badakhshān. See Šābirī, *Safar-i dīdār*, 138, 142-143.

inimitable marvels.⁴⁴⁵ However, if we look beneath the surface of the stories, we can see that despite being more concerned with the glorification of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the accounts are engaged with a range of moral issues. With a heavy focus on the saintly figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his wondrous deeds, the accounts still convey moral or ethical messages. As Renard observes:

Saintly example in general and the moral uprightness of so many Friends are the broadest categories that emerge from the traditional sources. Hagiographers' acknowledgment of such qualities does not mean, however, that these writers regard their subjects as worthy of imitation in every detail of their often-eccentric lives. Just beneath the surface of even the quirkiest behavior lie core ethical values and a pervasive orientation to justice.⁴⁴⁶

Again, regarding such "friends of God," Renard writes,

They represent value and aspiration in a way that serious religious seekers find both appealing and challenging. Ordinary people may have little chance of emulating such exemplary people in detail, but Friends are nonetheless beacons of virtue and ethical conduct.⁴⁴⁷

Some miracle narratives are quite transparently teaching stories with easily recognized morals, such as "Do not be greedy" or "Be forgiving." Other, subtler, narratives can be interpreted as conveying a range of moral teachings. Through punishment stories, *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* vividly demonstrates the didactic and even subversive functions of the miraculous. Following Ḥusaynī's *Haft band*, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* tells the story of a man named Shādī and his avaricious wife. According to it, when Nasir-i Khusraw and his companions arrive in the valley of Yumgān, they take a liking to a place and decide to make it their base (*qarār'gāh*). Nāṣir-i Khusraw asks Shādī, the owner of the land, to sell it to them in exchange for gold. After consulting with his wife, Shādī requests money. At this point, Nāṣir-i Khusraw instructs the man to fill his skirt with pebbles and go home. Shādī follows the *pīr*'s instructions and returns to his house. To his amazement, he finds that the pebbles that he collected miraculously turned into gold. His greedy wife then tells him to return to the saints and ask for more. Nāṣir-i Khusraw performs the same marvel by turning pebbles into pearls and jewels. Again, at his wife's order, Shādī returns to Nāṣir-i Khusraw for the third time and the *pīr* gives him more wealth. However, on the fourth time, Nāṣir-i Khusraw sends him away empty-handed. When the man reaches his home, he finds his two sons dead, his greedy wife blind and the gold, which he brought home, had turned back into pebbles.⁴⁴⁸ In this type of story, Nāṣir-i Khusraw appears as someone who reveals people's vices to them and punishes them for these defects. Although this story

⁴⁴⁵ The stories in the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* seem to be concerned with the character, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, more than with didacticism. This tendency appears to contradict the observation of Heidi Pauwels, who writes, "Hagiographic stories often have less to do with the characters and more with the didactic concerns that the hagiographers wanted to convey to their audience." Heidi Pauwels, "Hagiography and Community Formation: The Case of a Lost Community of Sixteenth-Century Vrindāvan," *Journal of Hindu Studies* 3 (2010): 53-90.

⁴⁴⁶ Renard, *Friends of God*, 346.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁴⁸ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 48-49. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 24-25. The same story is recorded in Bāmiyānī, *Afsānahā-yi ta'rīkhī*, 69. Gulniso Rizvonshoeva, "Simoi Hakim Nosiri Khusrav dar rivoiātu afsonāho," in *Nasir Khusraw: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, ed. Niyozov and Nazariyev (Khujand: Noshir, 2005), 578.

points to Nāṣir-i Khusraw's saintly qualities and strengthens faith in his sainthood, it uses him concurrently as "a mirror of vices" that reflects people's undesirable moral traits. This is more expressly reflected in the words that Nāṣir-i Khusraw says to Shādī before the calamity inflicts his family, "You are not *shādī*, but *balā*" (*tū shādī nabūdī, balā būdī*).⁴⁴⁹ In Persian-Tajik, "shādī" means "joy" or "happiness" and *balā* means "calamity, misfortune" or "evil."

It should be mentioned that the tale about Shādī and his greedy wife is the only example in which a severe punishment, such as the death of people, stems directly from Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The other punishment stories in the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* feature the saints close to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The aforementioned Shāh Ṭālib, for instance, turns a man into a rock for not sharing food with the saints that accompany Nāṣir-i Khusraw and for attempting to kill them.⁴⁵⁰ Similarly, Aḥmad-i Dīvānah, whom he appoints as the leader of the *qalandars* (*sardār-i qalandarān*) and bestows with his breath (*nafas dād*), punishes the people of a village for refusing to come to the *da'vah* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. He strikes a mountain with his wooden sword, and it falls onto the village, decimating its inhabitants.⁴⁵¹ The hagiography, therefore, links severe punishment for the people who show disregard for Nāṣir-i Khusraw with his companions more often than with him. In most cases, Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself is presented as a forgiving saint. He forgives Malik Jahān Shāh for attempting to kill him.⁴⁵² He also forgives the "hypocrites" (*munāfiqān*) and Qāzī Naṣr Allāh for inciting Malik Jahān Shāh to murder him. When Malik Jahān Shāh asks for Nāṣir-i Khusraw's permission to destroy the "hypocrites" and Qāzī Naṣr Allāh for their accusations, the saint responds by saying that he has forgiven them and that kindness (*karam*) is "the tradition of my ancestors."⁴⁵³ The *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, therefore, suggests that the followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw should imitate his forgiveness and kindness.

In fact, according to the testimony of Bobrinskoī, who interviewed the Ismā'īlī *pīrs* in Shughnān in the early 20th century, Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs attributed moral teachings to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and attached great importance to moral excellence as opposed to dogmas and established practices. One of the *pīrs*, Sayyid Aḥmad, reported that Nāṣir-i Khusraw did not reject the teachings of the [Twelver] Shī'īs and Sunnīs who were in the region before his arrival. According to this *pīr*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a Shī'ī with Shī'īs and a Sunnī with Sunnīs and spoke of God, good deeds and respect for the elderly. For Nāṣir-i Khusraw, real prayer was in being honest, and treating others well in word and in deed. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as the *pīr* further adds, taught that real fasting was not abstinence from food, but moral abstinence.⁴⁵⁴ The other *pīrs* that Bobrinskoī interviewed also stressed the importance

⁴⁴⁹ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 49. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 25.

⁴⁵⁰ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 111. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 50.

⁴⁵¹ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 79, 99-100. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 36, 45.

⁴⁵² *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 69-71. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 32-33.

⁴⁵³ *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 69, 74. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 32, 34.

⁴⁵⁴ Bobrinskoī, "Sakta Ismā'ī'a," 13.

of moral qualities like forgiveness, kindness, or honesty.⁴⁵⁵ The Russian political agent in Bukhārā, Cherkasov, who visited the Pamirs in 1905, also records that in Pāmīrī Ismāʿīlism, prayer is manifested in kindness, fasting in abstinence from evil deeds and so on.⁴⁵⁶

In the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, we encounter many other references to moral vices and virtues. Just as in other places in Badakhshān, when Nāṣir-i Khusraw comes to Darmārakht, the people react with reverence (*pā'būsī*), and respect for the *pīr* is considered a virtue. Because of their abundant harvest of grains, he calls them the “peasants of Darmārakht” (*dihqānān-i Darmārakht*), an appellation to which the local people have referred many times in my interviews with them. However, we are also told that Nāṣir-i Khusraw leaves Darmārakht right after one fool (*bī'khiradī*) steals and hides his book in a pile of grain. For this reason, the *pīr* calls the people of Darmārakht *sanaf'hā-yi Darmārakht*.⁴⁵⁷ The word *sanaf* is of unknown origin, but one of my informants in Khorog mentioned that it means “weak in judgment” (*za'if'khirad*), a synonym of *bī'khirad*, and that the people of Darmārakht were called so because of the weak understanding (*bī'khiradī*) of the individual who stole the *pīr*'s book. Today, not only the people of Darmārakht are called *sanaf*, both disparagingly and humorously, but sometimes this word is used in respect to those who steal something, especially books, and their undesirable moral traits are described as *sanafvor*, i.e. “in the manner of a *sanaf*.” Naturally, the word has a morally negative connotation in Badakhshān.⁴⁵⁸

The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* refers to individuals in other regions as well. For example, the people of Shākh'darah warmly receive Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his companions who travel there to visit his disciple Bābā Fāq Maḥmad. They give everything they have to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his companions (*har chīh dāshtand niṣār-i pīr va darvīshān kardand*) and listen to his *da'vah*. Hospitality and warm reception is considered as an admirable moral quality.⁴⁵⁹ However, on their way to Bābā Fāq Maḥmad's place, the itinerants enter some people's houses. According to this story, every dervish among Nāṣir-i Khusraw's companion, who entered a house, heard nothing but rude words (*sukhan-i*

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 16.

⁴⁵⁶ See Cherkasov, "Iz otchēta," 129. The view that the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān held moral excellence above established practices has existed for a very long time. For instance, according to the author of *Tā'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān (“followers of the reviled *malāhīdah* sect”) held that compliance with the precepts of the *sharī'ah* was not incumbent and that the only duty for people was to speak nicely and to keep one's word. Dūghlāt, *Tā'rīkh-i Rashīdī: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 346.

⁴⁵⁷ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 103. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 46.

⁴⁵⁸ I asked some elderly people of Darmārakht about the origin and meaning of the word *sanaf*. Most of them said they did not know what the word meant, but a couple of them said it is related to the word *taṣnīfāt*, i.e. “writings.” According to them, the people of Darmārakht are called *sanaf*, because they were the first possessors of the “writings” or “books” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This may be the case, but the trilateral root of the word *taṣnīfāt* is ف, ن, ص, whereas the three-root letters of the word *sanaf* appears as ف, ن, ص in the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*. *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 103. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 46. Hence, the words cannot be etymologically related. It is noteworthy that the word “*sanaf*” means “weak” in the Kulyābī-Tagnov dialect. See Nurkhon Gadoev, "Leksika tagnovskogo govora: iz gruppy ūgo-vostochnykh govorov kuliābskogo dialekta" (Dissertation for the degree of Kandidat Filologicheskikh Nauk, Tajik State Pedagogical University named after S. Aini, 2009), 18. It is quite possible that the meaning of *sanaf* is something else altogether, but the fact that it is mentioned in relation to the fool that stole a book; the above explanation is most probably accurate. The word appears in the form of ف, ن, ص, in Qurbānshāh, *Afsānah va Haqīqat*, 159.

zisht) and for this reason Nāṣir-i Khusraw called them *Shākh'darah'chī'hā-yi shākh bih dīvār* (literally, “the Shākhdarachīs with horns to the wall”), which is usually interpreted to mean “they turn their faces away and do not look at you.”⁴⁶⁰ Similarly, Nāṣir-i Khusraw calls the people of Sūchān “the blind ones of Sūchān,” (*kūrān-i Sūchān*), the people of Ghund “the rejecting ones of Ghund” (*munkirān-i Ghund*) for failing to recognize him, Vakhān “the land of injustice and torrents” (*Vakhān-i zulmābād-i sīl-rav*), as some people close their doors at seeing the itinerants, points to the selfishness and arrogance of the people (*khud'pisand-u havā'baland*) of Pārshinīv, but, labels the village “the high standing Pārshinīv” (*pārshinīv-i bālānishīn*), and so on.⁴⁶¹ Words like *kur'khiṣen* and *munkir ghundej* (Shughnānī for “the blind Sūchānī” and “the ungrateful Ghundī”) are heard in Shughnān even today in reference to people who do not or pretend to not recognize someone and show ingratitude or deny something. These, among numerous examples, point to undesirable moral traits that are believed to have been regarded as such by Nāṣir-i Khusraw. They also point to desirable moral qualities like generosity, showing gratitude, forgiveness, and being content with little that are emphasized by him as well.

Although the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* generally depicts the people of all the regions of Badakhshān as accepting of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, showing reverence for him and demonstrating excellent moral qualities, it nonetheless associates certain vices with particular peoples or villages. In his *Afsānah va ḥaqīqat*, Shāh Sulaymān valad-i Qurbān Shāh suggests that the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, which he calls the “continuation of *Guhar'rīz*” (*davvām-i guhar'rīz*) must have been composed by a native of Rūshān. This, he says, is due to the presence of certain Rūshānī words and the fact the author is not familiar with the names of the villages in Darmārakht, Shākh'darah, Sūchān and Ghund (because he does not mention any of them), but is closely familiar with the names of villages between Pārshinīv and Vanj, located on both sides of the Panj river. Also, whereas the author has Nāṣir-i Khusraw describe the people of the different villages located between Pārshinīv and Vanj in a negative light (e.g. “the people of Chāsnūd speak meaningless words” (*jurz-u wurzand mardum-i Chāsnūd*), “the people of Shidūj are bears and pigs” (*khirs-u khūkand mardum-i Shidūj*), “the people of Dīshār are lazy” (*līq-u dīqand mardum-i Dīshār*), the people of Pājūr are “unbelievers” (*mardum-i Pājūr kāfir*) for failing to greet him, etc.), he refers to the people of Rūshān positively as “the Rūshānīs of sound and serene mind” (*rawshandilān-i Rūshān*).⁴⁶² This suggestion, however, can be challenged immediately, because right after the people of Rūshān are identified as those “of sound and serene mind,” the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* has a dervish describe them as those who take away the morsel from the guest (*mīhmān*) like “dogs” (*sagān*) for stealing his food (*ta'ām*) and *charāgh'dān* (lit. “lamp-

⁴⁵⁹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 103. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 46.

⁴⁶⁰ Qalandarov, “Agiografiā,” 63. *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 104-105. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 47.

⁴⁶¹ Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 48.

⁴⁶² Qurbān Shāh, *Afsānah va ḥaqīqat*, 165. Raḥmonqulov changes the Shughnānī word *jurzu wurz* to *khirsu duzd* (bears and thieves). See *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 105. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 47. In Shughnānī, *jurzu wurz* is used in reference to people who engage in meaningless talks. The howling of a wolf pack is also known as *jurzu wurz*.

stand”).⁴⁶³ It is therefore more plausible to suggest that its author is Sayyid Shāh’zādah Muḥammad, insofar as he combined elements from a variety of textual and local oral narratives about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. As Sayyid Shāh’zādah Muḥammad was from Pārshinīv, he does not have Nāṣir-i Khusraw describe the people of Pārshinīv “selfish and arrogant,” a description added by Raḥmonqulov adds (*khudpisand-u havābaland*).⁴⁶⁴ And, overall, the purpose of the text seems not to express admiration of one group of people or to designate others as faulty, but to point to various vices and virtues by means of the figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. As mentioned, like the “fool” in Darmārakht, there is one “fool” (*bī’khirad*) in Rūshān who steals the saint’s food and his lampstand (*charāgh’dān*).⁴⁶⁵ Similarly, the *bī’khirads* (and the *nā’khalafān* or the “degenerate ones”) in Ishkāshim (a place named Sulṭān Ishkāshim by Nāṣir-i Khusraw because of its people’s kindness and hospitality) throw stones (*sang-u kulūkh*) at a companion of the saint and steal his raft (*kishtī*) and skin bed (*takhtah’pūst*), for which he calls them “the doubting and disgraceful ones” (*shak-u shūm*, which resembles the word Ishkāshim).⁴⁶⁶ This *bī’khirad* or *nā’khalaf* is the problematical figure that symbolizes certain types of character and acts that are deemed morally undesirable or reprehensible by the majority of the people who hold Nāṣir-i Khusraw in great reverence and are morally and spiritually refined.

The hagiographical account in the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār’hā-yi Kuhistān* also serves the purpose of moral teaching. It narrates a story in which Nāṣir-i Khusraw instructs Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh not to take more than seven households of followers (*murīds*). Sayyid Suhrāb Valī obeys Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but Malik Jahān Shāh takes seventy households. The *pīr* is displeased at Malik Jahān Shāh’s failure to follow his instructions and sends both him and Sayyid Suhrāb Valī to a place where they must find a large rock. He instructs them to look under the rock and report what they see. Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh go to this place, locate the rock and find a large snake being attacked and bit by many little snakes under it. The large snake is weak and close to death. Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh return to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and report this incident to him. “The large snake,” Nāṣir-i Khusraw explains, “was a spiritual leader (*pīr*) in this world and the small snakes were his *murīds*. That *pīr* exploited his *murīds* materially, but did not edify them spiritually” (*māl-i ān’hā-rā khūrd va ān’hā-rā ta’līm nakard*).⁴⁶⁷ In addition to teaching about simple virtues such as being content with little and against vices like avarice, such passages clearly present subtle disapproval of the attitudes of *pīrs* who are interested in controlling as many followers as possible for the sake of greater material benefits. Although the hagiographies discussed above aim to legitimate the authority of the successors of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, most notably, the descendants of Sayyid Suhrāb Valī

⁴⁶³ *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 107. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 48.

⁴⁶⁴ *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 102-106. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 48.

⁴⁶⁵ *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 107. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 48.

⁴⁶⁶ *Siyāhat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 102. The word *kishtī* is omitted in Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 46.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ḥikāyat-i mazār’hā-yi Kuhistān*, 12.

and Malik Jahān Shāh, and enjoin the people of numerous valleys to submit their dues to them, a story like this aims to limit the authority of the *pīrs* by reducing the number of their followers. It criticizes the actions of the *pīrs* who are more after material gains than spiritual edification, which should be their primary concern. Judging by the language of the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, this account was composed by a lay person from Shughnān. The hagiographical account about Nāṣir-i Khusraw in this case, therefore, serves the faithful lay person, who uses it to identify and criticize certain moral traits of the clergy. As we will see in the next chapter, the same story is repeated in the later hagiographies and certain elements of it are emphasized and even changed (e.g. not only Malik Jahān Shāh, but also Sayyid Suhrāb Valī fails to obey Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the *pīrs* are criticized more severely, etc.) depending on the varying socio-political contexts.

Overall, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* do not represent Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an imitable moral paradigm, but rather as a great saint whose marvels and even moral qualities are inimitable. He is to be admired and venerated. However, beneath their surface, the accounts have a range of moral or ethical messages to convey. They directly and indirectly point to vices like avarice, ingratitude, hostility, theft, arrogance, disrespect, empty talk and the like, which the saint disapproves and virtues like spiritual improvement, sincere faith, forgiveness, kindness, generosity, honesty, hospitality, justice and the like, which the saint approves.⁴⁶⁸ Through the authority of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the hagiographers highlight moral traits that deserve encouragement or praise and point to moral traits that are generally deemed undesirable.

The *Silk-i guhar'rīz* emphasizes Nāṣir-i Khusraw's saintly epistemological ideal, unlike the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* and the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, which focus more on his physical, ascetic ideal of sainthood. Hence, as mentioned, it portrays Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the perfect *pīr* (*pīr-i kāmīl*), the saviour of the people, a saint who leads people to the recognition of God (*shināsā'yī-i Khudā*) and salvation (*rastagār shudand*), the possessor of the "light of the Imām" and the Prophet and the special knowledge bestowed upon him by the Imām.⁴⁶⁹ In fact, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* is replete with various subjects such as Ismā'īlī doctrines, the creation, prophets, eighteen Shī'ī sects, and so on. The purpose of the hagiographical accounts of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, among others examined above, is to teach religious doctrines. It serves its pedagogical purpose of illustrating teachings or insights of Ismā'īlism. For instance, Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, in the presence of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, answers a question about the origin and return (*mabda' va ma'ād*) of the soul.⁴⁷⁰ While referring to the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the author of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* expounds a range of doctrines on the Universal Soul (*'aql-*

⁴⁶⁸ Many of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's own poems are of moral and didactic nature. As Alice Hunsberger observes, "... rather than composing love poems or mystical odes, Nasir Khusraw focused largely on ethical and moralising poetry, admonishing the reader to attend to the task of spiritual improvement in place of chasing after the baubles of this material and materialistic world." Alice Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, xiii.

⁴⁶⁹ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 65, 68, 107-108, 110, 128-129, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Èl'chibekov, 47-48, 78-79, 80, 93-94.

⁴⁷⁰ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 117, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Èl'chibekov, 85.

i kull), Universal Soul (*naḥs-i kull*), Divine Throne (*‘arsh*), four elements, the role of ‘Alī and the Prophet. Knowledge of these, the author confirms, are important for the seekers of salvation.⁴⁷¹

Like the *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Folder 171 (fol. 13b-18a), which is included in the plagiarized *Kalām-i pīr*, focuses more on the epistemological ideal of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and, unlike the *Siyāḥat’nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār’hā-yi Kuhistān*, not on his marvels. It provides a brief report about Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s spiritual development. Also, unlike all the other hagiographical works, this text is a hagio-autobiography. In other words, it is attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and is written in the first person. Although the text represents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the ideal of physical, ascetic saint with power marvels (e.g. “I made a sign to the mountain and it came to meet me”), it eulogizes Nāṣir-i Khusraw for his extraordinary ability to master all the exoteric sciences of the world, including nine hundred commentaries of the Qur’ān and the art of Qur’ānic recitation by the age of fourteen. After learning the exoteric sciences (*‘ulūm-i zāhirī*), Nāṣir-i Khusraw becomes distressed and disappointed, because they do not help him to find the way to the One to be worshipped (*ma’būd*). After realizing that partial intellect (*‘aql-i juzvī*) and analogy (*qiyās*) could not help him to find the path to divine recognition (*khudā’shināsī*, *ma’rifat-i bārī*), he acknowledges that it is necessary to have the spiritual edification (*ta’līm*) of the most noble of human beings (*ashraf-i ashkhās-i insān*) whose intellect is the most perfect (*akmal az hama’uqūl*) and is divinely aided (*mu’ayyad*). Such an intellect is the proof (*ḥujjat*) of God. After a search, Nāṣir-i Khusraw attains recognition of the Imām of the time (*ma’rifat-i Imām-i vaqt*) and, through him, recognition of God. He meets Imām al-Mustansir bi’llāh, whom he calls the ruler of the world (*dāvar-i ‘ālam*), and the greatest proof (*ḥujjat-i a’zam*) of God. The Imām receives Nāṣir-i Khusraw with honour and appoints him as the *ḥujjat* of Badakhshān.

This short account is concerned with divine recognition and mentions a number of significant Ismā‘īlī concepts. First of all, it points to the view that divine recognition cannot be attained through exoteric sciences, the partial intellect and subjective opinion or analogy. It is only the spiritual edification (*ta’līm*) of the proof of God and the divinely supported Ismā‘īlī Imām that leads to divine recognition and, ultimately, salvation. In Ismā‘īlī metaphysics, *mu’ayyadūn* or “the divinely inspired ones” are the Prophets and Imāms, believed to possess *‘ilm-i ta’yīdī* (knowledge that is “inspired”) and they are the individuals who, by virtue of divine assistance (*ta’yīd*), are superior to other human beings whom they guide.⁴⁷² If a human soul seeks liberation, return to its origin or divine recognition, it needs the guidance of prophets and Imāms in whom the cosmic intellect (*‘aql-i kull*) is manifested.⁴⁷³ Although in early (Fāṭimid) Ismā‘īlī literature, *ta’yīd* provides the functionaries subordinate to the

⁴⁷¹ *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 110-117, *Silk-i guhar’rīz*, Èl’chibekov, 81-84.

⁴⁷² *Ta’yīd* means to provide divine support or inspiration. Paul E. Walker, *Abu Ya’qub al-Sijistani: Intellectual Missionary* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1996), 31. Hunzai, "Reason and Inspiration in Islam," 139-40. Paul E. Walker, *Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī: Ismaili Thought in the Age of al-Ḥākim* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999), 109.

⁴⁷³ According to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the Universal Intellect is the source of *ta’yīd*. Hunsberger, *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, 133.

Imām, including members of the religious hierarchy, some portion of access to religious knowledge, which is the reason those were also considered *mu'ayyadūn*. The Imām along with the Prophet remain the sole fountainheads of truth.⁴⁷⁴ In later, Alamūt Ismā'īlism, a stress on Imām's authority brings to the fore the concept of *ta'līm* or authoritative teaching, which became central in the doctrine of the early Nizārī Ismā'īlīs.⁴⁷⁵ The essence of the doctrine of authoritative teaching or spiritual edification, as expounded in the *Fuṣūl-i arba'a* (*The Four Chapters*) of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and preserved in the *Kitāb al-milal wa al-niḥal* of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), is that Muslims had no right to rely on their own arbitrary decisions in spiritual matters and needed to base their understanding of religious truths on the authoritative teachers, such as the Imāms. There must be a single authoritative teacher in every age. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ also points that the human reason (*'aql*) is insufficient for the understanding of religious truths and for the knowledge of God.⁴⁷⁶

Similarly, the Ismā'īlīs do not accept analogical reasoning, driven by human reason.⁴⁷⁷ Among the most notable Ismā'īlī thinkers, Bū Ishāq Quhistānī regarded the notion of subjective opinion as wholly contradictory to the Islamic notion of divine unity as it ultimately gave rise to numerous differing conclusions. Those who used deductive analogy relied on their imperfect individual intellects. According to Bū Ishāq Quhistānī, there must be a perfect intellect in every age, just as the Prophet Muḥammad was in his time. Without that, it would be impossible for people to attain knowledge of God. This intellect could be none other than the Imām of the time.⁴⁷⁸

As mentioned before, the account in Folder 171 is based primarily on the *Haft Bāb* of Bū Ishāq Quhistānī. The *Haft Bāb* also points to the uselessness of the exoteric sciences in attaining the ultimate goal, which is the recognition of God and highlights the importance of authoritative teaching of the Imām. The account in Folder 171 turns the story of Quhistānī's conversion into a biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw by adding extra material to it. The fact that it is based on the *Haft Bāb* of Bū Ishāq Quhistānī does not diminish its importance. In this way, it serves the purpose of introducing the Nizārī teachings of Bū Ishāq Quhistānī by attributing them to Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

⁴⁷⁴ For Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, for instance, the senior *dā'īs* known as the *lawāḥiq* or the Adjuncts are also *mu'ayyad*. Paul E. Walker, *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismā'īlī Neoplatonism of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 130.

⁴⁷⁵ This is described by Shahrastānī and attacked by al-Ghazālī. Ibid. Daftary, *Ismā'īlīs*, 342. It is because of their emphasis on and invitation to the authoritative teaching (*ta'līm*) of the infallible teacher (*mu'allim ma'sūm*) that the Ismā'īlīs were labeled the *ta'līmīyah*.

⁴⁷⁶ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niḥal*, ed. W. Cureton (London: 1842-1846), 150-52. A translation of the section on Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's doctrine is found in Edward E. Salisbury, "Translation of Two Unpublished Arabic Documents, Relating to the Doctrines of the Ismā'īlīs and the Batinian Sects," *JAOS* 2 (1851): 267-72. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 325-28. For a summary of the *Fuṣūl-i arba'a*, based on al-Shahrastānī's accounts, see Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 339-42. For a summary exposition of the doctrine of *ta'līm*, see Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 51-61.

⁴⁷⁷ On the Fāṭimids' rejection of *qiyās*, see Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 171.

⁴⁷⁸ Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 149.

Conclusion

The Ismā'īlīs, judging by the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, were very active in Badakhshān, particularly after the mid-18th century. During this period, Ismā'īlism underwent some significant transformations. Among the major ones was the open and public operation of the Ismā'īlī imamate in Iran and later in India from the mid-18th century onwards. The Ismā'īlī Imāms established closer contact with their followers in Central Asia, including Badakhshān. After the Ismā'īlī Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg authorized the grandfather of the author of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* to establish the Ismā'īlī *da'vah* in Badakhshān in the mid-18th century, the Ismā'īlīs pursued this goal actively. Similarly, the history of Badakhshān witnessed significant transformations towards the very end of the 19th and particularly at the beginning of the 20th centuries. With the arrival of the Russians, the religious oppression and persecution of the Ismā'īlīs by the many Sunnīs ceased to exist. Naturally, the agendas of the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, which were composed in Shughnān during the reign of the Russians in the first quarter of the 20th century, changed during this period. However, prior to the establishment of the Russian rule in Badakhshān in the early 20th century, the Ismā'īlīs continued to be attacked for their faith by some of the dominant Sunnī dynasties, including the later Yārids during the period concerned. But the power of the Yārids began weakened because of internecine wars and the challenges posed by the local rulers of Shughnān and Darvāz, some of whom even seem to have facilitated the operation of the Ismā'īlī *da'vah* in Badakhshān. These various factors had an impact on the ways the hagiographies were composed and the representation of the images of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in them.

Like the earliest and early hagiographies, including the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and Ḥusaynī's *Haft band*, the stories of the middle period, the *Kalām-i pīr*, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* and the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* depict Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint of extraordinary insight, awareness and access to inner realities and the ability to perform marvellous deeds. However, unlike the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and Ḥusaynī's *Haft band*, they demonstrate that these signs of divine power are manifested through him because of his proximity with the Ismā'īlī Imām. The *Kalām-i pīr*, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* and the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* explicitly associate Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Ismā'īlism and the Ismā'īlī Imām. He is unambiguously presented as an Ismā'īlī saint. Although like the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and Ḥusaynī's *Haft band*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is presented as a descendant of the Twelver Shī'ī Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, the middle hagiographies depict the latter and the other ancestors of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as temporary Imāms, who served the permanent Ismā'īlī Imāms. Not practicing pious circumspection, the Ismā'īlī hagiographers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw foster devotion to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, his *da'vah* and Ismā'īlī teachings.

Now that the Ismāʿīlīs, headed by local *pīrs*, operated openly in Badakhshān, they competed for power and sought means to legitimate their authority among the community. The hagiographical compilations served their interests, as they claimed spiritual descent from and initiatory ties to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the foundational figure of the community. The middle hagiographies bolster and discredit the reputation and authority of the *pīrs* who vied for acceptance in the pre-Soviet period and as such served their ideological purposes. As Badakhshān was part of the Muslim world, the hagiographical sources examined in this chapter legitimize the Islamic pedigree of Badakhshān, including Shughnān, Vakhān, Rūshān and other Ismāʿīlī populated areas, by focusing on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Islamizing figure and by symbolic construction of the region's sacred places. The region, which is usually considered to be on the margin of the Islamic world or even the place inhabited by "infidels," is at the centre of the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and is attached vital importance through his figure. Through Nāṣir-i Khusraw's spiritual discipline, charisma, and spiritual power the region is Islamized and sanctified. Through descriptions of his travels and teachings in the major corners of the region, coupled with the emphasis on religious conversion, highlights relationships and contacts that go beyond the borders of Badakhshān and link its community to distant places, past times, and a global community of Muslims. Part and parcel of this attempt is to distance Nāṣir-i Khusraw and through him the Ismāʿīlī community from accusations of heresy and immorality. The hagiographies present Nāṣir-i Khusraw not only as a great saint who performed power and epistemological marvels, provided food, healed the sick, subdued spirits, found water, helped the faithful to attain salvation, but also as a morally upright and deeply knowledgeable Muslim, who had nothing to do with heresy. These central purposes of the hagiographies reflect pre-Soviet exigencies and none of them hold significance in the hagiographical accounts recorded during the Soviet time. Times and priorities changed and so did the purposes of the hagiographical accounts of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It is to an examination of the Soviet context for Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlī hagiography that the next chapter turns.

Chapter 8

The Soviet Context

The previous chapter examined the various meanings and agendas of pre-Soviet Badakhshānī hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It demonstrated how these reflect particular concerns of the Ismāʿīlī community in the pre-Soviet socio-political context. In view of the socio-political transformations ushered in by the Soviets, the hagiographies produced during the Soviet period take a different route. The five central purposes of the hagiographies that reflect pre-Soviet exigencies hold little significance in the hagiographical accounts composed during Soviet times. The hagiographies of the Soviet period manipulate and refashion the traditional pre-Soviet tales, responding to and absorbing other, including modern, secular and ideological, influences that have a bearing on the choice, presentation and emphasis of material.

One indication of these influences is the degree to which literacy had penetrated the public domain. Over the course of the 20th century, Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs became widely exposed to the Soviet “scholarly” studies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s biography and teachings. This period also marks the quest for “historical truth,” which was largely absent in the pre-Soviet hagiographies, aside from occasional references. For this reason, as I will show in the next chapter, these hagiographical works vacillate between hagiography and biography. Hence, to appreciate the specific workings of the Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the Soviet context, one must consider the intellectual and literary currents in which the hagiographies operated.

By examining developments in the study and depiction of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Soviet scholarship, this chapter demonstrates that, although Soviet scholars “feudalize” Islam and disapprove of what they call “orthodox Islam,” their attitude to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life and teachings is overwhelmingly sympathetic. They regard Nāṣir-i Khusraw first and foremost as a progressive “philosopher” and a Tajik poet who spoke against the “feudal lords” and stood for the rights of the oppressed peasants and craftspeople. Soviet scholarship draws a distinction between progressive medieval Ismāʿīlism (between the 10th and the 14th centuries), on the one hand, and “dogmatized” medieval and present Ismāʿīlism, on the other hand. As I will demonstrate, whereas the former form of Ismāʿīlism, to which Nāṣir-i Khusraw belonged, has all the positive democratic, humanistic, progressive, free thinking, anti-clerical, anti-feudal, materialist, atheist, pro-peasant, and anti-dogmatic elements promoted by the Soviets, the latter form of Ismāʿīlism, like any other religion, supposedly furthers and justifies the interests of feudal lords, oppression, spiritual enslavement, clericalism, blind following and ignorance. These and similar epithets are used in Soviet scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw. I examine these depictions in some detail and point to the effects of the “ideologization” of Soviet scholarship on the representations of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in particular and Ismāʿīlism in general.

After examining the influence of the Soviet era on scholarship of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the first section of this chapter, its second will briefly examine Soviet scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hagiography. Following that, the third section of the chapter introduces and analyzes the *Risālah-i afsānah va haqīqat* and the *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, which were produced in the early 1970s by the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān. These works aim to reconstruct the “authentic” biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The purpose of the examination is to show a tendency amongst the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī community to view the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as false “tales” (*afsānah*) and to demonstrate the contribution of Soviet scholarship to this tendency. I will demonstrate that the authors of these works use the outputs of Soviet academic scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw in both composing an “accurate” biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and in criticizing the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs for believing in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's sainthood, as per the traditional hagiographies. An examination of the *Risālah-i afsānah va haqīqat* is pertinent for another reason. One of the hagiographical works examined in the next chapter seems to have been composed in response to this treatise. This is indicative of the fact that, despite the degree to which the public domain was permeated by the Soviet scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw, his hagiography did not lose its significance, because the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān continued to produce and preserve its “revised” versions. Understanding the need to portray Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the Soviet context, authors produced works different from those of their predecessors in terms of content and presentation. In isolation from context, these changes do not appear radical; yet when placed in context and understood as part of the overall evolution of hagiography, they reveal wide-ranging importance becomes.

8.1 Soviet Scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw

As demonstrated in Chapter Three, the Soviet Union developed a negative attitude towards Ismā'īlism in its early years due to the former's anti-religious ideology and its antipathy to the figure of the Ismā'īlī Imām Sultan Muhammad Shāh. The Imām, Āghā Khān III, was seen as an agent of British imperialism who, as many have argued, encouraged his Central Asian followers to cooperate with British authorities in the context of the “Great Game.”¹ The Soviet regime was wary of any religious activities that could potentially incite the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs to rise up against the state, and suspicious of those in British-controlled territory (such as Chitrāl). They claimed that the Ismā'īlīs allowed themselves and their networks of followers to be used by British intelligence not only to

¹ On the relationship between Āghā Khān III and the British government see Grondelle, *The Ismailis in the Colonial Era*. On the role of the Āghā Khān and the Ismā'īlīs in the Great Game, see Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 109-110. On this “genre” of Soviet literature with claims accusing the British of anti-Soviet activity in conjunction with the Āghā Khān, see Bergne, *The Birth of Tajikistan*, 92-95. This Russian antagonism was not as strong before the establishment of the Soviet Union. Some Russian agents, who assessed the situation in the early 20th century in Badakhshān, regarded these claims as only baseless “theory” and asserted that neither Ismā'īlism nor the Āghā Khān could be considered a “threat” to the Russian authority in Badakhshān. See, for instance, the report of the Captain of Pamir Post Aleksandr Vladimirovich Mukhanov.

gather information but also to stir up insurrections against Soviet power in Russian-controlled Badakhshān. An example of these suspicions was the claim that the British used an Ismā‘īlī *pīr* from Chitrāl named Tīmūr Khān to foment an anti-Soviet uprising in Badakhshān in the summer of 1922.² Similarly, during this period, the Soviets accused the famous Badakhshānī *pīr* Shāh‘zādah Layṣ and his son ‘Abd al-Ma‘ānī (d. 1936), whom Khariūkov describes as an energetic *pīr* in the pay of the British, of anti-Soviet activities. Shāh‘zādah Layṣ fled the Amīr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān’s attack in 1883 and moved to British-controlled Chitrāl.³ In the early 1920s, with the advent of Soviet power in Badakhshān, a reform movement known as the Panjabhāī appeared among the Ismā‘īlīs. This movement was directed from the Imām’s headquarters in Bombay.⁴ The Soviet observers regarded it as “a creation of British intelligence” and the Eastern Secretariat of the Executive Committee of Communist International attributed its formation to the British.⁵ In the 1920s, the Soviets accused many religious leaders of conspiracy against the state.⁶

In the 1930s, there was an increase in Soviet propaganda against religious functionaries, including *pīrs* and their *khalīfahs*, who were accused of manipulating the local population, and being disloyal to the Soviet system, due to allegiance to their Imām, the Āghā Khān.⁷ In fact, as Khariūkov argues, the 1930s witnessed “the process of the destruction of the Ismā‘īlī communities” (*protsess razrusheniia ismailitskikh obshchin*).⁸ This anti-Ismā‘īlī tendency of the Soviet state, that had begun in the 1920s, never abated and was still manifest even in the final years of Soviet rule. Likewise, the Soviet suspicion that the Ismā‘īlī Imām and his followers were “agents of British imperialists” never disappeared.⁹ As demonstrated in Chapter Three, the tendency to vilify the Ismā‘īlī Imām and his representatives is reflected in films such as *Jura, the Hunter from Minarkhar*, produced towards the

Aleksandr Vladimirovich Mukhanov, "Pamirskii raion," in *Voенно-statisticheskoe opisanie Turkestan'skogo voennogo okruga* (Tashkent: 1912), 38.

² Bergne, *The Birth of Tajikistan*, 92-99.

³ Khariūkov, *Anglo-russkoe sopernichestvo*, 138.

⁴ On the Panjabhāīs’ reforms and activity in Badakhshān, see Bergne, *The Birth of Tajikistan*, 97-99.

⁵ The main aim of the movement, initiated by Ismā‘īlī reformists such as Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh, who had the Imām’s approval, was to choose *pīrs* who are well qualified in religious matters, to establish community prayer houses where qualified preachers were to put the community on the right track on moral issues, basing themselves on the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. New societies were to introduce these reforms. Another important aim of the reform was to change the nature of religious tax and the mechanism through which it was collected. Later, in 1927 the Imām dissolved the societies. Ibid.

⁶ KGB’s archival documents that show the accusation and trial of the Ismā‘īlī religious leaders by the Soviets in 1922 can be found in Khariūkov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 173-87.

⁷ Khariūkov includes a KGB document (dated 1932) his *Anglo-russkoe sopernichestvo*, which severely criticizes the Ismā‘īlī Imām by calling him and the British “blood-sucking king spiders” that had cast its net over the “flies - poor people” of Badakhshān. It also points to the allegiance of Ismā‘īlīs to the Imām. The document recommends carrying out active propaganda against the Imām (behind whom there is “an even greater blood-sucking spider-the King of England”) and the *pīrs*, whom it calls “spiders-*ishāns*.” Ibid., 218-31. In 1938, A.A. Kuznetsov wrote that the clergy in Pamir called the Soviets “unbelievers” (*kāfir*s) and with the collaboration of the British engaged in anti-Soviet activities. See Hojibekov, *Ocherkho*, 134.

⁸ Khariūkov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 146.

⁹ For a Soviet account of anti-Soviet conspiracies in Badakhshān among the *pīrs* in the early 1940s, see Anonymous, *Ob ismailizme* (Stalinabad: Gosizdat Tadzhikistana, 1943). For an account of the Āghā Khān’s support for the British, see Bobojon Ghafurov, "Aga Khan," *Bezbozhnik*, no. 11-12 (1940): 8-9. See the entry on Ismā‘īlīs in the *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Ėntsiklopediia* for 1950s, "Ismailiy," in *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Ėntsiklopediia (Second Edition)* (Moscow: 1953), 529.

end of the 1980s. The Soviets never stopped trying to create distance between the Ismāʿīlīs and their Imām.¹⁰

In contrast to this (and especially after the 1950s), and quite ironically, many Soviet scholars considered medieval Ismāʿīlism a “progressive” movement with “humanistic,” “materialist” and “atheist” features that championed the causes of the oppressed and exploited masses - peasants and urban craftspeople. These Soviet scholars went to great lengths to demonstrate the “negative” and “positive” aspects of Ismāʿīlism. The entry on the Ismāʿīlīs in the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (*Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Ėntsiklopediia*) reflects this attitude very well: “Ismāʿīlism used social teaching and found many supporters among peasants who fought against feudal exploitation. The control of the sect is now seized by the feudal lords (*rukovodstvo v sekte zakhvatili feodaly*).”¹¹ In other words, Soviet scholars drew a distinction between the Ismāʿīlism of the past (usually associated with its philosophical trends) that served the interests of “the oppressed class” and modern Ismāʿīlism (as well as the “dogmatized” aspects of historical Ismāʿīlism) that mainly served the interests of “the oppressors.” It is in such a context that Soviet scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his representations should be understood. Seen Nāṣir-i Khusraw was seen as representing the past, progressive, philosophical wing of Ismāʿīlism that stood for the rights of the oppressed, we find almost all Soviet scholars working within the framework of Marxist theories sympathetic to him and to his views.

8.1.1 Aleksandr Semēnov and the “Old School” of Russian Orientalism

From a very early period, the Russians and the Soviets knew that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was an important figure for the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs. By 1912, the famous Russian orientalist Aleksandr Semēnov called Nāṣir-i Khusraw “the apostle of Pāmīrī Ismāʿīlīs” and “the most significant personality, who has played a memorable role in the religious life of the land [Pamir].”¹² Although a brief study of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry appeared in Russia in 1889, serious scholarly research on the saint, especially in relation to the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān, begins with Aleksandr Semēnov.¹³ Semēnov published a series of articles on the biography, philosophical and theological teachings of Nāṣir-i

¹⁰ For example, the entry on Imām of the time Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh in the *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Ėntsiklopediia* describes him as the spiritual leader of the “Khodzha” and “Mavla” (which should be Mawlā) Ismāʿīlīs of India and mentions nothing about the Imām’s connection with Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs. “Aga Khan,” *ibid.* (Moscow 1949), 289-90.

¹¹ “Ismaility,” *ibid.* (Moscow: 1953), 529. “Aga Khan,” *ibid.* (Moscow 1949), 289-90.

¹² Semēnov, “Istoriia Shugnana,” 2-3.

¹³ Valentin Zhukovskii, “Pesn' Nasiri-Khosrova,” *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva* 4 (1889): 386-93. On Semēnov’s contribution to the study of Tajik history and culture, see N.D. Khodzhaeva, ed. *Vklad akademika A.A. Semēnova v izuchenie istorii i kul'tury tadzhikskogo naroda. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-teoreticheskoi konferentsii, posviashchennoi 140-letiiu akademika A.A. Semēnova* (Dushanbe, 13 dekabrīa 2014 g.) (Dushanbe: Donish, 2014). Qudratbek Ėl'chibekov’s article, “Vklad A.A. Semēnova v izuchenie ismailizma” (Semēnov’s contribution to Ismāʿīlī studies) that is found in the conference proceedings is more of a brief introduction of Ismāʿīlī scholarship, rather than Semēnov’s contribution to Ismāʿīlī studies. Qudratbek Ėl'chibekov, “Vklad A.A. Semēnova v izuchenie ismailizma,” in *Vklad akademika A.A. Semēnova v izuchenie istorii i kul'tury tadzhikskogo*

Khusraw. He saw Nāṣir-i Khusraw's teachings in the *Vajh-i dīn* as those of Pāmīrī Ismā'īlism.¹⁴ In 1923, he published an article on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's teachings regarding the spiritual and physical worlds.¹⁵ In the following two years, he wrote short articles on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's biography and on "contradictions" between his teachings and the beliefs of the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs on metempsychosis.¹⁶ In 1926, he published "A View on the Qur'ān in Eastern Ismā'īlism" and "On the Teachings of Pāmīrī Ismā'īlism."¹⁷ The first offers a Russian translation of the ninth chapter of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Vajh-i dīn* with critical commentaries. The second article is a translation of the eleventh chapter of the same treatise (on the testimony to God's unity), which, according to Semēnov, "enjoys the most attention" (*pol'zuetsiā naibol'shem vnimaniem*) among Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs.¹⁸ His last important study related to Nāṣir-i Khusraw was published in 1930 and examines a Badakhshānī copy of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's prose work *Rawshanā t'nāmah*.¹⁹

Although Semēnov regarded Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a "heresiarch" opposed to "orthodox Islam" and opined that "Ismā'īlism, in its essence, had nothing in common with Islam (*musul'manstvo*), [and] skillfully concealed its real religious and at times political ideals under the external cover of the latter,"²⁰ he did not draw a distinction between past and present Ismā'īlism. Similarly, he did not describe it as an instrument in the hand of feudal lords and did not demonstrate a negative attitude to the Ismā'īlī Imām.²¹ Although he held the view that Ismā'īlism, for the most part, considered philosophy, science and knowledge more important than religion, his studies, like other studies of the Russian "old school" of Orientalism (labeled "bourgeois" scholarship by the Soviets) were devoid of the so called "anti-Islamic" attitude of the Soviet Marxist scholars of Islam who worked in tandem with the state.²² This is because he published his articles on Nāṣir-i Khusraw before the 1930s, when Islam and Ismā'īlism were to become "feudalized" by Soviet scholars. Semēnov later published many studies, none of which were directly or indirectly related to Nāṣir-i Khusraw.²³ The *Vajh-i dīn*, which

naroda. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoī nauchno-teoreticheskoi konferentsii, posviashchennoi 140-letiiu akademika A.A.Semēnova (Dushanbe, 13 dekabria 2014 g.), ed. N.D. Khodzhaeva (Dushanbe: 2014), 139-46.

¹⁴ In his "On the Teachings of Pamiri Ismā'īlism" (*K dogmatike Pamirskogo ismailizma:*) published in 1926, Aleksandr Semēnov provides a Russian translation of a chapter of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Vajh-i dīn*. Semēnov, *K dogmatike*.

¹⁵ "Nasyri-Khosrov o mire dukhovnom i material'nom," in *Sbornik Turkestanского Vostochnogo instituta v chest' prof. A. Ė. Shmidta* (Tashkent: : 1923), 124-33.

¹⁶ "K biografii Nasyri Khosrova," *Biulleten' sredneaziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* 3 (1924): 64-66. "Protivorechiā," 103-17.

¹⁷ "Vzglyad na Koran," 59-72. *K dogmatike*.

¹⁸ *K dogmatike*, iii.

¹⁹ "Shugnansko-Ismailitskaia Redaktsiia," 589-610.

²⁰ *K dogmatike*, iv. Semēnov calls Nāṣir-i Khusraw a "heresiarch" (*eresiarkh*), poet and philosopher in his article on a critical biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. "Kritika i bibliografiā," *IRAN* 1 (1926): 215.

²¹ *K dogmatike*, viii.

²² *Ibid.*, v. On the "old school" of Oriental studies and Soviet *anti-Islamic* Islamic studies, see Michael Kemper, "The Soviet Discourse on the Origin and Class Character of Islam, 1923-1933," *Die Welt des Islams* 49, no. 1 (2009): 1-48. For a study on the "bourgeois" or liberal Orientalists of St. Petersburg "old school," see Vera Tolz, *Russian Academicians and the Revolution: Combining Professionalism and Politics* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1997). See also "European, National, and (Anti-) Imperial: The Formation of Academic Oriental Studies in Late Tsarist and Early Russia," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 9 (2008): 53-81.

²³ For a list of Semēnov's publications, see <http://memory.pvost.org/pages/Semēnov.html> (accessed December, 2015)

was one of Semēnov's main interests and which is one of the most sacred books for the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs, was ignored by the Soviets for almost three decades.

The reason Semēnov stopped writing on Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ismā'īlism in the following years is certainly related to the fact that he was arrested in May 1931 and, after being released for a period of a little more than a year, exiled in October 1932 from Tashkent to Kazan, where he remained till 1934. He was arrested because of his opposition to the Soviet "ideologization of Oriental studies in Central Asia" (*protivostoial'noi linii na ideologizatsiiu vostokovednoi nauki v Sr. Azii*), carried out by the Soviet historian Mikhail Tšvibak (d. 1937) and other dogmatic Marxist scholars.²⁴ As a scholar of the "old school," Semēnov saw his research on Ismā'īlism marginalized.²⁵ He was not the only scholar to be arrested: eleven of his colleagues at the Central Asian University in Tashkent were also detained. Among these scholars was Mikhail Andreev (d. 1948) who, together with A.A. Polovtsov, published an ethnographic work on the Ismā'īlīs of Vakhān and Ishkāshim in 1911.²⁶

8.1.2 Marxist Theories of Islam

Contemporary studies on early Soviet Orientalism demonstrate that the Soviets developed "anti-Islamic" Islamic studies very early on.²⁷ In the late 1920s and early 1930s, there emerged a number of theories seeking to provide an historical evaluation of Islam. As Michael Kemper notes, these "discussions on the origins and history of Islam were not of purely academic interest."²⁸ There was consensus amongst scholars that socialism would by necessity eliminate Islam, and this would happen sooner rather than later. In the 1920s, the Bolsheviks created new institutions and organizations intended to produce devoted Marxist scholars of Oriental studies.²⁹ Among the most prominent Marxist theories about Islam that gained popularity in the 1920s and early 1930s were the "communism theory," the "peasant theory" and the "feudalization of Islam" theories.³⁰ The first theory, brought forward by Z. Navshirvanov and D. Navshirvanov, searched for forms of communism in Islamic history and detected "primitive communism" in movements that, in their opinion, had

²⁴ On this, see the entry on Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Semēnov in Y.V.Vasil'kov and M.Y.Sorokin, *Liudi i sud'by. Biobibliograficheskii slovar' vostokovedov - zhertv politicheskogo terrora v sovetskii period (1917-1991)* (St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, 2003).

²⁵ See Kemper, "The Soviet Discourse," 4.

²⁶ Mikhail Andreev and A.A. Polovtsov, "Materialy po etnografii iranskikh plemen Srednei Azii: Ishkashim i Vakhān," in *Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia imperatorskoĭ akademii nauk, 1911).

²⁷ Kemper, "The Soviet Discourse," 1-48.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁹ For surveys of Soviet Oriental studies see Nikolai Smirnov, *Ocherki istorii izuchenii Islama v SSSR* (Moscow: Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1954). N. A. Kuznetsova and L. M. Kulagina, *Iz istorii sovetskogo vostokovedeniia* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970). See also, Wayne S. Vucinich, "The Structure of Soviet Orientology: Fifty Years of Change and Accomplishment," in *Russia and Asia: Essays on the Influence of Russia on the Asian Peoples*, ed. Wayne S. Vucinich (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972), 52-134. For the Bolsheviks' creation of research and teaching institutions, see Loren R. Graham, *The Soviet Academy of Sciences and the Communist Party, 1927-1932* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967). Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992), 37-64.

³⁰ Kemper, "The Soviet Discourse," 1-48.

nothing to do with Islam or religion in general. To Navshirvanovs, among these movements were both Ṣūfism and Ismāʿīlism.³¹ In 1930, the economist Mikhail L'vovich Tomara developed a “peasant theory,” according to which, Islam, in its initial period, was the ideology of the peasants, but later under the ʿAbbāsids (r. 133-656/750-1258), became “the ideology of trade capital...and the ideology of the feudal classes.”³²

The “feudalization of Islam” trend was strongly supported by the most influential Soviet Marxist author on Islam of this period, Liūtsian Klimovich (d. 1989). Klimovich became well known for his affiliation with the Soviet anti-religious organizations.³³ Initially, he contended that Islam was originally “atheist,” “progressive” and “revolutionary” in character, but when Muḥammad became its figurehead, the movement took on religious traits and later it turned into an instrument of oppression and spiritual enslavement of the Muslim masses.³⁴ As Kemper observes, “It seems that with his insistence on the “progressive” character of early Islam Klimovich intended to develop a new and specific strategy for anti-Islamic propaganda, one that would pull the carpet from underneath the believers’ feet.”³⁵ Later, in 1933, as a result of the dogma of the *pīatichlenka* (the concept of five-part scheme (*pīatichlennāia skhema*) of human history consisting of primitive society, slave-holding society, feudalism, capitalism and socialism), strictly imposed by the Stalinist regime, and the punishments associated with those who did not comply with the state, Klimovich argued that Islam was “reactionary” and “the ideology of feudal lords (*feodalov*),” who represented exploitation and inequality.³⁶ By now he had recanted his view that Islam had been a progressive social protest movement. He attacked other scholars, criticizing the Navshirvanovs, for detecting communist tendencies in Islam and Tomara for his “positive” interpretation of Islam as a “progressive and democratic movement” and labeled their theories as “lies” and “missionary work” for Islam.³⁷

After Klimovich, scholars on Islam had to subscribe to the dogma that linked Islam to feudalism. Even the great Orientalist Evgeniĭ Beliaev (d. 1964), who had previously maintained a positive approach to Islam, switched sides and wrote, “Islam – like any other religion – has been serving, from its very beginning to the present day, the interests of the exploiting classes, by blessing their rule over the suppressed and exploited masses.”³⁸ No informative works on Islam were produced in the following decades. Kemper describes this as the “suicide” of Soviet Oriental studies and notes

³¹ Z. Navshirvanov and D. Navshirvanov, “Kommunisticheskie techeniia v istorii musul'manskoĭ kul'tury,” *Novyi Vostok* 4 (1923): 274-79.

³² Mikhail Tomara, “Proiskhozhdenie islama i ego klassovoe osnovanie,” *Ateist*, no. 58 (1930): 47.

³³ Kemper, “The Soviet Discourse,” 28.

³⁴ Liūtsian Klimovich, “K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii islama,” *Ateist*, no. 18 (1927): 52-63.

³⁵ Kemper, “The Soviet Discourse,” 29.

³⁶ Liūtsian Klimovich, “Marks i Ėngel's ob islame i problema ego proiskhozhdeniia v sovetskom islamovedenii,” *Revoliutsionnyi Vostok: organ nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ assotsiatsii po izucheniiu natsional'nykh i kolonial'nykh problem* 3-4 (19-20) (1933): 59-92.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 66, 71-75.

³⁸ On this, see Evgeniĭ Beliaev, *Klassovaia sushchnost' islama (obĭasnitel'nyi tekst diapozitivnogo fil'ma pod obshcheĭ redaktsii TS SVB)* (Moscow: Soiuztekhnfilm, 1934), 1.

that “after the Second World War, the universities and research institutions were staffed by a generation of deeply intimidated scholars who had learned their lesson under Stalin.”³⁹ He further notes, “Soviet scholarship of the 1950s to the early 1980s was extremely uninspired and scholars took refuge in philological studies and avoided topics of any social and political relevance.”⁴⁰

8.1.3 The “Ideologization” of Soviet Studies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the 1930s

The developments outlined above had a bearing on Soviet studies of Ismā‘īlism and Nāṣir-i Khusraw. In their studies of these subjects, scholars employed various Marxist theories. Some regarded Ismā‘īlism as an ideology of feudal lords, like other interpretations of Islam. However, most scholars saw it as a “heresy,” a “progressive” and “humanistic” tendency within Islam that fought for the causes of the suppressed masses against “orthodox Islam,” described as the ideology of feudalism. While this is the general picture, a detailed examination reveals greater complexity.

Evgeniĭ Ėduardovich Bertel’s (d. 1957) was one of the major scholars, who published works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the theoretical debates on Islam, immediately after Semēnov. After writing the *Encyclopedia of Islam* entry on Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in 1933 he produced a Russian translation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Safar’nāmāh*.⁴¹ Bertel’s seems to have been the first Soviet scholar to “ideologize” his study about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. He describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an advocate of the peasants against the ruling class, a trope that reappears in subsequent Soviet scholarship on the subject. In the preface to his translation of the *Safar’nāmāh*, Bertel’s provides an otherwise accurate and scholarly biographical account, highlights Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s connection with Ismā‘īlism, his status as the *hujjat* within the Ismā‘īlī *da‘vāh* and his propagation of Ismā‘īlī teachings among the Pāmīrīs. At the same time, he regards him as “a brilliant philosopher” who vehemently opposed feudalism and eulogized peasantry.⁴² What is particularly noteworthy in Bertel’s’ preface is that he demonstrates the earliest tendency, found in Soviet scholarship, of distinguishing the Ismā‘īlism of the past (with its “philosophical ethos”) as “a protest against feudalism” and the Ismā‘īlism of the present “as an instrument of British imperialism” (*orudiem britanskogo imperIALIZMA*). As he writes, “Until now, many hundreds of Pāmīrī Tajiks profess Ismā‘īlism planted by him [Nāṣir-i Khusraw], however, at present it is no more a protest against feudalism, but an instrument of British imperialism, which managed to tame the “living God” of the Ismā‘īlīs, the Āghā Khān, who lives in India.”⁴³

Two years later in 1935, P.M. Maĭskiĭ, who applied the Marxist ideology more overtly, expressed a somewhat similar view about Ismā‘īlism. Criticizing Semēnov for “idealizing” Ismā‘īlism,

³⁹ Kemper, “The Soviet Discourse,” 47-48.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Evgeniĭ Bertel’s, “Nasir Khusraw,” in *EII*, 869-70. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-name*, trans. Evgeniĭ Bertel’s (Leningrad: Akademiĭa, 1933).

⁴² Bertel’s, “Vstuplenie,” in *Safar-name*, 18-19.

he argues that it is “the ideology of the feudal aristocracy” (*ideologiiā feodal'noi aristokratii*) that reflects “the aspirations of their class, and not the interests of the masses” (*chāianiā svoego klassa, a ne interesy mass*). He adds, “like any religion, Ismailism sanctifies class inequality, the horrors of exploitation, slavery and political disenfranchisement” (*Kak i vsiākaia religiiā, ismailizm osvīashchaet klassovoe neravenstvo, uzhasy ēksploatatsii, rabstva i politicheskogo bespraviiā*).⁴⁴ The difference between the views of Maïskii and Bertel's on the nature of Ismā'īlism is stark. For Bertel's, Ismā'īlism was an expression of “protest against feudalism” in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's time and ceased to be that in the modern times, but for Maïskii Ismā'īlism is essentially “the ideology of feudal aristocracy” and this essence was no different in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's time.⁴⁵ Whereas Bertel's regards Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a “brilliant philosopher,” Maïskii mentions nothing about philosophy, but considers him a “talented preacher” of the Ismā'īlī “religion.”⁴⁶

In 1937, Liūtsian Klimovich wrote his “Ismailizm i ego reaktsionnaia rol'” (“Ismā'īlism and its reactionary role”), which was published in the *Anti-religionist (Anrireliigioznik)*, a monthly journal of the League of Militant Atheists (*Soiūz voinstvuūushchikh bezbozhnikov*). In this article, Klimovich points to the “conspiratorial” nature of Ismā'īlism and alerts the Soviets to what he asserted was the espionage of the Ismā'īlīs who were loyal to the Imām. He calls the Imām “a loyal servant of British imperialism” and “an enemy of the Soviet state.”⁴⁷ Future Soviet scholars would develop the “anti-Islamic” attitude of Klimovich as well as the ideas of Bertel's and Maïskii into full-blown arguments about the essence and aspects (e.g. juxtaposing philosophical with religious-theological) of Ismā'īlism of the past, confined to the period between the 10th and the 14th century, and the present, 19th and 20th century Ismā'īlism. The main question around which their arguments revolve can be framed as follows: How can Ismā'īlism, which was an instrument for oppressed peasants and artisans in their struggle against feudal oppression in the past, provide a convenient tool for class exploitation in modern times? This issue is explored later in this chapter.

8.1.4 The Reimagining of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the 1940s

In the 1940s, while the two major authorities on the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, namely Aleksandr Semēnov and Evgeniĭ Ēduardovich Bertel's, did not produce any works, a number of scholars had turned to philological studies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. In addition to the fact that, due to the dominant position of the Soviet dogma of “feudalization of Islam” scholars found studying Islam “worthless, and even dangerous,” this trend was also related to Stalin's “primordialist” policy, which sought to

⁴³ Ibid., 17.

⁴⁴ Maïskii, “Sledy drevnikh verovaniĭ,” 50.

⁴⁵ For Maïskii “the scattered and persecuted Ismā'īlīs toppled the ‘Abbāsids in the beginning of the 10th century.” Ibid., 51. Bertel's, “Vstuplenie,” in Khusraw, *Safar-name*, 18-19.

⁴⁶ Maïskii, “Sledy drevnikh verovaniĭ,” 50. Bertel's, “Vstuplenie,” in Khusraw, *Safar-name*, 18-19.

⁴⁷ Klimovich, “Ismailizm i ego reaktsionnaia rol',” 35.

emphasize the territorial rootedness of nationalities within their respective titular republics and elevated native authors with roots in these territories.⁴⁸ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, with Qubādiyānī ancestry, was considered a native poet of Tajikistan.⁴⁹ The Tajik scholar Lutfullo Buzurgzoda's (d. 1943) *Nosir Khisrou: Iskatel' pravdy i spravedlivosti* (*Nasir Khisrou: Seeker of Truth and Justice*), for example, describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a founder of Tajik literary language and poetry.⁵⁰ As he writes:

Nāṣir-i Khusraw is one of the founders of literary Tajik language. As a great scholar of his time, he was well versed in Arabic and, as mentioned above, composed works in Arabic language. However, he did not mix his native Tajik language with Arabisms, unlike the court scholars and poets. He led a bitter struggle against Arabisms.⁵¹

At the same time, the article highlights Nāṣir-i Khusraw's struggle against the clergy and aristocracy in the name of justice for ordinary people.⁵² Buzurgzoda calls Nāṣir-i Khusraw "a sincere friend of the people" (*iskrennii drug naroda*) and points to his dedication to medieval Ismā'īlism.⁵³

In this way, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, like other past cultural and literary icons, was appropriated by the Soviet state and "reimagined as to meet the exigencies of Soviet ideology."⁵⁴ This was part and parcel of the ideology, which attempted to associate Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the (Tajik) nation, rather than a modern (Ismā'īlī) religious community, especially when this religious community was tied to an Imām who lived outside of the Soviet Union and was considered to harbor anti-Soviet sentiments. Among the articles on Nāṣir-i Khusraw, produced during this period, is another piece by Buzurgzoda, written with B. Niēzmuhammadov and published in the *Communist of Tajikistan* (*Kommunist Tadjikistana*) in 1940. In this article, the authors praise Nāṣir-i Khusraw for his "sincere and fervent" criticism of the ruling class and the clergy on account of their "wrongdoings" and for his "selfless" and "brave" struggle against "the corruption of those in power."⁵⁵ The choice to publish the article in *Kommunist Tadjikistana* illustrates the fact that during this period, as I demonstrated in Chapter Three, the Soviet regime maintained active anti-religious propaganda in Tajikistan. As part of that, prominent Tajik historians published anti-Ismā'īlī articles. For example, the highly influential Tajik historian Bobojon Ghafurov's "Aga Khān," published in *Bezbozhniki* in 1940, criticizes the Imām for "deceiving his followers" (*obmanyvaet svoikh posledovateleĭ*) who consider him "the living god" (*zhivoĭ bog*) by promising them paradise (*rai*) in exchange for "a large payment" (*bol'shaia plata*). He

⁴⁸ Kemper, "The Soviet Discourse," 48. For instance, Kholiq Mirzozoda, "Abu Muiddin Nosir Khisrav," *Sharq-i surkh* 1 (1940): 15-30. On this, also see Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 417.

⁴⁹ "The Legendary Biographies," 417.

⁵⁰ Lutfullo Buzurgzoda, "Iskatel' pravdy i spravedlivosti Nosir Khisrou," in *Nosir Khusrou. Izbrannoe* (Stalinabad/Moscow: 1942 (1949?)), 5-14.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* Currently, no writings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Arabic have survived.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵⁴ Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 417. Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone, *Russia and Nationalism in Central Asia: The Case of Tadjikistan* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), 238.

⁵⁵ L. Buzurgzoda and B. Niēzmuhammadov, "Nosiri Khisrav," *Kommunist Tadjikistana* 13/8 (1940).

also points to the Imām's support of the British.⁵⁶

The anonymous *Ob ismailizme*, published in 1943 by the Agitprop of the TSK KP(b) of Tajikistan (*Otdel propagandy i agitatsii, Tsentral'nyi komitet kommunisticheskoi partii (bol'shevikov) Tadzhikistana* or *Department for Agitation and Propaganda, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan*) for internal use by government officials, points to the “anti-feudalist” tendency of Ismā‘īlism and makes a distinction between Ismā‘īlism before and after the late 10th century. According to this piece, early Ismailism was a movement of peasants and urban artisans against feudal lords, but the Ismā‘īlism of the later period, like any other religious teaching (*religioznoe uchenie*), served the interests of the exploiting classes (*ekspluatatorskie klassy*).⁵⁷ The author writes that after the 10th century, Ismā‘īlī leaders (*glavari*) transformed the “democratic movement” into a “conspiratorial organization” (*konspirativnaia organizatsiia*) and used it as a convenient tool to control people, demanding blind obedience to “the living god” (*zhivoi bog*), the Ismā‘īlī Imām.⁵⁸ According to the author, it is particularly in the 19th century that Ismā‘īlism clearly revealed itself as a “reactionary anti-people’s force” (*reaktsionnaia antinarodnaia sila*). Further, its leader, the Āghā Khān, is said to have conspired with the British as well as the Germans. This is an obvious reference to World War II, which was in full force at this time. It is also indicative of the obsession of the scholars with the conspiracy of the British and the Āghā Khān, notwithstanding the fact that Britain and the USSR were allies during most of World War II.⁵⁹ The piece further criticizes Ismā‘īlī *pīrs* for their alleged anti-Soviet conspiracies and some Ismā‘īlī leaders for their duplicity, as they pretended to be atheists and communists in appearance, but performed prayers and remained loyal to the Imām in private.⁶⁰

Regarding Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the document only mentions that he preached Ismā‘īlism in the Pamirs.⁶¹ The author of this document clearly expresses admiration for the pre-10th century Ismā‘īlī “movement,” but criticizes the Ismā‘īlism of the later period severely. Certain elements of this piece echo the views of Bertel’s and Maīskiī, introduced above, and the theories that had been developed before. This is a good example of the collaboration between the Soviet government and the scholars of Ismā‘īlism. While criticizing the leadership of modern Ismā‘īlism, the text speaks of the contribution of the ordinary people of Badakhshān to the establishment of the Soviet regime. What is also noteworthy is that whilst Nāṣir-i Khusraw was regarded as a “friend of the people,” modern Ismā‘īlism was considered “anti-people” or “anti-popular” by this time. In the late 1940s, samples of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry in praise of peasantry were included in the *Chrestomathy of the Literature of Soviet People (Khrestomatiia po literature narodov SSSR)*, edited by none other than the aforementioned

⁵⁶ The Imām is depicted as an octopus in the cartoon included in the article. Ghafurov, "Aga Khan," 8-9.

⁵⁷ Anonymous, *Ob ismailizme*, 7-11, 19.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 13-18.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 30-34, 40.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

Līūtsian Klimovich.⁶² A.E. Krimskiū, for instance, seeks to find praise for peasants in Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry and translates some verses from Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Dīvān*.⁶³ Buzurgzoda’s treatment of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a native Tajik poet, and the distinction between medieval and modern Ismā‘īlism became pronounced more fully in the 1950s. Similarly, more of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry is translated and published in subsequent years.

8.1.5 The 1950s: Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Tajik Poet and an anti-Feudal Moralizer

In the 1950s, Soviet scholars began to pay relatively more attention to the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ismā‘īlism. In 1954, Evgeniū Bertel’s published an entry in the *Bol’shaia Sovetskaia Ėntsiklopediia* consisting of a mere two paragraphs in which he emphasized his earlier statement regarding Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s praise of artisans and peasants (*vospeval trud remeslennikov i krest’ian*) and his castigation of “the tyranny of feudalism.”⁶⁴ Bertel’s writes, exemplifying the Soviet tendency of accusing others of colonialism while ignoring their own colonialist agenda, “In modern times, Ismaili leaders became the accomplices of foreign colonizers and maintained their policy of colonial subjugation of the peoples of the East. In the era of imperialism, and especially after the Great October Socialist Revolution, they acted as agents of British imperialists.”⁶⁵ According to Bertel’s, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a “rationalist” who sought justice, but the “agents of the Agha Khan in Pamir” (*Agenty Āghā Khāna na Pamire*) distorted his “true image” (*istinnyi oblik*), imagining and representing him as “a saint” (*predstavliali ego ksviatym startsem*).⁶⁶ In other words, in addition to making a distinction between the two faces of Ismā‘īlism, represented respectively by Nāṣir-i Khusraw and “the Ismaili leaders” of modern times, Bertel’s also provides a tangential criticism of the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān for regarding the rationalist and progressive thinker Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a “saint.” The use of the verb in the past tense indicates that to Bertel’s, the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān considered Nāṣir-i Khusraw a “saint” in the past and not by the time of his writing (i.e. in the 1950s). In his foreword to his translation of the *Safar’nāmah* in 1933, in relation to Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Bertel’s observed, “In the Badakhshan mountains, even to this day a special Ismaili sect “Nasiriye,” calling itself so after him, exists, and his memory lives in a number of fantastic legends as “the miracle worker and magician holy Shah Nasir.”⁶⁷ Bertel’s does not mention the existence of the “Nāṣiriyyah” in Badakhshān in the 1950s, and no other Soviet scholar writing on Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions it after

⁶² Līūtsian Klimovich, ed. *Khrestomatiia po literature narodov SSSR* (Moscow: : 1947).

⁶³ A.E. Krimskiū, “Nasir Khosrov o trude zemledel’tsa,” in *Khrestomatiia po literature narodov SSSR* (Moscow: 1947), 45.

⁶⁴ Evgeniū Bertel’s, “Nasir Khisrav,” in *Bol’shaia Sovetskaia Ėntsiklopediia (Second Edition)* (Moscow: Bol’shaia Sovetskaia Ėntsiklopediia, 1954), 191.

⁶⁵ “Ismaility,” 529.

⁶⁶ “Nasir Khisrav,” 191.

⁶⁷ E. E. Bertel’s, “Vstuplenie,” in Khusraw, *Safar-name*, 17.

him.⁶⁸ This is presumably related to the fact that the majority of the scholars writing in this period presented Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a philosopher and a poet in his own right without drawing any explicit link between him and the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān or modern Ismāʿīlism. Bertel's' last study on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's poetry reiterates the same views about the poet's attitude to peasantry.⁶⁹

At the initiatives of the celebrated Soviet Orientalist Iosif Samuilovich Braginskiĭ (d. 1989) and Andreĭ E. Bertel's (not to be confused with his father Evgeniĭ Bertel's), in collaboration with the Tajik poets Mirzo Tursunzoda (d. 1977), Sotim Ulughzoda (d. 1997) and Muḥammadjon Rahimī (d. 1968), voluminous anthologies of Russian translations of Tajik poetry were published in the 1950s.⁷⁰ Many samples of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's poetry were included in these anthologies and in the various editions of *Khrestomatiia po literature narodov SSSR*, which continued to be edited by Liūtsian Klimovich.⁷¹ What is particularly noteworthy, but certainly unsurprising, is that editors of these collections of translations chose only those among Nāṣir-i Khusraw's poems that were seemingly devoid of explicit religious connotations, were moralistic in content and could serve the purposes of the Soviet agenda (e.g. in support of peasants, criticism of the ruling classes).⁷² In sections devoted to Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the anthology, the Russian poet Il'ia L'vovich Sel'vinskiĭ (d. 1968) translates his poems in praise of peasantry, craftspeople, as well as those criticizing the aristocracy, the wealthy and the clergy.⁷³ Irina Gurova (d. 2010) also points to Nāṣir-i Khusraw's support of peasantry and his criticism of the wealthy.⁷⁴

Another important feature of these anthologies, and a common trope of Soviet philological works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw is that they present him as a moralist and a sage. Soviet writers did not publish Nāṣir-i Khusraw's poetry with explicit religious messages and instead filled the pages of their works with pieces of moralistic poetry that could also be used for the purposes of secular morality.

⁶⁸ It is only after the fall of the Soviet Union that the Ismāʿīlī scholar Shokhumorov refers to the term. Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 89.

⁶⁹ Evgeniĭ Bertel's, "Nasir-i Khusrau i ego vzgliad na poeziu," *Izvestiia otech. obshchestvennykh nauk an tadjikistoĭ SSR* 4 (1957): 139-53. Published later, E.E. Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khusrau i ego vzgliad na poeziu* (Moscow: Nauka, 1988).

⁷⁰ I. S. Braginskiĭ, ed. *Antologiia tadjikskoi poezii: S drevnikh vremen do kontsa nashikh dneĭ* (Moscow: Khudozh. Lit., 1951). Andreĭ Bertel's and Sergei Shervinskiĭ, ed. *Antologiia tadjikskoi poezii* (Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1957). Il'ia Sel'vinskiĭ, *Antologiia tadjikskoi poezii*, trans. I. Sel'vinskiĭ (Stalinabad: Tadjikgosizdat, 1949).

⁷¹ Liūtsian Klimovich, ed. *Khrestomatiia po literature narodov SSSR: literatura azerbaidzhanskaia, tadjikskaiia, uzbekskaiia, turkmenskaia, kazakhskaiia, kirgizskaiia dlia vysshikh uchebnykh zavedeniĭ* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo ministerstva prosveshcheniia RSFSR, 1959). *Khrestomatiia po literature narodov SSSR: literatura azerbaidzhanskaia, tadjikskaiia, uzbekskaiia, turkmenskaia, kazakhskaiia, kirgizskaiia dlia vysshikh uchebnykh zavedeniĭ*, ed. Liūtsian Klimovich (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo ministerstva prosveshcheniia RSFSR, 1959).

⁷² Kamol Aiĭnĭ describes the poems included in *Antologiia tadjikskoi poezii* (1951) as the "best examples of the poet's poetry" (*namunahoi behtarini ash"ori sho"ir*), Kamol S. Aiĭnĭ, "Nosiri Khisravi Qabodiyoni (Qubidiyoni)," in Kamol S. Aiĭnĭ, *Gulchine az devoni ash"or* (Stalinabad: Nashrieti davlatii Tojikiston, 1957), 24.

⁷³ Il'ia Sel'vinskiĭ, "Nasir Khisrou, khvala zemledel'tsam," in *Antologiia tadjikskoi poezii*, ed. I. S. Braginskiĭ et al (Moscow: Khudozh. Lit., 1951), 256. "Nasir Khisrou, khvala zemledel'tsam," in *Tadjikskaiia poeziia* (Stalinabad: Tadjikgosizdat, 1949), 69. "Nasir Khisrou, khvala remeslennikam," 255. "Nasir Khisrou, v poritsanie rostovshchikam," 253-54. "Nasir Khisrou, v poritsanie tsariam i vlast' imushchim," 254-55. "Nasir Khisrou, v poritsanie sviatosham," 252-53. See also in *Tadjikskaiia poeziia*, 65-69.

⁷⁴ Irina Gurova, "Nasiri Khosrov, poritsanie velichiia i bogatstvo," *ibid.*, ed. Andreĭ E. Bertel's and Sergei Shervinskiĭ (Goslitizdat, 1957), 233.

Thus, for example, M. Petrov and A. Adalis, together with Gurova and Sel'vinskiĭ, translate poetry on virtues such as sincerity, beneficence and friendship on the one hand, and vices like hypocrisy, conceit, and enmity, on the other.⁷⁵ Poetry that attaches soteriological value to morality and ethical comportment, according to which virtues bring human soul to perfection and save it from the lower world by enabling it to reunite with its origin, the Universal Soul, are not mentioned in these or any other works devoted to Nāṣir-i Khusraw's poetry.⁷⁶

Kamol Aīnī, the son of Sadriddin Aīnī (d. 1954), the most important figure in modern Tajik literature, published a collection of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's poetry in 1957.⁷⁷ In his introduction to the collection, he calls Nāṣir-i Khusraw a "Tajik poet-philosopher," but at the same time states that Nāṣir-i Khusraw had an immense belief (*bovarii kalon*) in the "just Imām" (*imomi odil*) of the Fāṭimids, which he considers "a limitation in his ideas" (*maḥdudīāt dar aqida*).⁷⁸ Aīnī considers Nāṣir-i Khusraw's association with Ismā'īlism as "the only possibility for a struggle against feudalism and its ideology, i.e. orthodox Islam."⁷⁹ In general, he describes Ismā'īlism as a movement (*jaraēn*) with a "democratic" and "anti-feudal" character that is opposed to "orthodox Islam" (*dini islomii ortodaksalī*).⁸⁰ However, like other Soviet scholars, he points out that Ismā'īlism was not "a monolithic movement" (*jaraēni yakrangu yaknasaq*). In addition to the "peasant movement" with which Nāṣir-i Khusraw is associated, there were "feudal lords" who took advantage of "the blind faith" of the people in the "just ruler" (*ḥokimi odil*) and used the peasants' movements for their benefit. According to Aīnī, by the 11th century, all the "democratic" and "anti-feudal" elements within Ismā'īlism were gone, and it later turned into an instrument of exploitation (*istismor*) in the hands of British colonialists.⁸¹ Aīnī claims that despite his strong Ismā'īlī belief, Nāṣir-i Khusraw tied his life to the destiny of the Tajik working groups (*guruhhoi meḥnatī*) and that it was the "Tajik inhabited mountains" (*kūhīstoni tojiknishin*) that provided him with refuge.⁸² In other words, although Aīnī associates Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the Badakhshānīs, he emphasizes the Tajikness of this association, rather than the Ismā'īlī nature of it. Also, although Aīnī mentions Nāṣir-i Khusraw's association with Ismā'īlism, of which he was "a follower and preacher," he portrays him primarily as a great Tajik

⁷⁵ "Nasiri Khosrov, o polozhitel'nykh i otritsatel'nykh kachestvakh," in *Antologīiā tadjikskoi poezii*, ed. Andreĭ E. Bertel's and Sergeĭ Shervinskiĭ (Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1957), 230-31. See also Klimovich, *Khrestomatiā po literature narodov SSSR*, 294-95. Gurova, "Nasiri Khosrov, obshchenie s litsemernymi druž'iami i nevezhami," 232. "Nasiri Khosrov, porīfsanie velichiā i bogatstvo," 233. M. Petrov, "Nosir Khisrov, aforizmy," *ibid.*, ed. I. S. Bragińskiĭ et al (Khudozh. Lit., 1951), 265-69. A. Adalis, "Nasir Khisrou, dvulichie," *ibid.*, 259. Il'ia Sel'vinskiĭ, "Nasir Khisrou, družba," *ibid.*, 257-58. "Nasir Khisrou, drug i nedrug," 258. A. Adalis, "Nasir Khisrou, orēl," *ibid.*, 264. Il'ia Sel'vinskiĭ, "Nasir Khisrou, Dobrodetel'," *ibid.*, 257. See also *Khrestomatiā po literature narodov SSSR*, 295-97.

⁷⁶ On the soteriological dimension of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's philosophy, including ideas expressed in his poetry, see Faqir Muhammad Hunzai, "The Ethical Philosophy of Nāṣir-i Khusraw," in *Scritti in onore di Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti*, ed. Daniela Bredi et al (Rome: Edizioni, 2008), 713-23.

⁷⁷ Aīnī, *Gulchine az devoni ash*"or.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 11, 18-19.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 15-16, 29-30.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

poet-philosopher, a supporter of people (*khalqparvar*) who praised peasants and labourers of the society and courageously criticized “kings” and members of the ruling class.⁸³ Thus, in its core, Aīnī’s relatively more comprehensive treatment of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry is no different from that of the other scholars mentioned above. He leaves out the explicit religious meanings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry, incorporating mainly examples of poetry in praise of virtues, and celebrates Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a great exemplar of Tajik literature.

In the published collection, he includes examples of poetry from Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Dīvān*, *Sa’ādat’nāmāh* and *Rawshanā’ī’nāmāh* that praise peasants, craftspeople and good moral qualities (*akhloqi hamida*) like friendship and loyalty and criticize kings and rulers, usurers and bad moral qualities (*akhloqi zamima*) such as enmity and gossiping.⁸⁴ Unsurprisingly, the first poem that Aīnī includes in his collection is the blasphemous or heretical poetry, attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which were examined in Chapter Five. These are the verses that were seen as proof of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s rejection of the notion of final gathering, and of his view that God is to blame for injustice and sedition.⁸⁵ As I will show below, the Soviet scholars uncritically accepted the view that Nāṣir-i Khusraw is the author of these verses, which supported their arguments that he criticized belief in the final gathering or the day of resurrection.

Braginskiĭ, introduced above, was one of the most prolific writers on Tajik literature of that time. In 1956, he published his highly acclaimed *Essays on the History of Tajik Literature (Ocherki iz istorii tadzhikskoi literatury)*. In this study, he points to the philosophical and didactic poems (*filosofskie i didakticheskie stikhi*) of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and notes that his works are largely connected with the rapid popular anti-feudal movement of his time (*v znachitel'noi mere sviāzano s burnym narodnym antifeodal'nom dvizheniem*).⁸⁶ This movement, according to Braginskiĭ, arose on the basis

⁸² Ibid., 17-18.

⁸³ Ibid., 15, 19.

⁸⁴ For instance, Aīnī includes Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poem (from the *Sa’ādat’nāmāh*) in praise of farmers (*dar haqi kishovarzon*) in the book, but in the footnote simply mentions that the subsequent chapters (*bobhoi navbatī*) are dedicated to the virtues of prophets and saints (*dar manoqibi anbi’i va avli’i*), faith (*imon*) and so on. Ibid., 143-44. Modern scholars have argued that the *Sa’ādat’nāmāh* was wrongly attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It was apparently composed by another Nāṣir, better known as Sharīf-i Iṣfahānī, who died in 735/1334. George M. Wickens, "The Sa’ādatnāmāh attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw," *Islamic Quarterly* 2 (1955): 117-32, 206-21. This view has been challenged by Taqī Bīnīsh who argues that the works that are different in their intellectual style and taste (*tarz-i fikr va salīqa*) are actually composed by Nāṣir-i Khusraw before and after he was forty years old when he embraced Ismā’īlism. Taqī Bīnīsh, "Dū Nāṣir-i Khusraw," in *Yādnāmāh-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (Mashhad: Dānishgāh-i Firdawsī), 122ff.

⁸⁵ The verses include: *Niholi fitna dar dilho tu kishī... Hama javri man az bulghoriēn ast... Khudoē rost gūām fitna az tust, Vale az tars natvonam jughidan* (“You have planted the tree of sedition in the hearts... All my trouble springs from the Bulghārīs... O God, if I speak honestly, sedition comes from you, But I cannot say this out of fear.”) Aīnī, *Gulchine az devoni ash’or*, 39-46. *Mardakero bih dasht gurg darid, Z-ū bikhurdand kargasu dolon, On yake rist dar buni chohe, V-on digar raft bar sari vairon, Inchunin kas ba hashr zinda shavad, Tiz bar rishi mardumi nodon* (“A man was devoured by wolves in the plain, His bones were picked by vulture and by eagle, This one relieved himself at the bottom of a pit, This one went to the desert, Shall this man’s body rise to life again? Defile the beards of ignorant people!”), *ibid.*, 91. *Nosiri Khisrav ba rohe meguzasht, Mastu loia’qil na chūn maikhoragon, Did qabristonu mabraz rū ba rū, Bong bar zad guft: “K-ē nazzoragon! Ne”mati dunyovu ne”matkhora bin, In-sh ne”mat, in-sh ne”matkhoragon!* (“Dead drunk (not like a common sot) one day, Nāṣir-i Khusraw went to take the air, Hard by a dung-deap he espied a grave, And straightway cried, ‘O ye who stand and stare, Behold the world! Behold its luxuries!, Its dainties, here – the fools who ate them, there!’”), *ibid.*, 90.

⁸⁶ I. S. Braginskiĭ, *Ocherki iz istorii tadzhikskoi literatury* (Stalinabad: Tadjhikgosizdat, 1956), 52, 56.

of the struggle of free peasants-commoners against the ever-increasing enslavement of feudalism. It was mobilized under the slogan of “egalitarian communism” (*uravnitel'nyi kommunizm*) and was couched in the form of religious heresy (*bylo oblecheno v formu religioznoi eresii*). However, the leadership of this movement was seized by “the reactionary nobility and the clergy” (*reaktsionnaia aristokratiia i dukhovenstvo*), who used the struggle of the masses for their interests and dynastic quarrels. Like other Soviet scholars before and after him, Braginskiĭ draws attention to the two sides of Ismā‘īlism, that of the “peasants” and that of “the aristocracy.”⁸⁷ He also notes that the works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw are “contradictory,” as, on the one hand, in Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s “philosophical and poetic works, there is a set of mystical and reactionary Ismā‘īlī ideas,” but, on the other hand, he was “a passionate seeker of truth and justice.”⁸⁸

8.1.6 The 1950s: Separating Philosophy and Religion

The 1950s saw the emergence of numerous new scholars who produced studies on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s specific philosophical teachings.⁸⁹ In 1953, A.S. Ėdel’mān published a short article on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s “scientific” and philosophical views and a year later completed his dissertation (for the degree of candidate of philosophical sciences) on the socio-political, philosophical, ethical and anti-clerical views of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁹⁰ Staying true to the Soviet Marxist ideology, Ėdel’mān describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a fighter for the rights and freedoms of suppressed peasants, whilst also attempting to detect elements of materialism in his philosophy. Ėdel’mān seeks to demonstrate that Nāṣir-i Khusraw juxtaposed the “science” (*nauka*) of philosophy with the dogmatic and “idealist” form of Islam. As he writes, “materialistic tendencies in the philosophy of Nāṣir-i Khusraw are expressed with a particular force in his struggle against Islam.”⁹¹ Of course, Ėdel’mān’s conclusions are belied by the writings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was not a materialist, and who strove to spread the teachings of Ismā‘īlism among the ruling class and peasants alike. Moreover, in his writings, Nāṣir-i Khusraw combines intellectual and revealed sciences and in this way harmonizes the two.⁹² But, for Ėdel’mān, philosophy was a “science” and, hence, was separated from religion, while theology, which relied on dogmas, was not. At this point we notice the roots of the subsequently flourishing view that identifies “philosophy” as something different from “religion” in the works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Adhering to this

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁸⁹ Aleksandr Semēnov and Mikhail Andreev, after a period of silence, published works on Ismā‘īlism in the 1950s, but their works are not directly related to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Semēnov edits Muḥammad b. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Fidā‘ī Khurāsānī’s the *Kitāb bih hidāyat al-mu‘minīn al-ṭālibīn* in the original Persian. This work contains references to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Khurāsānī, *Kitāb bih hidāyat al-mu‘minīn al-ṭālibīn*. Andreev, *Tadzhiki doliny Khuf*.

⁹⁰ A. Ėdel’mān, “Nosiri Khusrau i ego mirovoztrenie” (Stalinabad, 1954), 130, 207.

⁹¹ “Nekotorye dannye o nauchnykh i filosofskikh vzgliadakh Nosiri Khusrau,” *Izvestiia Akademii nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR, Otdeleniia obshchestvennykh nauk*, no. 4 (1953): 151-59. “Nosiri Khusrau i ego mirovoztrenie.”

⁹² For instance, Nāṣir-i Khusraw brings philosophy of Greek origin with Islamic revelation together in his *Jāmi‘ al-ḥikmatayn* (*The Sum of the Two Wisdoms*). Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Jāmi‘ al-ḥikmatayn, Between Reason and Revelation: Twin Wisdoms Reconciled*, trans. Eric Ormsby (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

line of reasoning, later scholars, including Èdel'man and those examined below, find it easier to solve “the mystery” of how Ismā‘īlism of the past served the interests of both higher and lower strata of society. The answer lies in this distinction.

As mentioned, Èdel'man sought to find “materialistic tendencies” in Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s philosophy, which, according to him, were expressed most explicitly in the philosopher’s “struggle against Islam.” For our purposes, these “materialistic tendencies” can be described as the view that the source of all things is matter and that all phenomena are phenomena of matter. Other Soviet scholars, discussed below, also looked for these elements in Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teachings. As a consequence of their ideology of historical materialism, Soviet scholars looked everywhere for a struggle between materialism and idealism, the dialectical and the metaphysical explanation of being and knowledge.⁹³ They treated the history of philosophy as the history of a “superstructure” mirroring class conflict, “treating it as primarily the growth of materialism and the discomfiture of idealist ‘ideologists’” and “as the conflict of idealist and materialist theories themselves.”⁹⁴ Philosophy or “scientific philosophy” was seen as the highest and most progressive point of social progress, but Islam was seen as a religion that served the ruling classes and slowed this progress down.⁹⁵ Academic research on Islam had the character of applied propaganda, and, as described by the famous Soviet Turkologist Nikolaï Smirnov (1896-1983), “the scholarship of Islam ... in our country serves the task of overcoming this harmful holdover in the mentality ... to propagate a scientific materialist world-view and to provide communist upbringing for the Soviet people.”⁹⁶

It was in this context that Soviet scholars brought their studies of the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in line with the Soviet ideology by focusing on his “philosophical,” rather than “religious” ideas. The apparent distortion of the philosophical teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his representation as a materialist in the 1950s was also a feature of philological research. One example is V.B. Nikitina’s dissertation for the degree of candidate of philological studies, “Some peculiarities of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s lyrics.” In this dissertation, defended in 1955, Nikitina writes, “in his criticism of God, Nāṣir-i Khusraw raised the question that the world is not His creation, as “the merciful and compassionate” [God] could not create the earth so unfair and so wrong. That is a known manifestation of the materialistic aspirations of the poet, supported by rational analysis.”⁹⁷

⁹³ Evert van der Zweerde, *Soviet Historiography of Philosophy: Istoriko-Filosofskaja Nauka* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1997), 81-85.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Thomas J. Blakeley, *Soviet Philosophy: A General Introduction to Contemporary Soviet Thought* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1964), 72.

⁹⁶ Smirnov, *Ocherki istorii izuchenīā Islama v SSSR*, 142. On the coordination of work of scholars and propagandists, see Vladimir Bobrovnikov, "The contribution of Oriental scholarship to the Soviet anti-Islamic discourse: from the Militant Godless to the Knowledge Society," in *The Heritage of Soviet Oriental Studies*, ed. Michael Kemper et al (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 66-85.

⁹⁷ “Nosiri Khosrov vse zhe podoshel v svoeĭ kritike boga k voprosu o tom, chto mir ne est' ego sozdanie, poskol'ku “vsemilostivyĭ i miloserdnyĭ” ne mog sozdat' zemliu stol' nespravedlivo i stol' durno, chto iavliãetsiã izvestnym proiãvleniem materialisticheskikh ustremeniĭ poãta, podkreplennykh ratsionalisticheskimi analizom.” V.B. Nikitina, "Nekotorye

The Russian scholar Andreï E. Bertel's, who devoted his life to the study of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's life and works, wrote his dissertation for the degree of candidate of philology on "Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his epoch" in 1952.⁹⁸ He later expanded this study and published it as the book *Nasir-i Khosrov and Ismailizm (Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm)* in 1959.⁹⁹ In this work, Bertel's reconstructs the history of Ismā'īlism, examines its teachings and provides an in-depth analysis of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's concept of knowledge (*'ilm*) and "philosophy" based on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Zād al-musāfirīn*, *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn*, *Vajh-i dīn*, the poetic *Rawshanā'īnāmah* and *qaṣīdahs* that mention Yumgān. He also provides a scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw based on his own works and offers a brief overview of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. In his discussion of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's affiliation with Ismā'īlism and his Ismā'īlī teachings, Bertel's was the first Soviet scholar to analyze numerous primary sources as well as the writings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The majority of the Soviet scholars writing in the period before him and after Aleksandr Semēnov limited their observations regarding Ismā'īlism and Nāṣir-i Khusraw to general statements.¹⁰⁰

Bertel's' work is different from that of his predecessors (apart from Semēnov) in that, in addition to "philosophical" views, he examines Nāṣir-i Khusraw's religious teachings on spiritual knowledge, the creation of the world and the role of the Ismā'īlī *da'vah*. Up to this period (again, with the exception of Semēnov), he was the only scholar to draw on the *Vajh-i dīn* as for the study of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's teachings. This work contains esoteric interpretations of a range of religious commandments such as prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, etc. Although Russian scholarship was aware of it for more than half a century, it was neither used nor published by the Soviet scholars.¹⁰¹

Bertel's analyzes Nāṣir-i Khusraw's teachings from a Marxist and materialist point of view and takes issues with Wladimir Ivanow, who rejects traces of "revolutionary," "anti-orthodox" tendencies, "class war" and "class-consciousness" in Ismā'īlism and points to their existence in Ismā'īlism.¹⁰² Somewhat similar to the statement of his father Evgeniï Bertel's, Andreï Bertel's writes that not understanding the meaning of the philosophical works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, "the ignorant" Ismā'īlī clergy (*nevezhestvennogo dukhoventsvo*) turned them into liturgical works that contain a

osobennosti liriki Nosiri Khusrava" (1955), 223.

⁹⁸ Andreï Bertel's, "Nasir-i Khosrov i ego vremia" (Diss. Candidate of Philological Sciences, Moscow, 1952).

⁹⁹ *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*.

¹⁰⁰ On the difference between Bertel's and previous scholars with regards to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ismā'īlism, see Ghafor A. Ashurov, *Filosofskie vzgliady Nosiri Khisrava (na osnove analiza traktata 'Zad-al-musafirin')* (Dushanbe: Donish, 1965), 7.

¹⁰¹ A Badakhshānī manuscript dated 1324/1906 was already procured in 1916 for the then Asiatic Museum of the [Imperial] Russian Academy of Sciences by Ivan Zarubin. See Ivanow, "Ismailitskie rukopisi," 359-86. The text was edited and published in 1924. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Vajh-i dīn*, ed. Maḥmūd Ghanī'zādah and Muḥammad Qazvīnī (Berlin: Kaviānī, 1924).

¹⁰² Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 56-67. Ivanow expresses his views on the inaccuracy of theories that Ismā'īlism has a "revolutionary" nature, "class war," "class consciousness" and "communitistic" ideals and that it was created by "Persian nationalistic aspirations" in reaction to Arab Islam in Wladimir Ivanow, *Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids* (London 1942), xvii, 112, 35. See also "Ismailis and Qarmatians," *JBBRAS* 16 (1940): 111. The view that Ismā'īlism was a nationalistic or even racial movement and "the revolution of Aryan Persia against Semitic Islam" was first suggested by B. Carra de Vaux and E. Blochet. See Bernard Lewis, *The Origins of Ismailism* (Cambridge: W. Hoffur and Sons, 1940), 91.

“secret” that should not be delved into.¹⁰³ In relation to this, Bertel’s refers to the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs’ practice of reciting Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Vajh-i dīn* for curative purposes.¹⁰⁴ In short, Bertel’s approach to Nāṣir-i Khusraw is both different from and similar to the other Soviet scholars. The difference in his approach is that he did not separate Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s philosophy from his Ismā‘īlī theological teachings and the similarity is that he regarded Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a progressive, rationalist, anti-orthodox and anti-clerical Ismā‘īlī philosopher.

8.1.7 1960s-1980s: Anti-Religious Tendencies

In the mid-1960s, while some researchers continued studying Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry and sought to find anti-feudal elements in it, other scholars began exploring the philosophical heritage of his work even more closely. Researchers limited their analysis to particular philosophical problems of some of his works, which opened the way for a deeper and more comprehensive study of other philosophical ideas expounded in them. The Tajik scholar Ghafor Ashurov wrote his dissertation on “The philosophical views of Nāṣir-i Khusraw” based on *Zād al-musāfirīn*, and later, in 1965, published a study under the same title.¹⁰⁵ Ashurov’s work focuses on questions of ontology and epistemology, leaving purely ideological questions on the margin. Nevertheless, it reproduces verbatim Bertel’s’ views regarding Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s search of “truth and justice.” Similar to Bertel’s, Ashurov criticizes Ivanow for rejecting the existence of “class conflict and struggle,” “communist ideals” and revolutionary aspirations in Ismā‘īlism.¹⁰⁶ While recognizing Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a great philosopher of his time, praising his vast philosophical and theological erudition, and considering him to be a progressive, albeit “idealist” philosopher (who considered God eternal, etc.), Ashurov also seeks to demonstrate that Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s socio-political views were anti-feudalist in character and that in his philosophical reasoning, he occasionally takes a “materialist” position. According to him, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, while remaining an idealist, does not reject the objective reality and the existence of matter outside of our sense perception.¹⁰⁷ Subsequent Soviet scholars reiterate the idea that philosophy and theology, dialectics and metaphysics, progressive and regressive forms coexisted during the later period of the history of medieval Ismā‘īlism.

Following the footsteps of Evgeniĭ Bertel’s and Andreĭ Bertel’s, Ashurov states that the true

¹⁰³ Bertel’s, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 149.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. On this practice, see Semēnov, "Iz oblasti religioznykh verovaniĭ " 555-56.

¹⁰⁵ Ashurov, *Filosofskie vzgĭady*.

¹⁰⁶ Ashurov criticizes Ivanow. Ibid., 8. He refers to Ivanow’s observations in Ivanow, *Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*, xvii. On this page, Ivanow writes, “.. we learn that Ismā‘īlism, an essentially conservative movement, had a “revolutionary” nature, or was created by “Persian nationalistic aspirations”, while in reality it was probably the most ruthlessly consistent development of the earliest principles of Islam.”

¹⁰⁷ Ashurov, *Filosofskie vzgĭady*, 33-34, 40, 42, 108. Like other Soviet scholars, Ashurov considered materialism as “progressive” and “idealism” as “reactionary” and “detrimental to the awakening of the consciousness of the working people.” As he writes, “If you take the sum total of the process of historical development of human society from primitive times to the present day, overall, materialism appears as a progressive outlook. Idealism also acts as a reactionary worldview and it is hostile to workers, counteracting the awakening of the consciousness of the working people.” Ibid., 107.

“image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw” was distorted by the Ismā‘īlī clergy (*dukhovenstvo*), who, failing to understand his philosophical writings, turned them into “liturgical books that contain “secrets” one must not try to penetrate.”¹⁰⁸ It is the clergy (for Ashurov and Andreĭ Bertel’s) and “the agents of the Aga Khan” (for Evgeniĭ Bertel’s) who had distorted the true image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, not the ordinary Ismā‘īlīs. It therefore becomes clear that these Soviet scholars, while considering Nāṣir-i Khusraw to be an advocate of oppressed workers and peasants and an opponent of feudalism, regarded the contemporary Ismā‘īlī leadership, i.e. the *pīrs*, as responsible for misrepresenting his image. We should recall that by the 1950s the office of *pīrship* was long gone; moreover, while criticizing the *pīrs*, the scholars seem to imply that the ordinary Ismā‘īlīs should know Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s true teachings were. Ashurov states that the Sunnīs (orthodox Muslims, *ortodoksal'noe musul'manskoe obshchestvo*) also distorted the image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw by considering him “a terrible heretic” and “blasphemer” worthy of the most severe punishment. Having quoted Buzurgzoda and Niēzmuhammadov’s article in *Kommunist Tadzhikistana*, Ashurov states that the “falsification of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life and works,” both by the Sunnī and Ismā‘īlī clergy, is deliberate, as “one cannot think of a worse punishment for a man so sincere and ardent as was Nosir Khisrou, who selflessly and bravely fought against the infamy of the clergy, than the stupidity and corruption of those in power.”¹⁰⁹ Overall, Ashurov’s attitude, like that of the other Soviet scholars before him, is sympathetic to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, whose “true image” – of a rationalist and progressive philosopher - he tries to restore. As expected, while praising Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a representative of past philosophical Ismā‘īlism who fought against the ruling class, the clergy and the feudal lords, Ashurov criticizes the “Ismaili Society” (founded in 1946 in Bombay), which, as he claims, serves the interests of the bourgeoisie, by which he evidently understands the Ismā‘īlī leadership in Bombay.¹¹⁰

The 1960s mark the emergence of some works arguing that Tajik literature expresses “anti-religious views,” and other works that seek to demonstrate how Tajik literature can be used in teaching atheism.¹¹¹ Scholars now become even more actively involved in anti-religious propaganda and support the propaganda of “scientific atheism,” promoted by the Soviet state during the reign of Khrushchëv.¹¹² In 1960, as part of the Soviet campaign, the *Badakhshoni Sovetī* (*Soviet Badakhshān*) published an article on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s “anti-religious teachings.”¹¹³ The *Badakhshoni Sovetī* was published at least three times a week in more than ten thousand copies in Khorog and distributed

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 33-34, 40, 42, 106, 08.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 107. Niēzmuhammadov, "Nosiri Khisrav."

¹¹⁰ Ashurov, *Filosofskie vzgliady*, 27.

¹¹¹ See for instance, Kholiq Mirzozoda, *Ahamiġati adabiġti tojik dar tarbiġai ateistī* (Dushanbe: 1961). Kh. Sharipov, *Aqidahoi ziddidinī dar adabiġti tojik* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1966).

¹¹² See Jonboboev, "Antireligioznaġa propaganda." See I. Rahimova, "Po vsem napravleniġam," *Sovetskaġa kul'tura* (1971). Ro'i, "Islam in the Soviet Union," 161.

¹¹³ *Badakhshoni Sovetī* was first published in 1931 under the name of *Badakhshoni Surkh* (Red Badakhshan). Since then, it was published in Russian and Tajik in Badakhshān. See *Istoriġa Gorno-Badakhshanskoġ Avtonomnoġ Oblasti, Noveġshaġa istoriġa*. (Dushanbe: Paġvand 2005), 93-94.

throughout Badakhshān. As it reached thousands of Soviet Ismā'īlī readers, it was the most suitable medium for an article on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's "anti-religious teachings." The author of the article, Nazardod Jonboboev (b. 1934), a native Shughnānī, draws information from Soviet scholarship. He calls Nāṣir-i Khusraw "a great Tajik writer, poet and thinker" (*navīsandai buzurg va sho"ir, mutafakkiri khalqi tojik*) who lived in a period when the clergy (*mansabdoroni dīn*) oppressed all the peasants (*ommai dehqononro khonakharob mekardand*). According to Jonboboev, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was "a defender of the interests of artisans and peasants" (*himoyakunandai manfi"ati ahli kosibu dehqon*) and was in search of "truth" (*ba justujūi haqiqat*). Similar to the Soviet scholars, Jonboboev writes that Nāṣir-i Khusraw expressed the discontent of the masses under the cover of the Shī'ī *mazhab* (which he calls *aliparast*), because "at that time the Shī'ī sect defended the interests of artisans and peasants to a certain extent."¹¹⁴ According to Jonboboev, the situation of artisans and peasants was better in Egypt in comparison with in Iran and Central Asia, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw associated the developed economy of Egypt with the Shī'ī *mazhab* of the Fāṭimids. Although Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a follower of this sect (*raviā*), as a "thinker and scholar" (*mutafakkir va olim*), he criticized the courtiers and the clergy (*homiēni dinu darbor*) for their "hypocrisy" (*riēkorī*). Jonboboev even states that Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as a "freethinker," (*ozodfikr*) sought to expose the "wickedness and mischief" (*fisqu fasod*) and "meaninglessness" of religion (*bemantiq budani din*). Quoting from the *Vajh-i dīn*, Jonboboev argues that "this philosophical work" (*asari falsafi*) shows that the Islamic views on God do not even agree with basic rules of logic.

The part of the *Vajh-i dīn* Jonboboev refers to is related to questions Nāṣir-i Khusraw asks about worshiping God. Nāṣir-i Khusraw asks, "Have you seen the God that you worship?" In response to "God cannot be seen because He is beyond description," he then asks, "How do you worship someone that you have not seen and who is beyond description?" In response to the answer "I know God based on the word of the Messenger of God," Nāṣir-i Khusraw asks again, "Have you seen this messenger?" and "How have you gained recognition of God that you worship without having seen the Messenger?" In response to the answer "I have received the news/tradition from the learned ones," Nāṣir-i Khusraw asks, "Were the learned ones in agreement with or opposed to one another in religion?" Since there are disagreements concerning this in the Muslim community (*ummah*), Nāṣir-i Khusraw asks, "How can the word of people who are in disagreement with one another be true?" Based on this, Jonboboev concludes that Nāṣir-i Khusraw exposes the "absurdity" of religion (*safsata budani din*) and of the faith of the believers in something that does not exist (*ba chize nabudagī bovarī dorand*).¹¹⁵ This is an example of the Soviet anti-religious propaganda in its most peculiar form. The *Vajh-i dīn* thus became a tool to bring the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān closer to the Soviet ideology.

¹¹⁴ Nazardod Jonboboev, "Ba"ze aqida'hoi ziddi dinii Nosir Khisrav," *Badakhshoni Sovetī* 1960, 3.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

The *Vajh-i dīn*, of course, does none of the things attributed to it by Jonboboiev. In fact, its second chapter, which Jonboboiev used for the article, mentions different views of those who claim to be on the right path (*tarīq-i haqq*) and demonstrates that out seventy-three branches in Islam, only one is on the right path. This is the group that asserts that the Imām is descended from the Prophet through ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib and Fāṭimah and believes in the living Imām (*imām-i zindah*) as “the proof of God” (*hujjat-i Khudā*).¹¹⁶ This is the group that the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān belong to, which Jonboboiev ignores, for obvious reasons.

Having stated that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a devoted champion of artisans and peasants, Jonboboiev remarks that the poet accused only God for “the social inequality of that period.”¹¹⁷ In support of this view, he quotes some of the aforementioned blasphemous or heretical verses that were attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹¹⁸ The following verses, which are slightly different from those that appear in *Bahāristān* by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī’s (d. 898/1492) and in Edward G. Browne’s *A Year Amongst the Persians*, are used in “Ba”ze aqidaḥoi ziddi dinii Nosir Khisrav”:

Khudoē, rost guīam fitna az tust
Vale az tars natvonam jaghidan

O God, all this trouble springs from you
But I dare not say it out of fear¹¹⁹

Similarly, Jonboboiev uses the following verses, attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw:

Agar nekam v-agar bad khilqat az tust
Khaliqe khub boīad¹²⁰ ofaridan
Kunī gar bad zi mo badro mukofot
Naboīad farq dar movu tu didan¹²¹

Whether I am good or bad the creation is yours
A good creature should have been created
You create and then reward the evil
What difference is then there between me and you?

Contrary to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teachings, Jonboboiev goes on to write that the thinker strongly criticized worshipping God (*ibodatkunī*), pilgrimage (*hajravī*), prayer (*namoz*) and fasting (*ruzadorī*). To support this view, he quotes the following verses:

Az namozu ruzai tu hej nagshoīad turo
Khoḥ kun khohe nakun man bar tu guftam rostī¹²²

Nothing will open up for you with your prayer and fasting
It’s your choice to do them, but I told you the truth

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, of course, did not criticize the pillars of Islam, but those who perform them without knowing their true meaning or the reasons underlying them. He argues that performing these practices without their true meaning is useless and considers these practices essential for attaining

¹¹⁶ Nosiri Khusrav, *Vajhi din*, ed. Aliqul Devonaqulov and Nurmuhammad Amirshohī (Dushanbe: Amr-i Ilm, 2002), 35-46.

¹¹⁷ Jonboboiev, "Ba"ze aqidaḥoi ziddi dinii Nosir Khisrav," 3.

¹¹⁸ Also see Jomī, *Bahoriston*, 91. Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, 480.

¹¹⁹ Jonboboiev, "Ba"ze aqidaḥoi ziddi dinii Nosir Khisrav," 3.

¹²⁰ *Bāyist* in *Dīvān* (Taḡavī), 367.

¹²¹ The two lines in Jonboboiev are extremely confusing. They are *Kasī k-ū bāyadī yābad mukāfāt, nayābad farq bar mā-vu tū dīdan* in Khusraw, *Dīvān* (Taḡavī), 367.

¹²² Jonboboiev, "Ba"ze aqidaḥoi ziddi dinii Nosir Khisrav," 3. The verses are from a *qaṣīdah* in *Dīvān* (Taḡavī), 439-41. In Taḡavī’s edition the word is *makun* instead of *nakun*. However, the verses were likely added to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *qaṣīdah*. They do not appear in *Dīvān* (Mīnūvī), 228.

salvation.¹²³ In addition to ignoring and the entire *Vajh-i dīn*, which states that “fasting is incumbent upon every Muslim...,” “pilgrimage is obligatory ...”, “prayer is obligatory ...” and so on, Jonboboiev further states that “the thinker” expresses “materialist” and “atheist” ideas and considers the four elements (water, earth, fire and air) as the ontological basis of the world.¹²⁴ Other Soviet scholars, as demonstrated below, also label Nāṣir-i Khusraw “materialist” and “atheist,” arguing along the very same lines. In fact, for Nāṣir-i Khusraw, God is the ultimate source of being, but He cannot be part of the class of “beings.” God transcends the categories of being and non-being. He is far beyond everything, including human comprehension and knowledge. It is the Universal Soul (*naḥs-i kull*), which issues from the Universal Intellect (*‘aql-i kull*) that generates the material world (*hayūlā*), including the four elements, from which everything else is made. For him, God remains the ultimate source as He caused the Universal Intellect come into existence by His command (*amr-i bārī*) or word (*sukhan*). Everything else came into existence from the Universal Soul through emanation.¹²⁵

Jonboboiev concludes the article by stating that the poet and thinker Nāṣir-i Khusraw was in search of “truth” throughout his life and ultimately discovered that it could not be found in God’s path (*roḥi khudojuī*). He boldly states that Nāṣir-i Khusraw concluded that God did not exist (*ba khulosae meoīad ki ... Khudo nabudaast*).¹²⁶ For Jonboboiev, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was only a great scholar (*olimi buzurg*), thinker (*mutafakkir*), humanitarian (*insondust*) and defender of the interests of “the oppressed” (*mazlumon*). For all these, according to Jonboboiev, considering Nāṣir-i Khusraw to be as someone loyal to religion (*mukhlisi din*) or *soḥibjoma* (literally, “master of the goblet/cloak”), an idea that is spread widely among the clergy (*rūḥoniēn*) in Badakhshān, is nothing but “an accusation” or “calumny” (*tuḥmat*) and an expression of “disrespect” (*beḥurmatī*) towards Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹²⁷ As I will demonstrate, other local Badakhshānī writers echo these sentiments in subsequent years.

Jonboboiev’s article on Nāṣir-i Khusraw is clearly related to the anti-religious policies of the Soviet Union in the early 1960s. The fact that he wrote his “Anti-religious propaganda – the

¹²³ For example, Nāṣir-i Khusraw asserts that if a person does not know what real fasting is, restraining from food is useless (*Chūn rūza nādānī kih chih chīzī ast chih sūd ast, Bīhūdah hamah rūz tū-rā būdan nāhār*). *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 161. *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī), 165. He regards true and sincere prayer and fasting as ladders for ascent of the soul to the higher world (*Sūy-i bihišt-i ‘adn yakī nardbān kunam, yak pāyah az ṣalāt-ū dīgar pāyah az ṣiyām*). *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī), 58. In fact, Nāṣir-i Khusraw states that he composed the *Vajh-i dīn* so that Muslims could understand the true reasons underlying the foundations of the prayer, pilgrimage, fasting and other commands and prohibitions of the *sharī‘ah*. According to him, only those, who are wise (*khīradmand*) and practice the faith with full knowledge will earn a reward (*pādāsh*), which is paradise (*tā sazāvār-i muzd-i khīsh shavad kih ān bihišt ast*). Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Vajhi din*, ed. Aliqul Devonaqulov and Nurmuhammad Amirshohī (Dushanbe: Amri Ilm, 2002), 26. In one of his famous *qaṣīdahs*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw says that practicing faith with wisdom and knowledge is what makes us different from other creatures. He asks, “Why are deer and game-birds not weighed down with prayer and fasting?” That is because other creatures do not possess intellect (*khīrad*), the faculty that sets us higher than a donkey and makes us the slaves of God. Without it, humans are like trees without leaves. It should tell us why we should fast all day from morning to night in Ramadan. An English translation of the *qaṣīdah* can be found in *Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Forty Poems from the Divan*, trans. Peter L. Wilson and Gholam Reza Aavani (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977).

¹²⁴ *Vajhi din*, 150-53, 237, 48. Jonboboiev, “Ba”ze aqīdahoi ziddi dinii Nosir Khisrav,” 3.

¹²⁵ On this see Khusraw, *Shish faṣl*.

¹²⁶ Jonboboiev, “Ba”ze aqīdahoi ziddi dinii Nosir Khisrav,” 3.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*.

responsibility of every lecturer” (“Antireligioznaia propaganda delo kazhdogo lektora” in the *Communist of Tajikistan (Kommunist Tadzhikistana)* in 1963 further supports this view.¹²⁸ At any rate, the same anti-religious tendency persisted in the 1970s and the 1980s, although the reign of Brezhnev (1964-1982) was marked by a relatively tolerant attitude to religion. In 1978, for example, a ‘special seminar to train anti-Ismaili propagandists’ was held in Khorog.¹²⁹ The anti-religious Soviet policies of this period continued to reflect on the writings of scholars on Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The founding fathers of the Tajik literary tradition, including Nāṣir-i Khusraw, continued to be used as “anti-religious” figures. In 1978, Kholiq Mirzozoda published his *Anti-religious points of view in Classical Persian-Tajik Literature (Nuqtai nazari ziddidinī dar adabiēti klassikii forsu tojik)*, in which he attempted to demonstrate the anti-religious, materialist and atheist views of prominent Muslim writers and poets.¹³⁰ According to him, Ismāʿīlism, like any other “heresy” (*bidʿat*), opposed the feudal order expressing the discontent of the peasants and urban craftspeople. Ismāʿīlism, he says, contains “progressive” and “democratic” elements and was “a peasant movement” (*ḥarakati dehqonī*), and many repressed peasants and progressive intellectuals, such as Nāṣir-i Khusraw, became its followers.¹³¹

Mirzozoda further states that the “democratic” and “peasant” characters of the Ismāʿīlī “movement” disappeared in the second half of the 11th century and the movement came into the hands of feudal lords (*feodalho*). Ismāʿīlism became an instrument of oppression (*istismor*) and deception of people (*avomfirebī*) at the hands of the Ismāʿīlī clergy (*shaikhhoi Ismoiliā*).¹³² It lost its “rationalist” and “freethinking” tendencies and, like any other religion, was far from enlightenment.¹³³ Mirzozoda quotes Nāṣir-i Khusraw extensively in explaining both the views of other philosophers and his own position. According to him, although Nāṣir-i Khusraw criticized “the materialist” and “atheist” claims of other Muslim philosophers (e.g. the view that the matter is eternal, not created, expressed by Muḥammad Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (d. 313/925 or 323/935)), from an “idealist” point of view, some of his claims (e.g. the universe was created from prime matter (*ḥaiūlo*)), nevertheless, contain “materialist” and “atheist” elements.¹³⁴ To support the presence of elements of “atheism” and “materialism” in Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teachings, in addition to his poetry and works,¹³⁵ Mirzozoda uses the well-known heretical verses. According to him, Nāṣir-i Khusraw ridiculed those who taught about and believed in

¹²⁸ Nazardod Jonboboev together with Ato Mirkhoja published Sayyid Haydar Shāh’s *Taʾrikh-i Mulki Shughnān* in Tajik in 1992. Sayyid Haydarshoh, *Taʾrikh-i Mulki Shughnon*, ed. Nazardod Jonboboev and Ato Mirkhoja (Khorog: Pomir, 1992).

¹²⁹ Wimbush, *Muslims of the Soviet Empire*, 123.

¹³⁰ Kholiq Mirzozoda, *Nuqtai nazari ziddidinī dar adabiēti klassikii forsu tojik* (Dushanbe: 1978).

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 50, 103-04.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 105.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹³⁴ “Nāṣir-i Khusraw also clearly believed in the eternal nature of matter, but since he was a believer, he could not reject the view that God is the ultimate creator.” *Ibid.*, 127-37. Muḥammad Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī was the most free-thinking of the major philosophers of Islam. On him, see L.E. Goodman, “al-Rāzī,” in *EI2*.

¹³⁵ Verses that point to the view that nothing exists beyond the “material world” (*dunēi moddī*) (*nest chize hej az in gunbad burun, har chi ḥastu nest iak sar idar ast*). Mirzozoda, *Nuqtai nazari ziddidinī*, 140. The materialist notion of quality and quantity change in matter. *Ibid.*, 150-51. The view on body being the form of matter and matter being the essence of body, which is considered to be a materialist view. *Ibid.*, 153.

the resurrection day (*ruzi qiëmat*) with these verses:

V-on digar raft bar sari vaïron
On yake rist dar buni choë
Z-û bikhurdan kargas-u dolon
Mardakero ba dasht gurg darid
Inchunin kas ba hashr zinda shavad?
Tiz, bar rishi mardumi nodon!¹³⁶

This one went to the desert
This one relieved himself at the bottom of a pit
His bones were picked by vulture and by eagle
A man was devoured by wolves in the plain
Shall this man's body rise to life again?
Defile the beards of ignorant people!

The famous Tajik scholar Bobojon Ghafurov, who criticized Āghā Khān III in the 1940s,¹³⁷ began describing Ismāʿīlism as “progressive” and humanistic by the early 1970s. In the same book, writing about Ismāʿīlism in the 10th-13th centuries, Ghafurov repeats the views of earlier scholars and states that Ismāʿīlism was a “revolutionary opposition to feudalism” and the voice of the oppressed “slaves,” peasants, and Bedouins, but in the feudalist society of the period, the Fāṭimid “aristocracy” (*znatʿ*) took control of the “movement” (*dvizhenie*).¹³⁸ This is another issue that Soviet authors took pains to explain. The Ismāʿīlism of the past, which was the voice and instrument of the oppressed, was also at times the religion of the ruling Fāṭimid Imāms, one of whom Nāṣir-i Khusraw constantly praises in his poetry. Ghafurov explains this by pointing out that “a distinction should be made between the people, peasant’s elements, elements of the lower strata of the society and the politics of the aristocratic elite [who were] constantly deceiving the people.”¹³⁹ Hence, in the context of the “feudalist society with its colorful interplay of social strata and classes” (*v feodal'nom obshchestve s ego pestrym perepleteniem soslovii i klassov*), Ismāʿīlism was not “homogeneous in terms of class” (*ne moglo byt' odnorodnym v klassovom otnoshchenii*).¹⁴⁰ The slogans of the Ismāʿīlī “movement,” Ghafurov explains, were “equality of property, justice, protest against oppression” (*ravenstva imushchestva, spravedlivosti, protest protiv ugneteniiā*) and its “progressive” ideology.” Ghafurov concludes that, “against the backdrop of the brutal reality of the time, the courage of the Ismaili preachers is worthy of respect.”¹⁴¹

Ghafurov’s statements reflect the attitude of the Soviet scholars who had produced works on Ismāʿīlism before him. It therefore becomes clear that to the Soviet writers the elements of Ismāʿīlism that served the interests of “lower strata of the society,” such as the oppressed peasants, were considered to be the “true” face of Ismāʿīlism, but the “elite” and the clergy took control of the “movement” through “politics” and “deception.”¹⁴² Naturally, Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s abundant praise for

¹³⁶ Ibid., 163-64.

¹³⁷ Ghafurov, “Aga Khan,” 8-9.

¹³⁸ *Tadzhiki. Drevneishaia, drevniia i srednevekovaia istoriia*, vol. 2 (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1989), 118-19. Previously published, Bobojon Ghafurov, *Tadzhiki. Drevneishaia, drevniia i srednevekovaia istoriia* (Moscow, 1972). In Tajik, *Tojikon. Okhirhoi asri miëna va davrai nav. Kitabi I-II* (Dushanbe: 1983-1985).

¹³⁹ “... sleduet' otlichat' narodnuu, krest'ianskuu stikhiu, stikhiu nizkikh sloev goroda ot politikantsva aristokraticeskoi verkhushki, postoianno obmanyvavshei narod.” *Tadzhiki*, 2, 119.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 120.

¹⁴² In an interview in Pakistan in 1972, Ghafurov stresses the progressive nature of Ismāʿīlism. “Russian Professor’s Views on Ismailism,” 16-17.

the Fāṭimid Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh was hardly ever mentioned in Soviet scholarship. In a section in his *Tojikon (The Tajiks)* that is devoted to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Ghafurov describes his poetry as containing “humanistic and atheistic ideas,” which display “a warm attitude towards peasants and workers” and which “strongly condemn kings, saints and officials” (*rezko osuzhdaet tsareĭ, sviatosh, chinovnikov*).¹⁴³

In 1972, Braginskiĭ's “The Tragedy of the Truth-Seeker (Nasir Khusrou)” (“Tragediĭa pravdoiskatelĭa (Nasir Khusrou)”) appeared in his collection of articles on Tajik literature.¹⁴⁴ The article provides an analysis of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's poetry with a particular reference to his search for justice and truth, and progressive and humanistic teachings in a world filled with social injustice.¹⁴⁵ As Braginskiĭ writes, Nāṣir-i Khusraw “rose against the physical and moral tyranny, against inhumane essence of the despotic Saljuqid state, its rulers ... Muslim clergy, cruel aristocracy.”¹⁴⁶ For Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the ideal of a just ruler is the Fāṭimid sovereign Mustanṣir bi'llāh, who gave the working people the opportunity to reap the fruits of their work and the people of reason the freedom to use their intellect.¹⁴⁷ Braginskiĭ argues that the view of many Soviet authors, who considered the Fāṭimid state to be an “evil” feudal state, exploiting and despotic state, is a one sided judgment.¹⁴⁸ True, like other states of the period, the Fāṭimid dynasty was a feudal state, but Nāṣir-i Khusraw was in a better position to judge between the characteristics of the feudal states of his time. After all, it was the setting created by the Fāṭimids that allowed him to freely reason and search for the truth.¹⁴⁹ The tragedy of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, according to Braginskiĭ, is his satisfaction (*udovletvorĕnnost'*) with his findings, which led to the “dogmatization” of his own views. This is the source of the ideological delusion and “tragedy” (*tragediĭa*) of a truth-seeker.¹⁵⁰ Braginskiĭ concludes his article by once again drawing attention to the two sides of Ismā'ĭlism, that of the “peasants” and that of “the aristocracy,” which correspond with rationalism and reactionary mysticism.¹⁵¹

Individual scholars continued to study Nāṣir-i Khusraw's philosophical teachings within the Soviet scholarly framework.¹⁵² Among them, for instance, T. Muradova devotes a study to Nāṣir-i

¹⁴³ Ghafurov, *Tadzhiki*, 2, 163-64. Ghafurov and A.M. Mirzoev reiterate these points in their preface to Bertel's and Baqoev's *Katalog* in 1967 in which stress the importance of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's moral, humanistic and pedagogic teachings. Baqoev, *Alfavitnyi Katalog*, 8.

¹⁴⁴ I. S. Braginskiĭ, “Tragediĭa pravdoiskatelĭa (Nasir Xusrou),” in *Iz istorii persidskoĭ i tadzhikskoĭ literatury* (Moscow: Nauka, 1972), 303-26. A slightly revised version of the same article was in 1984. “Iranskoe literaturnoe nasledie,” (Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaĭa redaktsiĭa vostochnoĭ literatury, 1984), 165-87.

¹⁴⁵ In this, he follows Buzurgzoda, “Iskatel' pravdy i spravedlivosti Nosir Khisrou,” 5-14.

¹⁴⁶ Braginskiĭ, “Tragediĭa pravdoiskatelĭa (Nasir Xusrou),” 318.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 321.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 322.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 324.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 326.

¹⁵² Nozir Arabzoda, “Mafhumi zamon dar falsafai Nosiri Khusrav,” *Izv. AN Tadzh. SSR* 1 (1985): 34-40. “Andeshahoi ilmii Nosiri Khusrav,” *Maktabi soveti* 3 (1988): 24-27. “Tavsifi kategoriĭai makon dar falsafai Nosiri Khusrav,” *Izv. AN Tadzh. SSR* 1 (1988): 15-18. “Zarurati ma”rifati olam az nazari Nosiri Khusrav,” *Izv. AN Tadzh. SSR* 4 (1989): 3-8. “Harakat az didi Nosiri Khusrav,” *Ilm va haĕt* 2 (1989): 31-33. “Andarzi Hakimi Qubodiyonĭ,” *Sadoi Sharq* 12 (1989): 124-30.

Khusraw's *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn* (1985) and analyzes multiple philosophical issues ranging from the relationship between God and nature, substance and accident, the particular and the general, the essence of movement and time, the hierarchy of perfection of being, the soul and the body to the senses and the mind. Muradova concludes that in the process of "understanding the many issues related to the material world, he [Nāṣir-i Khusraw] departs from the Ismaili mysticism leaning towards materialism."¹⁵³ In this, she is in line with the earlier scholars, whose studies were affected by the state's methods of propaganda to develop an outlook of scientific materialism.

8.1.8 1970s: The Philosophy of Peasant Revolt

In 1976, Khaēlbek Dodikhudoev published his "Essays on Ismā'īlī philosophy: General Characteristics of the Philosophical doctrines of the 10th to 14th centuries."¹⁵⁴ Dodikhudoev expanded and published this monograph in 1987.¹⁵⁵ The book focuses on medieval Ismā'īlī philosophy (between the 10th and 14th century) and cites Nāṣir-i Khusraw (along with other Ismā'īlī authors, including even the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*) extensively throughout its 417 pages. According to Dodikhudoev, "Ismā'īlism is the philosophy of a peasant revolt against the existing order and its ideology – Islam" (*Ismailizm èto filosofiiā krest'ianskogo bunta protiv sushchestvuiushchego stroia i ego ideologii – Islam*).¹⁵⁶ He attempts to show that medieval Ismā'īlism, while adhering to Islam, albeit approaching and interpreting its tenets in ways opposed to those of the Sunnī "orthodoxy", in its intellectual and political manifestations as a "movement" (*dvizhenie*) was a protest against the feudal exploitation of the oppressed masses and the "slave ideology" (*rabskoe mirovozrenie*) of Islam.¹⁵⁷ For Dodikhudoev, Ismā'īlism in this period was a progressive philosophical school that supported "free thinking" (*svobodomyслиe*).¹⁵⁸ Similar to Ghafurov, Dodikhudoev confronts the issue of Ismā'īlism being concurrently "the philosophy of peasant revolt" and the religion of the ruling Fāṭimid caliphs. He states that the Ismā'īlism of the Fāṭimid period was not "homogeneous" (*odnorodnyi*) and included both the "ruling stratum" (*gospodstvuiushchaia verkhuska*) and the "popular stream" (*narodnaia*

¹⁵³ T. Muradova, "Dzhome"-ul-khikmatain Nosiri Khisrava kak filosofskii trud" (Diss., Candidate of Philosophy, Almata, 1985). Apart from this work, Muradova has published other works that include: "O nekotorykh aspektakh naturfilosofii Nosiri Khisrava," *Izv. AN Tadjh. SSR* 2 (1984): 28-33. "Kategoriia dvizheniia, prostranstva i vremeni v filosofii Nosiri Khisrava," *Izv. AN Tadjh. SSR* 4 (1986): 14-19. "K kharakteristike chuvstvennogo i ratsional'nogo poznaniia v filosofskoi kontseptsii Nosiri Khisrava," *Izv. AN Tadjh. SSR* 1 (1988): 3-8. "Osnovnye polozheniia filosofii Nosiri Khisrava," *Izv. AN Tadjh. SSR* 4 (1989): 9-14. "O nekotorykh aspektakh teorii emanatsii Avitsenny i Nosiri Khisrava," *Izv. AN Tadjh. SSR* 1 (1982): 61-64. *Filosofiiā Nosiri Khisrava: (na osnove Dzhome"-ul-khikmatain"-a)* (Dushanbe: Donish, 1994), 6, 156.

¹⁵⁴ Khaēlbek Dodikhudoev, *Ocherki filosofii ismailizma: obshchaia kharakteristika filosofskoi doktriny X-XIV vv.* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1976). Dodikhudoev also published another book in 1967. *Mazhabi Ismoiliia va mohiati ijtimoi on* (Dushanbe: Donish, 1967).

¹⁵⁵ *Filosofiiā krest'ianskogo bunta: o roli srednevekovogo ismailizma v razvitiu svobodomyслиa na musul'manskom Vostoke* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1987).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 31, 284.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 3. "Ismā'īlism is a two-faced phenomenon in which Islam (*musul'manskaia vera*) peacefully coexisted with the philosophical perception of the world." *Ibid.*, 21. The author explores many philosophical and theological issues that range from teachings related to the unity and existence of God, the use of esoteric as opposed to exoteric interpretation, Ismā'īlī and Sunnī understanding of the *sharī'ah* and so on. *Ibid.*, 80-126.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 11, 136.

struīā).¹⁵⁹ Although the Fāṭimids were brought to power by a revolt of peasants (*krest'iane*) and artisans (*remeslenniki*), they did not bring any change to the conditions of the masses. The Fāṭimid rulers' "luxurious life" (*roskoshnaīa zhizn'*) did not align with the requirements of Ismā'īlism, as they did not fulfill the economic, political and ideological aims of the Ismā'īlī "movement."¹⁶⁰ To Dodikhudoev, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a representative of the "popular stream" of Fāṭimid Ismā'īlism.¹⁶¹ His answer to his posed question, "Could Nāṣir-i Khusraw fight for the happiness of the people and for social justice while remaining an "orthodox Muslim" (*pravovernyi musul'manin*)?" is negative, because he would have been prevented from engaging in this fight by the ideology "aimed at protecting the existing system that justifies the exploitation of man by man (*napravlennye na zashchitu sushchestvuīushchego stroīa, opravdyvaīushchee ēkspluatatsiū cheloveka chelovekom*)."¹⁶² It is not clear why Dodikhudoev uses the expression "orthodox Muslim," in this case considering the fact that it is used by him and, in general, by Soviet scholars to refer to Sunnīs.¹⁶³ Notably, he quotes Kamol Aīnī's statement mentioned above, asserting that Nāṣir-i Khusraw does not represent the ideology of the ruling class, the "feudalism" of "orthodox Islam."¹⁶⁴

Dodikhudoev focuses on the "progressive aspects and tendencies of Ismā'īlism and Ismā'īlī movement" between the 10th and the 14th centuries, but asserts that this period was also marked by the existence of "negative elements within Ismā'īlī teachings." He does not explain what those "negative elements" were, but notably claims that, according to him, Ismā'īlism went through three significant transformations during this time. First, it emerged as a Shī'ī sect within Islam. Second, by the 10th century it "turned into its opposite" (*prevrotiīa v svoīu protivopolozhnost'*), assuming the expression of a philosophical trend and a social movement of the lower strata of the society while outwardly retaining the title of "mazkhab" (Persian, *mazhab*). This continued up to the first quarter of the 14th century when the Mongols destroyed the Ismā'īlī state in Iran. Third, with the penetration of Ṣūfism and various elements of other sects and schools of interpretation, it turned into a religious sect again.¹⁶⁵ In other words, the "progressive aspects and tendencies of Ismā'īlism" were manifest only during the 10th and the 14th centuries, a period in which Ismā'īlī philosophical tendencies and social movements flourished. Nāṣir-i Khusraw clearly represents the medieval "progressive" Ismā'īlism. In relation to this and in alignment with other Soviet scholars, Dodikhudoev draws a distinction between medieval (*srednevekoviī*) "progressive" Ismā'īlism and modern (*sovremennyī*) Ismā'īlism. As he writes,

Here we should only note that it is absolutely wrong to equate modern Ismā'īlism with the medieval,

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 33.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 38-40.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 33.

¹⁶² Ibid., 28.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 6.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 13-14.

which grew up on the basis of the negative elements of the Ismā'īlī doctrines of the X-XIV centuries that subsequently developed into religious-dogmatic doctrines of a Muslim sect, serving its clergy headed by the Imām as an instrument for the spiritual enslavement of the believers.¹⁶⁶

The same attitude is reflected in *Ismā'īlism and the Freethinking Tradition of the East (Ismoiliya va ozodandeshii sharq)*, the Tajik publication of the *Filosofīā krest'ianskogo bunta*, which was published in 1989. Modern Ismā'īlism, unlike medieval Ismā'īlism, which is portrayed as a progressive and an anti-feudalist movement (*junbish*), is regarded as “an instrument for the spiritual enslavement of the believers in the hands of the clergy headed by the Imām” (*bo sardorii imom iāroqi asorati dindoron gardidand*).¹⁶⁷

Under Dodikhudoev's supervision, the late Tajik scholar Abusaid Shokhumorov studied Nāṣir-i Khusraw's philosophical epistemology in his *kandidat* dissertation “The concept of knowledge of Nāṣir-i Khusraw” in 1990.¹⁶⁸ Shokhumorov primarily examines three related features of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's philosophy of knowledge. First, he examines the “negative theology” (*otriṣatel'naia teologiā*) of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which, he argues, is at the foundation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's philosophy of knowledge. It is due to this negative theology, according to which God is beyond understanding and knowledge, that Nāṣir-i Khusraw came to conclusions that are close to atheism.¹⁶⁹ Shokhumorov writes:

It is not an exaggeration, but a reasonable conclusion, because of the denial of Allah,¹⁷⁰ the reduction of his essence to the four elements, the negation of all his attributes, the non-recognition of the existence of heaven and hell, life after death, the criticism of reincarnation, a statement of the falsity of the existence of angels and all spiritual beings and many other trends of the philosophy of Nosiri Khusraw generally possess anti-religious character.¹⁷¹

Second, Shokhumorov examines Nāṣir-i Khusraw's teachings on the relations between matter and form, soul and body, macrocosm and microcosm and concludes that they are interdependent categories and that one cannot exist without the other. The soul and matter come into being simultaneously.¹⁷² Finally, Shokhumorov concludes that, according to the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, since God is beyond recognition and we cannot say “He exists” or “He does not exist,”

¹⁶⁶ “Zdes' lish' otmetim, chto absolūno nepravomerno otozhdestvliat' sovremennyi ismailizm so srednevekovym, vyrosшем na pochve tekhn negativnykh elementov ismailitskikh uchenii X -XIV vv, kotorye vposledstviu musul'manskoĭ sekty, sluzhashchie v rukakh ee dukhovenstva vo glave s imamom orudie dukhovnogo poraboshcheniia veruiushchikh. I stol' zhe nepravomerna ofsenka ismailizma X -XIV vv. s točki zreniia uchenii, polozheniia i roli v dukhovnoi zhizni zarubezhnykh stran sovremennoi sekty ismailitov.” Ibid., 13.

¹⁶⁷ *Ismoiliia va ozodandeshii sharq* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1989), 13.

¹⁶⁸ Abusaid Shokhumorov, “Kontseptsiiā poznaniia Nosiri Khusrava” (Diss. Candidate of Philosophy, Dushanbe, 1990).

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 137.

¹⁷⁰ This is related to Nāṣir-i Khusraw's view that we can say neither that God exists nor that He does not exist.

¹⁷¹ Èto vovse ne preuvelichenie, a vpolne obosnovannyi vyvod, ibo otritsanie allakha, svedenie ego sushchnosti k chetyrem elementam, otritsanie vsekh ego atributov, nepriznanie sushchestvovaniia raia i ada, zagrobnoi zhizni, kritika metempsychozha, konstataciia lzhivosti sushchestvovaniia angelov i vsiakikh dukhovnykh sushchestv i mnogie drugie polozheniia filosofii Nosiri Khusrava nosiat, v tselom antireligioznyĭ kharakter.” Shokhumorov, “Kontseptsiiā poznaniia,” 137.

¹⁷² Ibid., 137-38.

people should use their intellect to delve into the secrets of the created material world. Matter is not the creation of God, but that of the Universal Soul, which is the true creator of the material world. In a confusing conclusion, Shokhumorov writes that, since there is no lapse in time between the Universal Soul and the world, “the world is eternal, not created.”¹⁷³ It is for this reason, according to Shokhumorov, that Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s theory of knowledge in general carries “materialist character.”¹⁷⁴ Although Shokhumorov’s study of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teachings falls within the Soviet Leninist-materialist theoretical framework, unlike the other scholars he does not juxtapose philosophy with religion or modern Ismā‘īlism with past Ismā‘īlism.¹⁷⁵ Shokhumorov is aware of the fact that in his works Nāṣir-i Khusraw constantly repeated that he was not a philosopher. Despite this, Shokhumorov describes his “negative theology” as “philosophy,” which he mostly uses in the sense of “thought” or “ideas.”¹⁷⁶ Like the earlier scholars, Shokhumorov states that Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s philosophy bears a humanistic character and is directed at liberating people from all forms of enslavement and oppression.¹⁷⁷ Even though Shokhumorov’s conclusions render Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teachings about “knowledge” akin to “atheism” and “materialism,” he concludes that, according to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, salvation of the soul (*spasenie dushi*) in the hereafter is possible through the acquisition of knowledge of the “real, physical world,” not through “prayer, pilgrimage, almsgiving and other acts of worship.”¹⁷⁸

Shokhumorov writes that “the anti-religious character” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s philosophy “was one of the main reasons for declaring him an apostate and infidel during his lifetime.”¹⁷⁹ “For this reason,” he also concludes, “the Aga Khan, in his decrees aimed for the Ismailis of Pamirs, demanded that they abandon the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, for he, in fact, has nothing in common with Nizarism, which is followed by the Ismailis in India.”¹⁸⁰ It is noteworthy that in Shokhumorov’s dissertation, which clearly takes a positive approach to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ismā‘īlism, past and present, medieval and modern, philosophical and theological, and which was composed by an Ismā‘īlī author during a period in which religious activity and more positive approaches to religion were tolerated, we can still detect the long-established tendency to separate Nāṣir-i Khusraw from Ismā‘īlism outside of Badakhshān, or from Ismā‘īlism associated with India and the Imām. A year later the Soviet Union was no more.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 70-71.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 4.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 10, 50.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 12.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 4.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 72, 137.

¹⁷⁹ “.. i mnogie drugie polozeniia filosofii Nosiri Khusrava nosiat, v tselom antireligioznyĭ kharakter. Chto byla odnoĭ iz osnovnykh prichin ob’iavlēniia ego verootstupnikom i nevernym eshche pri zhizni.” Ibid., 137.

¹⁸⁰ “Iz ētikh soobrazheniĭ Agakhana v svoikh firmachakh, napravlennykh ismailitam Pamira, treboval ot nikh otkaza ot ucheniia Nosila, ibo on, v deĭstvitel’nosti, ne imeet nichego obshchego s nizarizmom, kotoromu sleduiut ismaility Indii. Ibid.

Before concluding this section, we must mention that the famous Soviet Badakhshānī poet Mirsaid Mirshakar (d. 1993) wrote his *Isēni khirad* or *The Rebellion of Reason* in 1978. This long allegorical poem, which consists of two parts and nine sections, tells the story of Nāṣir-i Khusraw through the spring (*chashma*) that he created. It begins with the spring narrating the events of its creation, which happened one morning, when the breast of the earth tore apart and it gushed from underneath the dark earth. Upon coming to the surface, it saw a man with a shovel in his hand. This man told the spring that it was him that freed it from beneath the ground.¹⁸¹ Then a group of people immediately gathered around it. While some were happy that it was created, some were baffled as to how it came into being. Some of those who had gathered attributed its coming onto the surface to God. However, the man who freed it from the bond of the earth said, “this spring is not his [i.e. God’s] miracle” (*in chashma qudrati u nest*). A goateed (*buzrish*) man, obviously a disparaging reference to clergy, approached the man and called him “an unbeliever.” Another goateed man called him “a satan.” All the gathered people struck him with sticks and threw stones at him. After wiping the blood off his face, the man said, “I did not say I am godless, nor did I say I am a saint. I only said that the spring was not His miracle... it is the miracle of my intellect and my arms” (*qudrati aqlu bozuvoni man ast*). The man, who is revealed to be Nāṣir-i Khusraw, then condemns the people for attributing everything to the will of God (*rizoi Khudo*) and for not appreciating the power of human intellect. It is because of the human intellect, according to him, that humans are masters over everything in the universe.¹⁸² The spring then introduces the character of Ravshan, Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s disciple and the son of a Qarmaṭī (*qarmatizoda*) whose ancestors were massacred by Maḥmūd of Ghazna (d. 421/1030).¹⁸³ Nāṣir-i Khusraw praises him for following the path of his ancestors and for being the enemy of ignorance and the ignorant ones (*jaḥlu johilon*). In this part, Nāṣir-i Khusraw claims that the blood of the Qarmaṭīs flows in his vein and that the Qarmaṭīs are proponents of reason and patrons of peasants (*homiēni dehqonon*). In response to Ravshan’s question about whether or not life would become better in their land, Nāṣir-i Khusraw responds that the people of the land would follow the tradition of the people of Laḥsa. Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions that in Laḥsa, under the rule of Abū Sa‘īd, the people were noble and had a great life. They had large houses and palaces and their fruits and vegetables were in abundance. All the people were satisfied with their life and wished each other well. Their ruler Abū Sa‘īd was a wise and kind man and always helped his people and taught them friendship and brotherhood. Abū Sa‘īd, according to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, did not recognize and accept the rule of religion (*hukmi dīn*) and forbade prayer, fasting and other religious practices. “Indeed, what

¹⁸¹ Mirsaid Mirshakar, *Asarhoi muntakhab*, ed. A. Azizov (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1982), 378-79.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 380-83.

¹⁸³ Maḥmūd of Ghazna is known for his anti-Ismā‘īlī campaigns and massacres of Ismā‘īlīs. See Andrei Bertel’s, *Nasiri Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 85ff. M. Ḥabib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, 2 ed. (Delhi: 1967), 6-8, 25ff, 34, 71, 90-91. Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 167.

is the use of prayer?” (*dar haqiqat chi lozim ast namoz?*), Nāṣir-i Khusraw asks. Fasting also does nothing but harm the poor people.¹⁸⁴

The spring claims that it remembers how a *shaykh* and a *mirzod*, representatives of traditional clergy and *mīrs*, in turn accused Nāṣir-i Khusraw of being a follower of Muḩanna‘ and Zoroastrianism and an enemy of Islam. They accused him of preaching incest and urged the people to kill him. The people subsequently stoned his disciple Ravshan to death. At this stage, the peasants come to support Nāṣir-i Khusraw, because he was the “supporter of peasants” (*pushtiboni dehqon*) and because they knew that Ravshan died for the cause of the ordinary people. They offered Nāṣir-i Khusraw help and, in return, he praised “peasants and artisans” (*kosibu dehqon*) and called them the “creators and givers of sustenance” (*kholiq roziq*).¹⁸⁵

In the second part of the *Isēni khirad*, the “goateed man” complains to the ruler (*mirzoda*) and urges him to kill Nāṣir-i Khusraw, because he had misled the people and, as a result, everyone abandoned fasting and prayer.¹⁸⁶ The peasants, men and women, come to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and ask him about the reason they suffered while the ruler and his vizier lived a happy life.¹⁸⁷ Later, the story describes about a man from Balkh, who comes to Badakhshān and encourages Nāṣir-i Khusraw to fight against the oppressing rulers and deceiving judges (*qozis* and *muftis*) like ḩasan(-i Ṣabbāḩ) in Iran. Nāṣir-i Khusraw responds that he would fight against ignorance with his works.¹⁸⁸ Finally, the spring talks about the passing away of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the instructions he left for the people before his death. In his instructions, Nāṣir-i Khusraw says that in his life and lifelong search he had finally come to know that the labour of peasants and artisans gave the world happiness and without the use of intellect the world would be dark and devoid of progress. According to him, nothing else, including worshipping God and idols, the nature and the universe, can decrease the pain (*gham*) that exists in the world that is ruled by ignorance.¹⁸⁹

Like scholars who produced works on the life and literary activities of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Mirshakar presents him as a supporter of peasants and artisans. Nāṣir-i Khusraw is also presented as a proponent of reason (*khirad*, *ḩikmat*) and progress, a freethinker and critic of those who believed in superstition (*khurofotparaston*). The clergy and the traditional *mīrs* are presented as his enemies. In the story, Nāṣir-i Khusraw assigns importance to reason, knowledge and wisdom of human beings. The fanatical scholar (*shaikh*) labeled him an “unbeliever” (*kofir*) and stoned his disciple Ravshan to death. Ravshan, which means “light” or “resplendent,” is a metaphor for enlightenment, reason, knowledge and progress. Mirshakar also uses the word *shom*, or darkness, in opposition to *ravshan*, to

¹⁸⁴ Mirshakar, *Asarhoi muntakhab*, 383-87.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 387-191, 395.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 392.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 392-94.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 394-98.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 398-400.

represent ignorance and superstition. The *Isēni khirad* presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as determined to uproot ignorance with his “courageous army of poems and stories”:

... *Balki imruz miri kuḥsoram*
Lashkar az she"ru dostonam
Bo hamin lashkari dilovari man
Zarba meovarem bar dushman
Reshai jahlo hamesuzem
Ki charoghi khirad barafruzem
To shavad shomi zindagī ravshan
*Bikunad gul kharobazori vatan...*¹⁹⁰

... Now I am the ruler of the mountains
 My army is comprised of poetry and stories
 With this courageous army of mine
 I will strike the enemy
 I will burn the roots of ignorance
 And lighten the candle of reason
 So that the darkness of life becomes light
 And the ruins of the land become cultivated...

In other words, Mirshakar, through the figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, advocates for a society without religious practices, claiming that those only harm people and stand in the way of intellect and progress.¹⁹¹ Through Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Mirshakar shows that the progress and cultivation of *vatan* or the homeland, which clearly refers to Tajikistan, can be only achieved through human reason and human endeavours, and not through blind faith in God, superstition and ignorance.¹⁹² The *Isēni khirad*, like other poetic compositions of Mirshakar, was very popular in the Soviet Tajikistan and was widely read in Badakhshān.

8.2 Soviet Scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Hagiography

While the philosophical and poetic teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw received much attention in Soviet scholarship, his hagiography remained largely unstudied. As mentioned above, Soviet scholarship had the character of applied propaganda that supported the propagation of progressive and scientific materialism. Belief in sainthood or hagiography was largely ignored. As I pointed out in Chapter Eight, before the establishment of the Soviet Union, Aleksandr Semēnov simply mentioned works called *Safar'nāmah-i Mashriq* and the *Manāqib-i Haṣrat Pīr Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir*, neither of which he saw.¹⁹³ These works are the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Silk-i guhar-rīz* respectively.

I have already discussed Andreï Bertel's views regarding the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and his statements that hagiography must be studied if we are to understand people's attitude towards Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹⁹⁴ However, despite promising to study the Badakhshānī hagiographical accounts about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Bertel's did not accomplish this task. As mentioned before, for Bertel's, these sources were devoid of historical information. Following Bertel's, Él'chibekov regarded the hagiographical stories as having no historical basis, an attitude that he demonstrates in an article

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 383-87.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Mirshakar dedicates this work to Tajikistan and regards Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a great Tajik poet and thinker. See *ibid.*, 378.

¹⁹³ Semēnov, "Iz oblasti religioznykh verovanii" 523-61. Semēnov also mentions another *Safar'nāmah* supposedly composed by Sayyid Suhrāb Valī, which according to his Ismā'īlī informants is different from the one published in Charles Schefer. "Opisanie ismailitskikh rukopisei," 2190.

¹⁹⁴ Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 152-53.

published in the post-Soviet period.¹⁹⁵ Ēl'chibekov, nevertheless, used the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* as a source for historical information for his dissertation on the structure and hierarchy of the local Ismā'īlī mission.¹⁹⁶ He also used the *Sayāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir* for his study on “the religious, philosophical, folkloric and mythological basis for the spiritual hierarchy in Šūfism and Ismā'īlism” in 1974.¹⁹⁷ Apart from Bertel's and Ēl'chibekov, Amirbek Ĥabibov recorded a number of hagiographical stories and published them towards the end of the Soviet period.¹⁹⁸ Similar to Ĥabibov, other researchers, including A. Karimova, M. Davlatshoev, N. Jonboboev and N. Shakarmamadov, simply recorded oral hagiographical stories about Nāšir-i Khusraw between 1961 and 1986. As mentioned already, other ethnographic research on the Badakhshānīs that was conducted during the Soviet era similarly ignored the oral and written hagiography surrounding Nāšir-i Khusraw whether related to shrines or other religious practices.¹⁹⁹

Apart from these scholars, interested in the literary hagiographical traditions of Nāšir-i Khusraw, very few Soviet scholars showed interest in the oral and shrine traditions associated with him. In the 1930s, the above-mentioned P.M. Maškiī explored traces of ancient beliefs in Pāmīr Ismā'īlism in his “Sledy drevnikh verovaniī v pamirskom ismailizme.”²⁰⁰ According to him, Pāmīr Ismā'īlism, “a secret religion,” was not sufficiently studied, and the large amount of material gathered by orientalists did not reflect the full scope of its sources. He stated that religion was used to cover the actions of exploiters and was of explicitly political character. Criticizing Semēnov, Maškiī claimed that he idealized Ismā'īlism and spoke of it as a religion that attempted to establish universal equality and promote enlightenment. Maškiī insisted that Ismā'īlism, as an ideology of feudal aristocracies of Near Eastern countries, reflected the aspirations of its class, and not the interests of the masses.²⁰¹ “Just as any other religion,” Maškiī writes, “Ismā'īlism justifies class inequality, horrors, exploitations, slavery and political powerlessness.”²⁰²

Despite his criticism of religion, Maškiī used the *Risālat al-nadāmah* (included in Sayyid Munīr's lithograph edition of Nāšir-i Khusraw's *Rawshanā'īnāmah*, published in 1915 in Bombay) as a reliable source on Nāšir-i Khusraw.²⁰³ He wrote that the Ismā'īlīs of Pamir highly revered Nāšir-i Khusraw and had canonized some of his works. They built shrines (*mazārs*) in locations where he stayed for long periods of time. He noted the many traditions about Nāšir-i Khusraw in Pamir. For example, he writes that, according to the Pāmīrī *pīr (ishān)*, Yūsuf 'Alī Shāh, Nāšir-i Khusraw was

¹⁹⁵ Ēl'chibekov, "Istoki Legend O Nasir Kusrave," 404.

¹⁹⁶ "Ierarkhiia dukhovenstva."

¹⁹⁷ "Obshchie religiozno-filosofskie," 307.

¹⁹⁸ Ĥabibov, "Chashmai Nosiri Khusrav."

¹⁹⁹ The limited number of pre-Soviet and Soviet ethnographic studies in Badakhshān, such as Zarubin's *Materialy i zametki*, Andreev, *Tadzhiki doliny Khuf* and others do not record any hagiographical narratives about Nāšir-i Khusraw.

²⁰⁰ Maškiī, "Sledy drevnikh verovaniī."

²⁰¹ Ibid., 50.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid., 51-52.

able to communicate with spirits and composed treatises on theurgy (*magiia*).²⁰⁴ Maïskiï also recorded various stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, such as the saint naming villages in Badakhshān, creating a spring by striking his staff on earth, etc. He records that the people of a village in the Shākh'darah valley believed that Nāṣir-i Khusraw created a spring with his staff and that this spring was believed to have curing powers, especially for animals. According to him, this spring was famous throughout the region. He describes a yearly ritual called *juïbor* (*jubor* and *jubo* in the article) *baromadan* (literally, the coming out of running streams) associated with the spring and performed in April by the inhabitants of the village of Tavdīm.

A similar practice is known as *maskachixatšhid* (literally, “throwing butter in water”) and is still observed, usually towards the end of March, in the village of Barāj in Shākh'darah, but the ritual is associated with Shāh Burhān, not Nāṣir-i Khusraw.²⁰⁵ According to Maïskiï, this ritual has pagan origins. Maïskiï writes that even in his own days one could observe traces of beliefs foreign to Ismā'īlism. As one example, he mentions visitation of sacred places (*mazārs*) linked with Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Rūshān (at Qal'ah-i Vamār and a place between Dīhrūshān and Vāmd), Shughnān and other places.²⁰⁶ In conclusion, Maïskiï remarks that many orientalist scholars studying the history of Ismā'īlism do not do so from the viewpoint of historical materialism and ignore the fact that that Pāmīrī Ismā'īlism, just like any other religion, is a superstructure, which emerged in a particular mode of production.²⁰⁷ Like other Soviet scholars, Maïskiï regarded Ismā'īlism as an “instrument of British imperialism” (*orudie britanskogo imperiazma*) and identified the Imām Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh (whom he called “the modern caliph of the Ismā'īlīs”) as “a staunch supporter of British rule in India, who strives to strengthen his control over the mountain dwellers of Soviet Pamir by all means.”²⁰⁸

Many studies on shrines are otherwise framed within an anti-religious discourse that viewed shrine visitation as “holdovers” (*perezhitok*) and as “barriers for progress and urged to eradicate this practice from the social and cultural life of Soviet society.”²⁰⁹ As Sharaf Oshurbekov argues, the Soviets, in view of their secularization and modernization programs, considered belief in shrines in Badakhshān “an ultimate sign of past backwardness,” which “has been exposed and undermined by the Soviet enlightenment of this region.” He writes, “In the case of Badakhshan, Soviet secularization was not only directed toward separation of religion from issues of the state, but was also geared towards replacement of religious narratives with a ‘scientific worldview.’”²¹⁰

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 52.

²⁰⁵ M.M. Alamshoev and Tohir S. Qalandarov, "Ob odnom irrigatsionnom prazdnike shugnantšev doliny r. Shakhdary (Zapadnyĭ Pamir)," *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie* 4 (2000): 23.

²⁰⁶ Maïskiï, "Sledy drevnikh verovanĭi," 54.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 58.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 57.

²⁰⁹ Oshurbekov, "Places, Memories and Religious Identity," 61.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 13-14.

Overall, academic scholars considered the religious narratives, including the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and the later hagiographical narratives about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, devoid of historical truth and “useless.” Following them, members of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī community also came to regard these narratives as baseless and produced works to this effect during the time of Soviet rule. An examination of these works indicates that certain members of the Ismā‘īlī community relied on the scholarly works for information about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It is to an examination of these works that the following paragraphs will now turn.

8.3 *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Risālah-i afsānah va ḥaqīqat*

In his preface to his translation of the *Ta’rīkh-i Shughnān* of Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh son of Mubarak Shāh, Semēnov writes that this “fairly well-literate” (*dovol’no khorosho gramotnyĭ*) Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī author knew neither the exact nor approximate date of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s arrival in Badakhshān. Semēnov regrets that Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh is completely silent on “the most significant personality, who has so far played a memorable role in the religious life of the land, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the apostle of Pāmīrī Ismā‘īlīs.”²¹¹ Sayyid Ḥaydar Shāh drew his scant biographical information about Nāṣir-i Khusraw from a collection of his poetry, known as *ash”or*.²¹² Semēnov’s remarks are suggestive of the fact that already by 1912, the more biographically minded Ismā‘īlīs used Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s own works (collections of poetry), rather than the Badakhshānī hagiographies, in writing about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. In the following decades, Ismā‘īlīs became more aware of the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and treated the hagiography as an inaccurate biography. We do not encounter any Badakhshānī sources that provide a biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw until the early 1970s.

Two sources, composed in Persian during this period, demonstrate this attitude. The first, titled *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw (The Biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw)*, was composed in 1388/1970 and belongs to the collection of Yūsuf Shāh from Navābād, Shughnān. The author of the text is unknown. This text simply provides a biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw based on Andreĭ Bertel’s *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, as it quotes the work and even provides footnotes. What is particularly interesting about this text is that it points to a lack of knowledge about Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s biography (*sharḥ-i ḥāl*) among the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān (*khalq-i Kuhistān az sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw khabar nadārānd*).²¹³ The use of the expression *sharḥ-i ḥāl* itself, a Tajik phrase for *biography*, is telling. The author seems to have been intent on writing Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s biography based on Bertel’s *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm* and on distancing him from the hagiographies. Its biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw follows that of *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm* to the letter, so there is no need to present

²¹¹ Semēnov, "Istoriā Shughnana," 2-3.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Anonymous, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, 3.

it here.²¹⁴ The comments on the hagiography (*rivāyāt va qiṣṣa'hā*), however, are worth mentioning. The author notes, “some of the people of Pamir still believe in all sorts of tales and stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw.”²¹⁵ People narrate “fantastic stories devoid of accurate historical details” about Nāṣir-i Khusraw everywhere in the Pamirs.²¹⁶ The author further writes, “These people have immense belief in the supernatural abilities of this great Tajik thinker and philosopher.”²¹⁷ For this reason the author urges the readers to consult Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s own works and the publications of Soviet scholars (*‘ālimān-i shūravī*), whom he or she praises for making reliable information available to the public.²¹⁸ The *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, similar to the works of Bertel’s and indeed other Soviet scholars, portrays Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a champion of the causes of the ordinary people (*khalq'parvar*), “workers and peasants” (*kārgar-u dīḥqān*) and as a fighter against the immorality (*bad'akhlāqī*) and wrongdoings (*zulm*) of the oppressors (*sitam'kārān*).²¹⁹

As I have demonstrated above, Evgeniĭ Bertel’s and Andreĭ Bertel’s (who wrote in the 1950s) were somewhat critical of the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān for regarding the rationalist and progressive thinker Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a “saint” in the past. The *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* clearly displays the same attitude towards the hagiography, which demonstrates the influence of Soviet scholarship on the way some Ismā‘īlīs wrote about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. However, unlike Evgeniĭ Bertel’s and Andreĭ Bertel’s, the *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* shows that “some people” in Soviet times still believed in the hagiographies and narrated stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

The *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, therefore, attaches importance to the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and distances him from the hagiographical accounts. It presents him as a “thinker,” not as a person of “supernatural abilities,” i.e. a saint. These and other similar attitudes are expressed in more detail in another work, which is titled the *Risālah-i afsānah va ḥaqīqat*. This work, written in the Persian script, was composed by Shāh Sulaymān valad-i Qurbān Shāh from Shughnān. According to the manuscript, Shāh Sulaymān was sixty-seven years old when he wrote the book sometime before the date of its copying by Dawlatbīk son of Mīrzā Nazarbīk in Pārshinīv, Shughnān in 1392/1972.²²⁰ A digital copy of this work is kept in the KhRU-IIS (MSGK50). This work reveals a plethora of important facts about the attitude of the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī author to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s hagiographies and biographies in the Soviet era. The following paragraphs will provide a brief summary of the work.

²¹⁴ The author draws particularly Andreĭ Bertel’s *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 168-190, but some elements are taken from Bertel’s, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 148-67.

²¹⁵ .. *ba ‘zī az mardum-i pāmīr hanūz ba ḥar gūnah afsānah va ḥikāyat dar bārah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bāvarī dārānd*. Anonymous, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, 7.

²¹⁶ ... *afsāna'hā-yi khayālī va khālī az mā'lūmāt-i ‘aniq-i ta ‘rikkhī... dar hamah jā dar pāmīr... ibid.*

²¹⁷ *Īn shākhshān bih qābiliyat-i ghayrī‘āddī-i īn mutafakkir va faylasuf-i buzurg-i tājik bāvarī-i kalān dārānd*. Ibid., 8.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 11.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Qurbānshāh, *Afsānah va Ḥaqīqat*, 1.

In the *Risālah-i afsānah va ḥaqīqat*, Shāh Sulaymān attempts to examine the problems with the hagiographical accounts of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, including the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, and to write an accurate historical biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. He begins by pointing that, before the Great October revolution (1917), there were “inaccurate” (*nā'durust*) religious books, historical accounts (*vāqi 'a'hā-yi ta' rīkhī*) and teachings (*'aqīda'hā*) about representatives of Ismā'īlism that circulated in Pamir. Shāh Sulaymān attributes this to lack of knowledge (*bī'savādī*) of the people of Badakhshān. According to him, even those who had some knowledge and were able to read and write were unaware of the truth.²²¹ The scholars who had accurate knowledge about the representatives of Ismā'īlism did not dare speak prior to the revolution. It was the time of ignorance and unawareness, and the people of Badakhshān, being unaware of reality, believed in all sorts of “tales and stories,” created by that the scholars of religion (*'ulamā'-i dīn*) in order to legitimate their status (*bih maqṣad-i baland bardāshtan-i maqām va martabah-i khūd*). Shāh Sulaymān explains that this ignorance and unawareness of accurate historical information were also related to the absence of books that would have shown the difference between “tales and reality” in the former days. As he writes, “for this reason, the sun of truth was covered behind the dark clouds of superstition for centuries.”²²²

Shāh Sulaymān then explains how “the scholars of religion” composed *Risālahs* about the life and personality of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, using garbled accounts and fantastic details. He notes that even during his time some individuals of Pamir revered Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a god (*bih khudā-yī mī'parastand*). In fact, he takes care to note, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was neither God nor a prophet, but one of the *dā'īs* and guides (*rah'namāh*) of Ismā'īlism (*mazhab-i Ismā'īliyyah*). Shāh Sulaymān considers the accounts of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the books attributed to him by the religious scholars in Badakhshān “useless.”²²³ He introduces the hagiographical accounts of Nāṣir-i Khusraw that appear in the *Kalām-i pīr*, the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Ātashkadah* recension of the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, in addition to other accounts that appear in the *Hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-ṭālibīn*. He calls the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* “the continuation of or addition to the *Guhar'rīz*.”²²⁴ Shāh Sulaymān primarily points to historical inaccuracies in the accounts and focuses on the accounts that speak of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's marvellous deeds. For example, he mentions the part in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* that describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a *vizier* in Egypt, Baghdād, Gīlān and Badakhshān and writes that Nāṣir-i Khusraw makes no reference to this in any of his works.²²⁵ Similarly, he criticizes the claim that Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ travelled to visit the Fāṭimid caliph (*khalīfah-i fāṭimī*) together and adds that they went to Egypt at different times.²²⁶ He lists a series of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Ibid., 2.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ēl'chibekov also calls this *davvomi guharriiz*.

²²⁵ Qurbānshāh, *Afsānah va Ḥaqīqat*, 9.

²²⁶ Ibid., 4-5.

marvellous deeds (e.g. creating a moon and a bathhouse for the ruler of the heretics, subduing the planet of Mars and the destruction of the army of the heretics, bringing sheep back to life, flying in the air, turning sand into precious stones, etc.), present in the hagiographies, and calls them “magic” (*jādū-yī va sihr*), laughable (*khandah'amīz*), impossible feats (*kār'hā-yi nā'mumkin*) and endless accusations (*tuhmat'hā-yi bī'pāyān*).²²⁷

Shāh Sulaymān writes that Nāṣir-i Khusraw had nothing to do with all of this.²²⁸ He refers to Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a learned man (*mard-i dānishmand*), a great Persian-Tajik scholar (*dānishmand-i zabardast-i fārsu tājik*), a philosopher (*faylasūf*), a poet (*shā'ir*) and a sage (*hakīm*).²²⁹ According to him, the “magic,” attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, damages the reputation of this great scholar.²³⁰ Numerous books attributed to the pen of this great scholar are inconsistent with his exalted teachings (*fikr-i baland'parvāz*).²³¹ He proceeds by saying that the situation in Pamir changed after the October Revolution, and people became educated and learned who Nāṣir-i Khusraw really was.²³² People possess Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s authentic works, as the Communist Party and the Soviet government made the *Zād al-musāfirīn*, *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn*, *Safar'nāmah* and other works available in Pamir.²³³ The people of Pamir also have access to literary and scholarly works (*kutub-i 'ilmī adabī*) that show the difference between “tales” and “reality.”²³⁴ In fact, in writing *Risālah-i afsānah va ḥaqīqat*, Shāh Sulaymān uses Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s own works (*Zād al-musāfirīn*, *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn*, *Safar'nāmah* and his *Dīvān*) and scholarly studies on Nāṣir-i Khusraw (e.g. Andreï Bertel’s *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, Bertel’s and Baqoiev’s *Catalogue*, etc.). Influenced by the work of Bertel’s, Shāh Sulaymān criticizes the hagiography as unreliable sources for the biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Despite the attitude of individuals like Shāh Sulaymān and the anonymous author of the *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* towards the hagiographies, the Ismā'īlīs still continued reading and producing them during Soviet times. The author of the *Risālah-i afsānah va ḥaqīqat* himself mentions that, despite the availability of scholarly works that provide accurate biographical information about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, there are people who still prefer to read the “tales” (*afsānah*) rather than learn the “truth.”²³⁵ The *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* similarly encourages the Ismā'īlīs to read the available scholarly works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the “thinker’s” own works. Shāh Sulaymān also adds that people criticize him for writing the book, saying “our ancestors (*ajdādān-i mā*) believed in these books and now you have decided to prove them false (*bāṭil*).”²³⁶

²²⁷ Ibid., 88-95.

²²⁸ Ibid., 3.

²²⁹ Ibid., 3, 89, 96.

²³⁰ Ibid., 96.

²³¹ Ibid., 3.

²³² Ibid., 4-5.

²³³ Ibid., 6.

²³⁴ Ibid., 4-5.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid., 8.

I discussed these two works in this chapter to demonstrate how Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlī authors incorporated the output of Soviet scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw in their writings about him. First, these works show a tendency among the Ismāʿīlī community to distance themselves from the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, viewed as false “tales” and “fantastic stories.” In this regard, they are influenced by Soviet scholarship and encourage their readers to consult it for additional “reliable” data concerning him. Second, members of the Ismāʿīlī community with access to scholarly works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw begin to show interest in the biography of the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Third, both works criticize the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs who regarded Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a “saint” (e.g. revering Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a god, believing in his extraordinary abilities, etc.). The *Risālah-i afsānah va haqīqat* refers to Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a “learned man” (*mard-i dānishmand*), in contrast with the pre-Soviet hagiographies that never use the term “man” (*mard*) in talking about him. Fourth, the *Risālah-i afsānah va haqīqat*, like the Soviet scholarship of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, accuses “the scholars of religion” of taking advantage of the ignorance and unawareness of the people of Badakhshān and of fabricating these stories in order to benefit themselves by controlling the people. This tacitly parallels the view of the Soviets that modern Ismāʿīlī clergy used religion to control and suppress the masses.²³⁷ Fifth, the *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, following Soviet scholarship regards Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a partisan of the causes of the suppressed “peasants” and a fighter against oppressors. Sixth, the *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* describes him as a “Tajik thinker,” and although Shāh Sulaymān refers to him as an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*, he mostly refers to him as a Tajik poet and philosopher, calling him “Nāṣir-i Khusraw Qubādiyānī.”²³⁸ In this, both authors clearly follow the ideology of the Soviet regime and associate Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the nation and both repeatedly refer to Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a philosopher. As their purpose is to write biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, they do not delve into his “philosophical” and doctrinal teachings. Although the *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* and the *Risālah-i afsānah va haqīqat* praise the Soviet scholars and commend the Communist Party and the Soviet government, they do not criticize the Ismāʿīlī Imām or attempt to distance Nāṣir-i Khusraw from modern Ismāʿīlism. As Ismāʿīlīs writing under Soviet rule, their best solution, apparently, was to remain silent on this issue. Similarly, they do not show the imprints of Soviet scholarship concerning elements of materialism and

²³⁷ Shāh Sulaymān was a well-known figure among the Ismāʿīlīs of Shughnān and my elderly Shughnānī interviewees remember him as a faithful Ismāʿīlī who according to them was well versed in the history and thought of Ismāʿīlism. It seems possible that Shāh Sulaymān attacked the hagiographical tradition and the traditional lore of Nāṣir-i Khusraw not only due to being aware of the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but also in response to Soviet ideology. Other figures that were similarly well versed in Ismāʿīlism, and especially the officially registered *khalīfahs* criticized some of their fellow Ismāʿīlīs for spreading the types of religious teachings that were disapproved by the Soviet regime. For instance, a *khalīfah* named Ghulomnabī Sobirov criticized some descendants of former *pīrs* who wanted their *khalīfah* to be from among the descendants of the *pīrs* and not someone like Sobirov, who was not from the *pīrs*’ family. According to him, these people intended to exploit the people the way their ancestors had done. He criticizes them for their “religious fantasies” and for studying “stories and books” under their ancestors. These “stories and books” are used for no other purpose but to deceive and exploit the people. Similar to Shāh Sulaymān, Ghulomnabī expresses joy that scholarly views began supplanting the role of religion. Ghulomnabī Sobirov, “Charo az ijroi korhoi dinī dast kashidam,” *Badakhshoni Sovetī*, 23 March 1962, 4.

²³⁸ Qurbānshāh, *Afsānah va Haqīqat*, 3.

atheism in the works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

The *Risālah-i afsānah va haqīqat* and the *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* are also noteworthy in another way. They are both written in the Persian script. This indicates that, by the early 1970s, it was considered to be relatively safe to write in Persian. Although many Persian manuscripts were copied in the 1970s, we never come across original works (*Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* can be considered a translation) composed in the Persian script during the Soviet period. Both works demonstrate that some Ismāʿīlīs never lost interest in the hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, continued to read them and had great faith in the sainthood of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, even by the early 1970s. It is in the 1970s that Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs produced hagiographical works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw that use elements from the pre-Soviet hagiographical literature. In the next chapter, I will examine and analyze three of these works in detail. As I will demonstrate, these three hagiographical works vacillate between the hagiography and biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and fall on the bio-hagiographical borderline.

Conclusion

Based on this examination of Soviet scholarship and the Ismāʿīlī works concerning Nāṣir-i Khusraw, I draw five distinct but interrelated conclusions.

First, with the establishment of the Soviet Marxist dogma that Islam is an ideology of feudal lords, and with the rise of anti-religious (and anti-Ismāʿīlī) policies of the Soviet Union by the early 1930s, Soviet scholars primarily focused on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's philosophical views. As a "friend of the people," Nāṣir-i Khusraw was seen as a representative of and fighter for the freedom of the peasants, urban craftspeople and, in general, the oppressed strata of medieval Muslim society. Soviet scholars generally present him as a "progressive," "humanist" free thinker and a "heretic" (*eretik*) who opposed the ideology of the oppressing feudal lords and "orthodox" (*pravovernii*) clergy. In this, almost all of them make uncritical use of Sunnī heresiographical material, which treated Ismāʿīlism, like any other rival "sect," as a heresy. Scholars overwhelmingly focus on what they term "philosophical" elements in the teachings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw at the expense of his "religious" views. This was related to the view that philosophy, considered "a science," is the highest and most progressive point of social progress, but theology or religion in general (as they made a distinction between philosophy and religion) slowed this progress down. Nāṣir-i Khusraw's philosophical teachings were consciously linked with revolutionary "movements," anti-clericalism and dogmatism. He was praised for his intellectual courage and curiosity. Apart from that, Soviet scholars attempted to identify the elements of scientific materialism and even atheism in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's philosophical teachings.

Second, Nāṣir-i Khusraw came to be represented as a native of Tajikistan and glorified as a great Tajik poet. Born in Qubādiyān, in modern-day Tajikistan, he was considered one of the founders of the literary and intellectual tradition of Tajikistan. Both this and the aforementioned tendencies clearly served Soviet ideology and were meant to show how the great Tajik ancestors condemned a society in which the dominant class exploited the lower class. Research had the character of applied propaganda that promulgated Soviet ideology and provided communist upbringing for Soviet-Tajik people.²³⁹ The tendencies were also part of the process to distance the Ismāʿīlism of the past or the Ismāʿīlism of Nāṣir-i Khusraw from modern Ismāʿīlism. Modern Ismāʿīlism was first viewed to be in the service of British imperialism and then to harbor anti-Soviet sentiments. Modern Ismāʿīlism, headed by the Imām served as an instrument in his hands as well as in the hands of his “agents,” the *pīrs* who enslaved the believers spiritually. In this way, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was brought closer to Soviet ideology and distanced from all forms of modern Ismāʿīlism and indeed from all “negative” elements of Ismāʿīlism, past and present. He was consciously associated with the Tajik nation of which the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs were now a part and distanced from the religious community to which he belonged. Presenting Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a great “progressive” philosopher, a great Tajik poet and a humanist rather than as a religious luminary of Ismāʿīlism was at the forefront of Soviet scholarly agenda during most of this period.²⁴⁰

Third, virtually all of the Soviet scholars who wrote on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s prose and poetic works demonstrate a sympathetic attitude to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Even those who point to the dogmatization of his views refer to this as a “tragedy” (*tragediā*) for the otherwise fierce proponent of free thought, rationalism and humanism. Despite pointing to his “dogmatized views” and “support of the Imāms” (Fāṭimid caliphs), they never described Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s views as supporting feudalism or oppression. What the scholars generally say is that he was imprisoned within the confines of his time. At the same time, Soviet scholars emphasized that Ismāʿīlism had never been monolithic and, while Nāṣir-i Khusraw represented the progressive and positive aspects of past Ismāʿīlism, there was a “regressive” and negative aspect of past Ismāʿīlism, which, as an ideology of feudal lords, was not different from any other religion. These “negative” aspects of Ismāʿīlism, as was claimed, have always been present in Ismāʿīlism. While the overwhelming majority of the Soviet scholars discerned “progressive” and “anti-feudal” tendencies within medieval Ismāʿīlism, and counted Nāṣir-i Khusraw among their representatives, very few scholars describe Ismāʿīlism, like the rest of Islam or any other

²³⁹ For information about the decrees of the Communist Party from 1917 to late 1980s for scholars, poets, artists, educators, literary figures, journalists and others to promulgate Soviet ideology and to provide communist upbringing for Soviet Tajik people, see Ayub Islomovich Usmonov, "Istoricheskiĭ opyt kul'turnogo stroitel'stva v Tadjikistane (1917-1991 gg.)" (PhD. diss., Khudzhanskiĭ Gosudarstvennĭi Universitet, 2016).

²⁴⁰ It is for this reason that Kamol Aīnī criticized Ivanow and writes, "... V. Ivanow considers Nāṣir-i Khusraw a religious figure within the Ismāʿīlī *mazhab*, and rejects entirely the claim that he was an accomplished poet, philosopher and a humanist (... V.I. Ivanow dar *shakhsīāti Nosiri Khisrav tanho khodimi dini mazhabi ismoiloīaro dida, uro hamchun shoiri mohir, failasuf va odami insonparvar tamoman rad mekunad.*)" Aīnī, *Gulchine az devoni ash"or*, 13.

religion, as the ideology of feudal lords without separating it into “progressive” and “regressive,” past and present, feudal and anti-feudal aspects of Ismā‘īlism.

Fourth, Soviet scholars paid much attention to the poems of Nāṣir-i Khusraw that extolled virtues and could be used for the purposes of secular morality. His poetry that praised peasantry was widely circulated in Soviet works and published in important anthologies, and in school and university textbooks. However, the poetry in praise of God, the Prophet and Ismā‘īlī Imāms and that, which conveyed an overt religious message, presenting the soteriological dimension of morality, was never examined or discussed in any studies. Thus, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was presented as a moralist, a sage who was known for his aphorisms and moral advice. This had lasting effect. When I asked my respondents who had studied at schools and universities during the Soviet era to recite poems of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, poems that were in praise of peasants and virtues like modesty were recited by almost everyone. Every single Soviet-educated man or woman, for example, would readily recite the verses that begin with:

*Bih az ṣannā-i ‘ālam dihqān ast
Kih vaḥshu ṭayr-rā rāhatrasān ast...
Jahān-rā khurramī az dihqān ast
Az ū gah zar ‘ gāhī būstān ast...*²⁴¹

Of all the occupations of the world, farmer is the best
Who is the nourisher of every living creature
The happiness of the world depends on the farmer
Who cultivates the land and gardens

Or, the poem on how pride destroys a person that begins with:

*Rūzī zih sar-i sang ‘uqābī bih havā khāst
Az bahr-i ṭama ‘ bāl-u par-i khwīsh biyārāst...*²⁴²

One day an eagle rose from the top of a rock
And opened its wings with pride and soared into the sky...

This examination of the developments of the study and depiction of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Soviet literature demonstrates that Soviet scholarship did not divorce him from Ismā‘īlism. In the epilogue to his dissertation, Beben provides a survey of the developments of the study and depiction of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Soviet literature. He points out that Soviet scholars distinguish between the progressive character of “Ismā‘īlism of earlier centuries” and the “reactionary” character of the “Ismā‘īlī sect and its leadership in the present age.”²⁴³ However, he does not examine the complex nature of this distinction. Soviet scholars, as we have seen, generally draw a line between what we can call *PPP* and *RRR* binary oppositions (*philosophical-progressive-positive* on the one hand and *religious-regressive-reactionary (negative)* aspects) within Ismā‘īlism. They consider Ismā‘īlism a religious establishment, an open social movement and a conspiratorial or secret organization at the same time. The *PPP* tendencies of Ismā‘īlism, according to the overwhelming majority of Soviet studies, manifest themselves between the 10th and the 14th century or in what some of them call “medieval Ismā‘īlism,”

²⁴¹ Very early on, Bertel’s pointed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s saying about the dependence of the happiness of the world on peasants in the *Safar-nāmah*. See his “Vstuplenie,” in Khusraw, *Safar-name*, 18. Aīnī, *Gulchine az devonī ash’or*, 143-44.

²⁴² *Dīvān* (Taḳavī), 500. *Gulchine az devonī ash’or*, 61-62. Some people in Tajikistan attribute this poem to Shaykh Aḥmad-i Jāmī (d. 536/1141). Shīr-Muḥammad, “Nāṣir-i Khusraw dar Tājikistān,” 300. There is a different version of the poem (that begins with *gūyand ‘uqāb-i bih dar-i shahrī barkhāst, v-az bahr-i ṭama ‘ par bih parvāz biyārāst*) in *Dīvān* (Mīnūvī), 523-24.

²⁴³ Beben, “The Legendary Biographies,” 424.

but the *RRR* tendencies have always existed in Ismāʿīlism, including in modern times. Based on this, therefore, not only “modern Ismāʿīlism,” but also “medieval” and even earlier Ismāʿīlism (before the 10th century) could display the characteristics of *RRR*. This is the general picture that emerges from the literature, although, as I have shown, individual scholars present arguments with slight variations, perhaps, to give an impression of originality.

Contrary to Beben’s argument, Soviet scholars do not seem to have “divorced him [Nāṣir-i Khusraw] from Ismāʿīlism” at any time.²⁴⁴ They attempted to distance Nāṣir-i Khusraw from the *RRR* aspect of Ismāʿīlism, but the fact is that his association with Ismāʿīlism has always been noted, even in the 1930s and 1940s, as attested in the literature. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as a “philosopher,” was seen by the Soviet scholars as an Ismāʿīlī, even in the eyes of those who searched for materialist and atheist (after 1960s) elements in his teachings. To them, Ismāʿīlism was first and foremost a “heresy,” and similar to other “heresies” within religions, it expressed rational thinking and anti-clericalism, progressive views and anti-feudalism, concerns of the peasants and criticism of oppression. In this, scholars followed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which believed in anti-feudal opposition in the form of heresy and religious sects.²⁴⁵ As they operated within the Soviet ideology and generally considered Islam the antithesis of progress, scholars did not only need to separate Nāṣir-i Khusraw from what they call “orthodox Islam,” but consciously positioned him and the *PPP* aspects of “Ismāʿīlism” against it.²⁴⁶

Fifth, Soviet scholarship, despite its “ideologized” and “ideologizing” tendencies made a scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, albeit with its own agendas, available to the public, including the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān. In addition to scholarly writings, the works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself (e.g. the Russian translation and Tajik edition of the *Safar'nāmah*) were now available to the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs, where a high literacy rate enables them to consult the sources.²⁴⁷ This had a bearing on the choice, presentation and emphasis of material in the Ismāʿīlī writings about Nāṣir-i Khusraw that were produced during the Soviet era. Many depictions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Soviet scholarship found their way in and shaped the content and tone of the Ismāʿīlī works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s biography, such as the *Risālah-i afsānah va haqīqat* and the *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*. The Ismāʿīlīs distanced Nāṣir-i Khusraw from the hagiographical accounts and his saintly images, demonstrated more interest in the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw, accused the clergy of weaving “fantastic” stories for the purposes of spiritual enslavement of the ordinary people, portrayed their

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ See for instance, Mirzozoda, *Nuqtai nazari ziddidīnī*, 33. Aīnī, *Gulchine az devoni ash"or*, 8.

²⁴⁶ This starts even with Semēnov, who calls Nāṣir-i Khusraw “heresiarch” (*eresiarkh*), poet and philosopher in his article on a critical biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Semēnov, “Kritika i bibliografiā,” 215. Kholīq Mirzozoda’s statement regarding “orthodox Islam,” Sunnism and feudalism reflects the general attitude of the Soviet scholars, “The Sunnī sect is considered an orthodox *mazhab* (steadfast on the path of Islam – Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*). This *mazhab* reflects the dominant views (*mafkurai ḥukmron*) of the middle ages and supports the developing feudalism.” Mirzozoda, *Nuqtai nazari ziddidīnī*, 54.

hero as an advocate of the causes of “peasants” and a fighter against oppressors and described him first and foremost as a Tajik thinker, poet and philosopher. The *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* and the *Risālah-i afsānah va ḥaqīqat*, however, are only biographical works and do not examine Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s Ismā‘īlī teachings. They also remain silent on the Ismā‘īlī Imām and do not distance Nāṣir-i Khusraw from modern Ismā‘īlism. The *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* and the *Risālah-i afsānah va ḥaqīqat* seem to be genuinely interested in the reconstructing the “authentic biography” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and were not produced to serve the agendas of the state. As products of their time, they showed interest in the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and rejected his hagiographies altogether. Unlike them, other Ismā‘īlīs produced works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life, which generously incorporate elements from the pre-Soviet written hagiographical texts and the oral hagiographical tradition. At the same time, they make use of elements from the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Of particular interest to us are the ways in which these sources manipulate and refashion the traditional pre-Soviet hagiographies and absorb modern, secular and ideological influences that have an impact on the choice, presentation and emphasis of material. The next chapter will examine these sources, but here it must be mentioned that some of the heretical verses that the Soviet scholars (following the age long and enduring tradition) attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw are now found in Ismā‘īlī manuscripts produced during the Soviet period. A scribe includes the famous verses that begin with “O God, all this trouble springs from you” in a manuscript copied in 1409/1988 and titles it “Disputation with God, The Saying of Pīr of Gnosis and the Ḥujjat of the Islands of Badakhshān and Khurāsān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw Qubādiyānī” (*Munāzarah bā Khudā, Guftār-i Pīr-i ma‘rifat va ḥujjat-i jazā‘ir-i Badakhshān va Khurāsān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw-i Qubādiyānī*).²⁴⁸ This title points to the fact that, towards the end of the Soviet period, some Ismā‘īlīs, influenced by the Soviet scholarship, in addition to associating Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Qubādiyān, came to accept the view that the heretical verses were, indeed, composed by their Pīr.

²⁴⁷ In addition to Bertel’s’ Russian translation, the *Safar’nāmah* was edited by Kamol Ainī. Nosiri Khisrav, *Safarnoma*, ed. Kamol Ainī (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1970).

²⁴⁸ *Munāzarah bā Khudā*, MSGK95 (copied in 1988) (KhRU-IIS)

Chapter 9

Badakhshānī Hagiography in the Soviet Period

While Shāh Sulaymān and the anonymous author of the *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (*The Biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw*) regretted that many Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs continued to believe in “meaningless tales” and did not read the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, others, like Sayyid Yūsuf Shāh from Shughnān, regretted that “traditional knowledge” (*dānish-i ajdādān*) about the saint was vanishing under Soviet rule. In 1975, Sayyid Yūsuf Shāh composed his *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* (*The Arrival of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān*) to record what he heard and knew “of the ancient stories and legends” (*qiṣṣah'hā va rivāyat'hā-yi qadīm*) about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Like Sayyid Yūsuf Shāh, other Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs also felt the urge to preserve the “traditional knowledge” about their saint and to produce new hagiographies. In addition to *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, this chapter introduces and analyzes two hagiographical works, titled *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* (*On Nāṣir-i Khusraw*) and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (*The Story of Nāṣir-i Khusraw*), which were composed in Shughnān in 1976 and 1982 respectively.

The authors of the new texts do not merely, or passively, record past hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but as products of their social-political environments, they consciously dismiss many of the themes found in the pre-Soviet hagiographies and introduce new ones. In most aspects, their works are detached from the five central purposes that I identified in the pre-Soviet hagiographies, with the exception of moral teachings, which continued to remain an important dimension. They do not link Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s genealogy to the Prophet Muḥammad and the Shīʿī Imāms, emphasize his spiritual proximity to the Ismāʿīlī Imām, or seek to establish his primordial origin. Understandably, they do not foster explicit devotion to Ismāʿīlī teachings, an important feature of pre-Soviet hagiography. Similarly, they are not concerned with distancing or defending Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his followers from accusations of heresy and immorality. They do not do not attempt to legitimize Badakhshān’s Islamic pedigree or attempt to bolster the religious authority of those claiming physical or spiritual descent from Nāṣir-i Khusraw. While incorporating material from written pre-Soviet hagiographies as well as oral hagiographical tradition, they refashion it primarily for purposes that reflect the new contemporary concerns of their authors, responding to Soviet secular and ideological influences. In line with the scholarly representation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the Soviet period and the dictates of Soviet ideology, much of the focus is now placed on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s worldly achievements, criticism of the wealthy landowners, hypocritical religious figures and tyrant kings, who dupe, oppress and take advantage of the masses, advocacy for the rights of the peasants and martyrdom for the cause of the oppressed. The hagiographies also present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a poet and scholar with roots in Tajikistan, a feature that is absent in pre-Soviet hagiographies.

When the hagiographies were written, as the previous chapter showed, some Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī writers, or at least those who set out to write about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, strove for “historical truth” and biographical “objectivity.” Three sources examined in this chapter also incorporate data from Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s “biography,” established in scholarship, and incorporate elements from his own poetic and prose works. This is one of the major changes in the evolution of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s hagiography in this period. Given the changed nature of the hagiographical tradition, can we consider these works as “hagiography?” In answering this question, we should take both the presence of “historical truth” in the hagiography and its “secularizing” tendencies into account. The first section of this chapter begins with a discussion of the nature of these works and situates them in the bio-hagiographical borderlands. It demonstrates that, although the works contain elements of what modern readers may categorize as “factual narratives,” they use hagiographical material and should be considered hagiography or bio-hagiography, rather than biography in its modern sense. The second section of the chapter moves to an introduction of the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir* and their presentation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The third section analyzes the contents of the works with a particular focus on their agendas, authorial motive, choice, presentation and emphasis of material.

The analysis supports the central conclusion of the chapter, which is that Soviet scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw, examined in the previous chapter, played a significant role in shaping Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the Soviet Union. In addition to presenting what was believed to be “historical truth,” which was not a concern in the pre-Soviet hagiographies, and elements from the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, he is not venerated for purely religious reasons, as, at this point, the hagiography has a vision of spiritual and moral ideals that are shaped by the Soviet environment. Their purpose, however, is not “biographical objectivity” and while they do incorporate elements from the newly available “scholarly biographies,” they make concurrent use of legendary elements of pre-Soviet hagiographies.

9.1 *Between Hagiography and Biography*

Despite much criticism of the distinctions made between hagiography and biography, the terms can still be distinguished with concise definitions.¹ The etymology of the term ‘biography’ is self-

¹ Distinctions between biography and hagiography depend upon many factors. One distinction is based on a separation of the secular and the sacred and that is not a universal characteristic. See, for example, Roger T. Ames, "Meaning as Imaging: Prolegomena to a Confucian Epistemology," in *Culture and Modernity: East-West Philosophic Perspectives*, ed. Elliot Deutsch (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), 235. On a criticism of a rigid distinction between biography and hagiography based on factuality and fantasy, see John Dillon, "Holy and not so holy: on the interpretation of late antique biography," in *The Limits of Ancient Biography*, ed. B. C. McGing and Judith Mossman (Classical Press of Wales, 2008), 164. Layers of factuality are also found in hagiography, which is considered to be as “a branch of biography.” See, for instance, Hans Harder, *Sufism and Saint Veneration in Contemporary Bangladesh: The Maijbhandaris of Chittagong* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 106-07. For a reconsideration of the relationship between pragmatic hagiography that focuses on participation in or adherence to received models of sanctity and syntagmatic biography that stresses historically verifiable

explanatory: *bios* — life, and *graphein* — to write, which constitute the written account of any person's life regardless of particular qualities, vices or actions. Unlike hagiography, biography normally adheres to a chronological narrative and tends to have a longer integrated story. In biography, the focus is placed on the individual and his or her worldly achievements. Its modern definitions have come to depend on a set of three core criteria: it (1) consists of a written text; (2) represents the life of a real person; and (3) does so in the mode of “factual” speech.² The etymological definition of hagiography (*hagios* — holy person/saint, and *graphein* — to write), on the other hand, requires more complex clarification.

Religious edification is the main aim of hagiography, and it does not rely much on chronological narratives that relate life-stories, but presents ideal saintly attributes. Although the focus is on the individual, unlike biography, hagiography conventionally cleanses them of personal identity and minimizes his individual characteristics in favour of an abstract embodiment of virtues. The worldly aspects of the subject's life-story are usually avoided.³ As we will see, the focus of the works examined is on the person of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but, in addition to his saintly attributes, they emphasize his worldly achievements, which brings them closer to what is often classified as biographical. Yet the authors also make use of legends; their intention was clearly to glorify Nāṣir-i Khusraw, whom they venerate as a great figure and a martyr who fought for the people. But Nāṣir-i Khusraw is idealized as a defender of the faith, which swings the definition of the works back towards hagiography. In his analysis of the hagiographical traditions of Byzantine life writing, Paul Alexander suggests two descriptive terms to differentiate between works which lie on the borderline of biography and hagiography: first, ‘semi-secular hagiography’, where the hagiography does not include miracles, and secondly, ‘semi-secular biography,’ which includes minimal use of religious motifs.⁴ Paul Alexander's terms can assist in the understanding and analysis of hagiographical works, which fall on the bio-hagiographical borderline and are otherwise difficult to classify.⁵ The works under examination could be categorized as ‘semi-secular hagiography’ and ‘semi-secular biography,’ and not biography in its modern sense.

Writing on the history of biographical genre and Byzantine hagiography, Norman Ingham states, “the story of the revival of biography ... is ... in essence that of the freeing of life-writing from

actions and individuality, see Daisy Delogu, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign: The Rise of the French Vernacular Royal Biography* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2008), 29-34.

² Tom Kindt, *Biography*, ed. David Herman, Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 42-44. On an overview of the genre of biography, see Catherine Parke, *Biography: Writing Lives* (London: Routledge, 2002).

³ Regis Boyer, "An Attempt to Define the Typology of Medieval Hagiography," in *Hagiography and Medieval Literature: A Symposium*, ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen (Odense: Odense University Press, 1981), 27-36.

⁴ Paul Alexander, "Secular Biography," *Speculum* 15 (1940): 204-05. *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire* (London: Variorum, 1978).

⁵ On problems with the classification of works that fall on the bio-hagiographical borderline, see Rosalind Y. McKenzie, "Secularizing Tendencies in Medieval Russian Hagiography of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (PhD Diss., School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 1998), 8-35.

pious commonplaces and miraculous tales and returning it to factual narratives about individual lives.”⁶ This description fits the *Risālah-i Afsānah va haqīqat*, which attempts to reconstruct the biography of Nāšir-i Khusraw by returning to “factual narratives” about him. However, the sources that are examined below do more than that, as they blur the boundary between hagiography and biography by including legends as well as what modern readers would regard as facts. In his study of the life of St. Anthony in the fourth century, Lawrence Cunningham observes that by this time hagiography steadily grew into “an unwieldy mass, the dimensions of which still resist total comprehension. The general rubric for that literature is “Lives of the Saints,” but under the innocent description (which suggests biography) there is a tangled skein of folklore, fantasy, half digested facts, elements of mythology, and some rare instances of genuine literature.”⁷ This description fits, with extraordinary precision, with the nature of the hagiographical works examined below. The claim that hagiographical works “resist total comprehension” has to do with the lack of defining absolutes in hagiography. Gordon Hall Gerould’s definition of the term stresses this, describing hagiography as

a biographical narrative, of whatever origin circumstances may dictate, written in whatever medium may be convenient, concerned as to substance with the life, death, and miracles of some person accounted worthy to be considered a leader in the cause of righteousness; and, whether fictitious or historically true, calculated to glorify the memory of its subject.⁸

This definition clearly closes the gap between hagiography and biography and allows us to simply designate our works as “hagiography,” rather than “semi-secular hagiography,” “semi-secular biography” or even “bio-hagiography.” In many traditions, in fact, authors do not make any distinction between the two genres of life writing. The fact that the authors of the works combine both legendary and “factual” elements in their narratives indicates that they do not make a distinction between the two. Hence, the biographical-hagiographical continuum is useful only for descriptive, not for prescriptive purposes and should not be used to impose limits on the works. The purpose here is to point to the liminal nature of the works, rather than describe them as “inaccurate biography,” “a fictitious and unreliable way of biographical writing” or “secularized hagiography,” although they may seem so to some observers. Hence, in my use of “secular,” and “secularization,” I do not mean to downplay the significance of religion or spirituality in the hagiography. As Roy Wallis and Steve Bruce have demonstrated, “secularization is a multi-faceted notion which does not lend itself readily to definitive quantitative testing.”⁹ Some scholars believe secularization to be primarily the result of

⁶ Norman Ingham, “The Limits of Secular Biography in Medieval Slavic Literature, Particularly Old Russian,” *American Contributions to the Sixth International Congress of Slavists, Prague, 1968* 2 (1968): 181-82.

⁷ Lawrence S. Cunningham, “Hagiography and Imagination,” *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 18 (1985): 79.

⁸ Gordon H. Gerould, *Saint’s Legends* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), 41.

⁹ Roy Wallis and Steve Bruce, “Secularization: the Orthodox Model,” in *Religion and Modernization: Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularization Thesis*, ed. Steve Bruce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 8-30.

the general decline of religion and its influences,¹⁰ while others focus more on the diminishing social significance of religion,¹¹ or label it as “the process by which religious symbols have lost in importance.”¹² Such general definitions are, however, too wide for the narrow subject matter of this chapter. In our discussion, secularization is understood as the increasing inclusion of secular and non-spiritual elements in sacred literature. It is difficult to say whether or not the choice of placing the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw within the liminal space was a deliberate calculation on the part of the authors, meant to give it a “secular” appearance and present messages in line with Soviet ideologies, or whether it reflected a genuine change of perceptions of and attitudes towards Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his sanctity. What remains clear is that the hagiographical works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw recorded and produced during the Soviet period evolved beyond the primary goals of the early pre-Soviet hagiography. In fact, as mentioned and as will be further demonstrated, they refashion the material and use it for different goals.

Hagiography has been called a “living literary form,”¹³ a description that accurately reflects the continual dynamic processes of change, which affect hagiographical works. The following paragraphs explore a neglected aspect of Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and seek to demonstrate the extent to which Soviet tendencies are present. No one has yet attempted to study these works and to determine whether there are common features to all the seemingly disparate examples, and whether they are static or prone to transformations.

9.2 Soviet hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw

9.2.1 *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*

As mentioned in Chapter Three, in the 1930s and 1960s, a simple piece of paper in the Arabic script could become a pretext for accusations of “anti-Soviet activity.”¹⁴ It was mainly during the 1960s that many Ismā‘īlīs had to hide their religious books by hiding them under rocks in mountains and other places.¹⁵ Based on the results of the five Soviet expeditions to Gorno-Badakhshān carried out between 1959 and 1963, the Ismā‘īlīs still copied texts in the Arabic script up to 1963. The manuscripts in the *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog* are composed and copied primarily between the early 1700s and the early 1960s. In addition to manuscripts written and copied prior to the Soviet period, there are texts copied in the

¹⁰ See, for example, P. Foster, "Secularization in the English Context: Some Conceptual and Empirical Problems," *Sociological Review* 20 (1972): 153-68.

¹¹ B.R. Wilson, *Religion in secular society: A sociological comment* (London: Watts, 1966).

¹² Peter L. Berger, *Modernisation and Religion: The Fourteenth Geary Lecture* (Dublin: Economic and Social Research Council, 1981), 9.

¹³ Jostein Bortnes, *Visions of Glory: Studies in Early Russian Hagiography* (New Jersey: Humanities Press International, 1988), 15.

¹⁴ Qalandarov, *Shugnantsy*, 111.

¹⁵ In 1998, a group of young men discovered a box of manuscripts in Tavdem in Shākh'darah. Ibid.

1920s,¹⁶ 1930s,¹⁷ 1940s,¹⁸ 1950s¹⁹ and the early 1960s.²⁰ The Ismā'īlīs certainly continued copying texts in the 1960s,²¹ but the majority of texts digitized by the KhRU-IIS were copied in the 1970s. As we have seen above, the *Risālah-i Afsānah va haqiqat* and *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* were composed in the 1970s.

Although the Ismā'īlīs could copy religious texts during the Soviet period, we do not come across any hagiographical works written under the Soviet regime that are dated prior to mid-1970s. The earliest hagiography written during this time is the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*. This work, composed by Sayyid Yūsuf Shāh in 1975, provides a short twenty-two page hagiographical account of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Composed in Persian, it belongs to the private collection of Durmanchah-i Zivārī in Shughnān. According to the author, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* is based on oral traditions (“that which we have heard and know” — *ān-chih shunīdah'im va mī'dānīm*), but, as we will see in the analysis below, in addition to oral traditions, its main sources are the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, *Kitāb-i bi-hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-tālibīn* of Fidā'ī Khurāsānī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw's own *Safar'nāmah* and other works. The use of the material in the sources and the representation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw by the author merit special consideration. While this work may be seen as simply another record of stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw known in Badakhshān at the time, it does not just record stories. While using known hagiographical material, the author ignores some of it and introduces new elements.

The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* begins with an introduction to the narratives (*qiṣṣah'hā va rivāyat'hā*) about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It points out that traditional knowledge about the life and activities (*dānish-i ajdādān-i mā dar bārah-i sharḥ-i aḥvāl va fa'āliyat*) of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān (*Kuhistān*) is gradually fading. At the request of some friends, the author decided to write what he had heard from people and knew about Nāṣir-i Khusraw.²² Following a brief introduction, the author begins with the following:

¹⁶ The following are some of the examples: *Sharḥ al-marātib* (copied in 1341/1923), *Hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-tālibīn* (copied in 1343/1924-25), *Nūr'nāmah* (copied in 1345/1926-27), *Risālah dar bāb-i haft ḥudūd-i dīn* (copied in 1346/1928). Baqoiev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 67, 102, 58.

¹⁷ E.g. *Sharḥ al-marātib* (copied in 1352/1933-34), *Fī bayān-i ḥaddhā-yi 'ulvī va suflī* (copied in 1352/1933), *Charāgh'nāmah* (copied in 1355/1936-37). Ibid., 66, 74, 41.

¹⁸ A collection of poetry (*bayāz*) containing the poetry of Shāh Ni'matullāh Valī, Nazmī and others (copied in 1361-1365 (1942-1945)), *Hikāyat-i dukhtar-i shaykh Hallāj* (copied in 1946), *Dar bayān-i haft ḥadd-i jismānī* (copied in 1367/1947-48), *Risālah* on Ismā'īlī doctrines (copied in 1376/1947), *Zubdat al-ḥaqā'iq* (copied in 1368/1948-49), *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāzirīn* (copied in 1365/1946), *Ṭulū' al-shams* (copied in 1368/1948), *Faṣl dar bayān-i shinākht-i imām* (copied in 1366/1948), *Qiṣṣah-i ibtidā-yi avval-i ikhvān al-ṣafā* (copied in 1368/1948-49), *Vajh-i dīn* (copied in 1368/1949) are some of the examples. Ibid., 32, 42, 52, 63, 40, 72, 73, 75, 102.

¹⁹ Some examples are the *Āfaq'nāmah* (copied in 1370/1950-51), *Bāb dar bayān-i ṣifat-i chihiltanān* (copied in 1370/1950-51), Collections of poetry (copied in 1377/1957-58) and (in 1370/1950-51), *Nūr'nāmah* (copied in 1370/1950-51). Ibid., 22, 31, 35, 55, 100.

²⁰ In the 1960s, only collections of poetry (*bayāz*) of poets like Kūchak, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and others (copied in 1382/1962 and in 1380/1960) are found in ibid., 32, 33.

²¹ A copy of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* utilized in this study, for instance, was copied 1388/1969 by Gulzār Khān son of Rāḥmān Qul.

²² "Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān," 1.

Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw was born in Qubādiyān, but as his father Khusraw was the king (*pādshāh*) of Balkh, his family moved to that city when Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw was about three years old. As a prince, Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw had the best life and received the best education available in Balkh and Būkhārā at his time. By the time he reached the age of puberty (*balāghat*), he had mastered all secular and religious sciences (*'ulūm-i dunyavī va dīnī*). He had read all the books on religion, philosophy, poetry and science. As he says, “There hasn’t remained any kind of knowledge that I haven’t used, more or less” (*namānd az hīch gūn dānish kih man z-ān, nakardam istifādat bīsh-u kamtar*). His thirst for knowledge (*'ilm-u dānish*) was never quenched. His aging father was hoping to pass his throne to Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but he declined. Instead, he asked his parents to give him permission to travel, see the world and learn more. Even though his parents were reluctant to let him go, Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw, together with his brother, set out on a journey that took him about seven years. He travelled from Balkh through the lands of Iran (*īrān'zamīn*), Arabia (*'arabistān*) and Syria (*shām*), finally reaching Egypt. In his journey, he met with scholars and learned from each one of them. He spent three years and made many like-minded (*ham'fīkr*) acquaintances in Egypt.²³

Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw observed and was amazed at the excellence of the life of the people in Egypt. He marveled at the markets (*bāzār'hā*), which had almost everything that people ever needed and had goods that came from all corners of the world. The people of the dominion were happy, rich and secure, and this was because of the justice (*'adālat*) and benevolence (*mihrubānī*) of the Sulṭān and the protection that he provided them. Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw wished that the people of his homeland (*diyār-i ū*) had the safety and the security that the subjects of the Sulṭān enjoyed. The Sulṭān was a just (*'ādil*) ruler who did not exploit the subjects loyal to him. Similarly, his *vizier* was pious, very learned and truthful. Among things that struck Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw was the honesty of the people of Egypt. They were so honest that all the merchants (*ṭamām-i bāzār'gānān*) did not even lock their shops, because stealing was not known there. The Sulṭān showed and practiced tolerance to different peoples, even those who did not share his doctrines (*'aqīda'hā*). He always helped people who had left their difficult lives in their lands and came to Egypt. He showed mercy to the poor and the weak (*faqīrān va za'ifān*), the orphans and the widows (*vatīmān va bīvah'zanān*). His benevolence and hospitality were well known in Egypt and the lands beyond its borders.²⁴ The life of the peasants (*dihqān'hā*), both men and women (*mard-u zan*), was as stable as the life of the merchants. They took great care of agriculture and produced more than enough food for the people of Egypt. They cultivated all sorts of fruits and vegetables and because of their hard labour; the fields of Egypt were always green. The peasants and the working people (*kishāvar'zān va kārvar'zān*) worked independently and were never forced to work for anybody else. They would always present their grievances to the Sulṭān if they were wronged in any way.²⁵

Having seen all the good life in Egypt, Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw decided to learn the doctrines (*ta'limāt*) of the Fāṭimids in depth. He mastered all their teachings within a short period of time. One day, he decided to return to Balkh and inform his father of what he had experienced and learned in Egypt. Before his departure, however, he decided to meet with the Sulṭān personally. When he asked one of his friends (*yakī az dūstān*) to help him meet the Sulṭān, he was informed that every year the Sulṭān went to the gardens (*bāghāt*) by the Nile river that had been built by his ancestor Ḥākīm bi-amr Allāh, and celebrated Nawrūz for one week. It was during these days that the Sulṭān opened the doors of his mercy (*dar-i raḥmat*) to the people, especially the poor and the weak, the orphans and the widows. Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw then waited for three more months until the arrival of Nawrūz. Seeking knowledge, Nāṣir-i Khusraw had taken part in debates in the great learning centers in Cairo and had, by this time, become famous on account of his immense knowledge in Egypt. When on the day of Nawrūz, Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw stood on the side of the road through which Mustanṣir bi'llāh's procession passed, the Sulṭān noticed him. The Sulṭān pointed to Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw, called his name and summoned him to his court (*darbār*). After that, Nāṣir-i Khusraw served the Sulṭān in Egypt for sometime (*va chandī dar diyār-i miṣr dar khizmat-i Sulṭān būd*).²⁶

At the recommendation of some of his friends at the court, the Sulṭān appointed Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw the “guide” and “envoy” of Khurāsān and Badakhshān (*rah'namāh va safir-i khurāsān va*

²³ Ibid., 1-2.

²⁴ Ibid., 3-5.

²⁵ Ibid., 6.

²⁶ Ibid., 7-9.

Kuhistān'zamīn). He instructed Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw to spread the teachings of the Fatimids in these regions. Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw accepted his offer gladly and left for Khurāsān shortly after. In Balkh, his father wanted his son to succeed him as king. As Shāh Nāṣir witnessed the difficult life of the people, he criticized the rulers (*ḥākims*), the clergy (*rūḥāniyān*) and the Turks (*turkān*) who governed for their own pleasure and profit and not for the good of the ordinary people. These and many people in the city, who were the enemies of the Egyptians (*dushmanān-i ahl-i miṣr*), rose against Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Because of his Fāṭimid conviction (*'aqīdah-i fāṭimī*) and his opposition to their injustices, they did not want Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw to rule over them. The religious scholars (*'ulamā'-i dīn*) and the ruling Saljūq Turks called him a *qarmaṭī* for his views on equality (*barābarī*), humanism (*bashardūstī*) and criticism of the dominant classes who used religion to oppress the people. For fear of his life, Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw left for Badakhshān through Kābul and Samangān.²⁷ In Badakhshān, he was welcomed by the king 'Alī ibn Asad. Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw found many disciples in Badakhshān and taught them what he had learned in Egypt. Among the disciples were Suhrāb-i Valī and Malik Jān Shāh who served (*khizmat kardand*) Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw for many years.²⁸

It is narrated that (*naql ast kih*) Suhrāb-i Valī and Malik Jān Shāh travelled to faraway corners of Badakhshān and collected the offerings that people made to Shāh Nāṣir. They would collect these offerings and bring them to Shāh Nāṣir. One day, when Shāh Nāṣir was sleeping in the cave of Yumgān, he saw a luminous person (*yak fard-i nūrānī*) in his dream. This person told him about the plight of the people of Badakhshān and reminded him of the life of the Egyptian people. The person pointed towards Suhrāb-i Valī and Malik Jān Shāh and disappeared. Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw summoned Suhrāb-i Valī and Malik Jān Shāh immediately after he woke from his dream. He told them to go to a place (*dar falān jā*) where they would find a large stone. He instructed them to turn over the stone, observe what was under it and come back to him to tell him what they observed. Suhrāb-i Valī and Malik Jān Shāh then went to this designated place, found and overturned the stone. They saw two large snakes (*du mār-i kalān*) surrounded by numerous small snakes (*mār'hā-yi khurd*). The small snakes were stinging the large snakes everywhere. The large snakes were very weak and could not even move. They were close to death. When the two servants (*khizmatgār'hā*) observed it, they did not understand its secret (*sirr*) and what Shāh Nāṣir wanted them to know. They returned to Shāh Nāṣir and told him what they had seen. Shāh Nāṣir replied, "The two large snakes were the guides (*rāh'namās*) in this world and the small snakes were their disciples (*murīdān*). These two men were more interested in taking the property (*māl*) of their many disciples than in teaching and guiding them. For this reason, you should teach and guide the people and not take money (*pūl*) from them. Our purpose is to make the people's life better and not to make it worse (*kār-i mā bihtar kardani hāl-i mardum ast na badtar*)."²⁹

There was a hypocrite *mullā* (*mullā-yi munāfiq*) whose wife was a sorcerer (*jādū*) in Farghāmū. The couple worked together to deceive the people. The sorcerer turned the hypocrite *mullā* into a snake and he followed the people, scaring them all the time. The wife then told the people that her husband could write prayers (*nāmah*) that could repel the snake for them. In return, the couple took reward for their service. Shāh Nāṣir became aware of the couple's affair and set out for Farghāmū. On

²⁷ It is noteworthy that the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* mentions Samangān. Samangān is the ancient name of the city of Aybak (sometimes spelled Haybak) located to the east of Balkh on the banks of the Khulm river in Afghanistan. See Ludwig W. Adamec, *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan: Mazar-i-Sharif and North-Central Afghanistan*, vol. 4 (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1979). The city was part of Ṭukharistān and is between Khulm and Andarāb. Taqī'zādah, "Muqaddimah," 43-44. Also see, Vladimir Minoriski, ed. *Hudūd al-'ālam, The Regions of the World: A Persian Geography, 372A.H.-982A.D.* (London: Luzac, 1970), 63, 108, 09, 338, 42. Edward Browne translates the account of the Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn in his *Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Poet, Traveller, and Propagandist*, according to which in Balkh, Nāṣir-i Khusraw's "enemies attempted to destroy him and he became a fugitive in the highlands of Simingan, where he remained for twenty years, content to subsist on water and herbs." Browne, "Nasir-i-Khusraw: Poet, Traveller, and Propagandist," 328-29. It is likely that Rashīd al-Dīn meant Yumgān, not Samangān or Simingān, as it is easy to misread the two words in the Arabic script. It is Yumgān and not Samangān or Simingān in the edited *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh: Tārīkh-i Ismā'īliyān*, ed. Muḥammad Rūshān (Tehran: Mīrāṣ-i maktūb, 1387/2008), 75-76. It is in Yumgān, not Samangān, that Nāṣir-i Khusraw remained for over twenty years. According to Taqī'zādah, it is quite possible that Nāṣir-i Khusraw went to Simingān (Siminjān) before going to Yumgān, but his interpretation is most probably based on Browne, because he cites Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* indirectly. See Taqī'zādah, "Muqaddimah," 43-44. Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself does not mention any stay in Samangān. It is quite noteworthy that Samangān while it appears in the hagiography, none of the Soviet studies that I have examined mention it in relation to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It is however possible that this is based on the Soviet scholarship to which the author of the hagiographical work had access, but its origin is in Browne's misreading of the word.

²⁸ "Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān," 10-11.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 12-14.

his way to this village, he rested by the side of a river³⁰ and fell asleep. At that moment, the sorcerer who got wind of Shāh Nāšir's intention informed her husband of the looming punishment. She decided to turn the hypocrite *mullā* into a snake so that he could go and bite Shāh Nāšir. While Shāh Nāšir was sleeping, the snake slid into his shoe. As Shāh Nāšir woke up and wanted to put his shoes on, a large eagle (*uqāb*) swooped down and grabbed the shoe with the snake from his hand. The eagle flew high into the sky, turned the shoe upside down and threw the snake onto the ground. Having killed the snake, the eagle returned Shāh Nāšir's shoe back to him. This incident was an inspiration for Shāh Nāšir-i Khusraw to compose his poem about the eagle.

Thus, the eagle of justice and wisdom (*'adl-u hikmat*) crushed the snake of evil and hypocrisy (*zulmat-u riyākārī*). In Farghāmū, Shāh Nāšir gathered the people, informed them about the duplicity of the couple and warned them of the tricks of people like them. He enjoined them to clean their land of such deceiving and hypocrite people (*makān-rā az chunīn kasān-i firīb'kār va riyā'kār tāzah kunand*) so that everybody lived well, earned their victuals (*qūt*) lawfully and not let others to take what belonged to them through deception. The poem about the eagle, which is against hypocrisy, arrogance and selfish pride, is well known to everyone.³¹ Shāh Nāšir also wrote poems about the snake and the hypocrites, which are well known:

*Khush āyad tab'-ī mār āshuftan-rā
Nashāyad mār juz sar kuftan-rā*

The nature of the snake inclines but to chaos
Nought can be done but to smash its head

Also,

*Munāfiq-rā madān yār-i muvāffiq
Munāfiq-rā munāfiq dān, munāfiq*

Do not consider a hypocrite a true friend
See a hypocrite as nothing but a hypocrite

It is narrated (*chūnīn naql mī'kunand*) that after travelling in the West (*maghrib*) Shāh Nāšir-i Khusraw went to the East (*mashriq*). He wrote his *Safar'nāmah-i maghrib* about his travels in the West and another *Safar'nāmah-i mashriq* about his travels in the East. Shāh Nāšir-i Khusraw travelled to all the villages in Badakhshān (*Kuhistān*) after that. Wherever he went, people honoured him and showed him great respect. In return, he guided them and helped them improve their life. He showed the people how to build canals in the mountains. He showed them how to build walkways (*āvring*) on overhanging cliffs by the river. The walkways can still be observed on the other side of the river in Sudūj,³² Yārkh, Ghumāy and other places. Shāh Nāšir-i Khusraw instructed the people to plant trees and cultivate deserted lands. He planted many old trees, which are found in Vīr, Shitam, Pārshinīv, Sākhcharv, Vamār, Bartang, Vakhīyā and other places. Today, travelers rest under the shades of these trees.

Shāh Nāšir-i Khusraw wrote the *Vajh-i dān*, the *Rawshanā'ī'nāmah*, the *Kalām-i pīr*, the *Zād al-musāfirīn* and many other books for the guidance of the people. He built libraries for the people. He admonished the old and the young (*pīr-u khurd*), the great and the little (*kabīr-u saghīr*) wherever he went. He preached justice and praised peasants and craftsmen, on whom life in the world depends. Shāh Nāšir preached virtues like unselfishness, honesty, kindness, courage, care for the needy, respect for the elderly and parents, tolerance and self-control to the people. He spoke of love for the homeland (*vatandūstī*), moral abstinence and contentment, and not envying someone else's wealth. He encouraged people to be like brothers and not offend one another.³³ Here are some of the poems that Shāh Nāšir-i Khusraw wrote:

*Hamīshah nīk-khvāh-i mardumān bāsh
Bih nīk-ī kūsh v-ān gah dar amān bāsh*

Always wish nothing but well for people
Endeavour in doing good for in it is your security

*Bih pīrī khizmat-i mādar padar kun
Javānī-yu junūn az sar badar kun*

Serve your parents in [their] old age
Forget about youth and insanity

Bih az šānī' bih gītī muqbilī nīst

There is no one more fortunate than artisans

³⁰ The river is most probably the Kokcha river as Farghāmū is located on its left bank to the south of Yumgān.

³¹ This is a reference to Nāšir-i Khusraw's famous poem about the eagle. *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī), 523-24.

³² There is a shrine (*ziyārat'gāh*) named after Pīr Shāh Nāšir in Sudūj. Shīr-Muhammad, "Nāšir-i Khusraw dar Tājikistān," 297.

³³ "Āmadan-i Nāšir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān," 14-15.

Zih kasb-i dast bihtar ḥāsīlī nīst

Nothing but the hand's labour brings better profit

Bih az ṣannā'-i 'ālam dihqān ast

Of all professions of the world that of the peasant
is the best

Kih vaḥsh-u ṭayr-rā rāhat'rasān ast

For the peasant brings comfort to animals and
birds

While in different villages, Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw observed the people and made remarks about them. For instance, when he came to Sūchān, the people of the place did not recognize him. For this reason, he called them *kūrān-i sūchān* or the “blind Sūchānīs.” The people of Darmārakht stole his book and for this reason Shāh Nāṣir said the following regarding them: “A thousand pities is the water of Arakht for the people of Darmārakht” (*sad ḥaif daryā-yi arakht bar mardum-i darmārakht*). He called the obedient and respectful people of Vīr “the braves ones of Vīr” (*bahādūrān-i Vīr*) but described the people of Ghund as “the ungrateful ones” (*munkirān*). He called the arrogant people (*mardum-i havā'baland*) of Pārshinīv “those who occupy chief seats” (*bālā'nishīm*). He described the happy people of Rūshān who greeted him well as good people and recited a poem “the pure-hearted people of Rūshān are like a mirror that brings light and exchanges sadness with happiness in the heart of the wanderer” (*ravshan'dilān-i Rūshān āyinah-i ṣafāyand, gham az dil-i gharībān ṣayqal zadah zudāyand*). About Khinj, he said, “the uneven ground of Khinj has little treasure” (*shanj-i Khinj kinj kinj ganj dārad*). He called the people of Sudūj “bears and pigs” (*khirs-u khūkand mardum-i Sudūj*) and the people of Varfad those who do not keep their word (*mardum-i Varfad bih va 'dah na'parvarad*). These and other similar sayings of Shāh Nāṣir are still famous in Badakhshān.³⁴

When Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw came to Badakhshān, he found people of different faiths in this region. There were infidels (*kāfirān*) and fire-worshippers (*ātash'parastān*). He showed a tolerant attitude to these communities and did not refute any of their teachings. More important for Shāh Nāṣir were good thoughts, words and acts. For Shāh Nāṣir, the wellbeing of people, respect for the elderly and so on were important. He criticized those who oppressed others in the name of religion (*bih nām-i dīn ḡulmat mī'kardand*). Among the infidels, there were some who, fearing the loss of their status (*maqām*), showed hostility to Shāh Nāṣir. Some of them even plotted his murder, but he was able to escape them by extraordinary means (*ba ṭawr-i ghayr 'ādī az īshān najāt mī'yāft*). He was able to do that because of his immense knowledge of all the sciences of the world.

One of the people who showed enmity to Shāh Nāṣir was the tyrant king (*pādshāh-i zālim*) of Jurm and Khāsh by the name of Sho Tabarruk. Sho Tabarruk was very oppressive of the people and took their harvest and property by force, levied heavy taxes (*bāj-u khirāj*) on them, as was the situation in Kuhistān before the October revolution. Shāh Nāṣir did not tolerate this and uttered the words “bitark” (burst) three times and left Jurm for Yungān. Sho Tabarruk died as a result of the inflammation (*varam kard*) of his stomach. In some places, he performed deeds (*kār'hā*) that only he was able to do (*faqat ū mī'tavānist kardan*). In Pārshinīv, he created a spring by striking the earth with his staff (*tāyāq*). Pure water gushed forth instantly and turned the otherwise dry land into a cultivated place. In Shīva, he made the mountain crumble to block the flow of the river to destroy the village of the infidels to punish them for their disobedience. In Ishkāshim, a wealthy man (*yak bāyī*) was tormenting his servants (*mard'kārs*) and kept them in the worst condition possible. He used their labour on his fields and gardens and gave them very little in return. The man enjoyed the support of a dragon (*azhdahār*) that he fed and which kept the poor people in fear. As the man got wind of Shāh Nāṣir's arrival, he sent his dragon (*azhdahār*) to devour him. Shāh Nāṣir turned both the dragon and the man to stones. These stones can be seen on the way to Ishkāshim on the other side of the river. Examples like these are abundant (*inchunīn miṣāl'hā bisyārānd*) and many people narrate stories like these (*mardum chunīn qiṣṣah'hā bisyār mī'kunand*). For example, they say that Shāh Nāṣir rewarded (*jazā mī'dād*) the people according to their deeds. Those who did not heed his words and committed wrong deeds went through all sorts of hardships and were even destroyed. On his way to Darvāz from Rūshān on the side of Afghanistan in Pāchūr, Shāh Nāṣir turned a man who meant to harm him into a stone and this stone can still be seen from this side.³⁵

Apart from the people who belonged to other faiths, there were many of Shāh Nāṣir's followers in Badakhshān. In Ghund, Sūchān, Shākh'darah, Pārshinīv, Rūshān and other places, people gathered upon his arrival to listen to his teaching. In Shughnān, in the valley of Shākh'darah, Shāh Nāṣir

³⁴ Ibid., 16-17.

³⁵ Ibid. This should be Pājūr, which is a place in Shughnān of Afghanistan.

went to see a learned man called Bābā Fāqmadad-i Parvāzī, who had previously been his disciple in Yumgān. Shāh Nāṣir had other disciples, such as Shāh Ṭālib-i Sarmast in Rūshān, Mīr-i Gul Surkh in Shughnān and Khvājah Nūridīn in Bartang.³⁶ Shāh Nāṣir crossed the impassable mountain passages from Bartang to Ghund, from Ghund to Shākh'darah, from Shākh'darah to Vakhān. Many stones that he stepped on and put his head on when he rested are indications of the routes he took in these places. After visiting all the villages in Badakhshān, Shāh Nāṣir went to Jirm (Jurm) and finally to Yumgān. He lived in Yumgān for twenty-five years and was about eighty years old when he passed in this corner of Badakhshān. After him, his disciples (*shāgirdān*) carried on what Nāṣir-i Khusraw started.³⁷

9.2.2 *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir*

The other text with hagiographical accounts is apparently copied in 1976 in Shughnān from another work. According to this copy, the original belongs to a person named Sayyid Gawhar. The current text, which is written in Persian script, belongs to Sayyid Naẓar from Navābād in Shughnān. This text contains poems, some of which belong or are attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, while others seem to have been composed by the author of the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir*. The account in this work begins by mentioning that there are many stories (*dāstān'hā*) about Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw Qubādiyānī 'Alavī that have been passed down from generation to generation (*az nasl bih nasl*). The following is a translation of this short hagiographical account about Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Sayyid Nāṣir was born in Qubādiyān of Shahrtuz and Mikāyanābād in the family of landowners (*dīhqān*) free people (*āzādah'gān*) and Tajik nobles (*ashrāfān-i tājik*). After Qubādiyān, he continued his studies in Bukhārā.³⁸ He was an extremely gifted man who had mastered all the known sciences of his age. In his youth, he already reached the stage of known scholars, poets and philosophers (*yakī az 'alimān, shā'irān va faylasūfān-i mashhūr shud*). Because of his knowledge and abilities, many rulers, including the Saljūqs, had requested him to serve at their courts. He was a man of fame and wealth in Balkh. When he was forty years old, he saw a figure (*shākhshī*) in his dream. After this dream, Sayyid Nāṣir went in search of this person. Leaving Balkh, he travelled through Māzandarān, Nīshāpūr and other places.³⁹ On his way, he met Ḥasan-i Šabbāh and together they arrived in Cairo in Egypt. Initially, they were not able to see Mustanṣir bi' llāh, but after some thirty-three days they were invited to the court of the Fāṭimid caliph. Both Sayyid Nāṣir and Ḥasan-i Šabbāh were appointed as representatives (*namāyandah*) of the ruler of Maghrib in the East (*mashriq*). Ḥasan-i Šabbāh remained in the land of Iran (*īrān'zamīn*), but Sayyid Nāṣir was active in Nīshāpūr and Balkh.⁴⁰

Sayyid Nāṣir soon faced hostility from the people of Balkh, who made attempts on his life (*qaṣd-i jān-i ū kardand*) several times (*chand bār*). He had no choice, but to flee from Balkh to Qubādiyān. In Qubādiyān he met with Shāh Ṭālib and Shāh Bābā Ḥaydar who became his disciples. Together with Shāh Ṭālib and Shāh Bābā Ḥaydar, wearing the *dervish* clothes (*libās-i darvīshī*

³⁶ Ibid., 20.

³⁷ Ibid., 16-17.

³⁸ The *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* mentions Bukhārā, which does not occur in the pre-Soviet hagiographical sources. It is in the oral tradition of the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān. See for instance Bobrinskiĭ, "Sekta Ismail'ia," 5. According to *pīr* Sayyid Yūsuf 'Alī Shāh, Nāṣir-i Khusraw studied in Bukhārā.

³⁹ The source mentions Nīshāpūr a number of times. First, it mentions that he travelled through Nīshāpūr to Egypt. Nāṣir-i Khusraw himself mentions that he travelled through Nīshāpūr where he visited the tomb of the Sūfī saint Bāyazīd of Bistām at Qumis before moving on. But in the pseudo-autobiography he comes to Nīshāpūr when he escapes the ruler of the *malāhidah* and where his student is murdered. Dawlatshāh Samarqandī also relates about Nāṣir-i Khusraw's living in Nīshāpūr. Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'*, ed. Fāṭimah 'Alāqah, 108-11. According to the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw goes to Nīshāpūr upon his return from Egypt, but in the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was first active in Nīshāpūr and then proceeded to Balkh. According to the *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw settled in Shadyākh-i (Sanij-i) Balkh and, as Taqī'zādah states, may refer to Shadyākh (Shādiyākh), a neighbourhood in the southwest of Nīshāpūr. See Taqī'zādah, "Muqaddimah," n. 1.

⁴⁰ "Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir," 1-4.

pūshīdah), Sayyid Nāṣir came to Badakhshān in the year 1062. During that time (*ān zamān*), the ruler (*amīr*) of Badakhshān was a noble man called ‘Alī ibn Asad. This ruler was knowledgeable and surrounded himself with noble people. He accepted Sayyid Nāṣir, Shāh Ṭālib and Shāh Bābā Ḥaydar warmly and gave them high positions in his court. Sayyid Nāṣir-i Qubādiyānī wrote one of his works on philosophy (*falsafah*) for this man of knowledge (*mard-i ‘ilm*). However, and again with the decree of time (*taqdīr-i zamān*), there were some religious scholars (*‘ālimān-i dīn*) who became jealous of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s dignity and respect before ‘Alī ibn Asad. Sayyid Nāṣir was obliged (*nāchār shud*) to leave for Yumgān, which is a corner in Badakhshān. He found many followers (*payravān*) in that blessed place (*jā-yi mubārak*). Some of those disciples, such as Khājah Hamdīn, Khājah Bashīr, Khājah Salmān, Aḥmad-i Dīvānah, Sayyid Suhrāb, Shāh Ṭālib and Sayyid ‘Umar-i Yumgānī who was known as Jahān Shāh, are famous. The followers of Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*payravān-i darbār-i Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw*) learned from him and transmitted his knowledge to the people. The ruler (*pādshāh*) of Yumgān was Gīv ibn Kaykāvūs, who also became a disciple of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Following their ruler, the people of Yumgān flocked in to accept Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teachings. They treated “this fighter in the path” (*mubārīz-i tarīqat*) with great respect and submitted to him entirely. Sayyid Nāṣir himself says that he became ruler over the soul and property of the people in Yumgān (*shukr an khudā-rā kih bih Yumgān zi faẓl-i ū, bih jān-u māl-i khalq farmān’ravā shudam*).⁴¹

Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s enemies in Balkh knew of his whereabouts and the Turk Saljūq army (*lashkar-i turkān-i saljūqī*) came after him. Saying “I cannot become a servant to the Turks” (*man tan chih gūnah bandah-i turkān kunam*), he escaped from them and hid in the house of Ḥayātbīgim and her granddaughter named Bīshak Murād. Bīshak Murād was named so because she sincerely believed in Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teachings. It was the time of famine and the people of Badakhshān (*Kuhistān*) had very little food. Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw asked Ḥayātbīgim and Bīshak Murād to slaughter their only sheep and cook *bāj* (a dish cooked with wheat grains and meat) so that he could invite the people and teach them. The old woman and her granddaughter did what Nāṣir-i Khusraw had asked them to do and Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw invited the people to his teaching (*ta ‘līmāt*).⁴²

Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw travelled in Sūchān, Ghund, Darmārakht, Pārshinīv, Sākhcharv, Shākh’darah, Vakhān, Ishkāshim and many other places in Afghanistan. The responses of the people in these places to his teachings varied. Some people were hostile to him while others welcomed and honoured him. He was disappointed with some, but happy with others. He described the people of these regions and those descriptions are still famous among people. For example, when he was in Ishkāshim, the people had doubt in his teaching (*shak āvardand*). For this reason, he described the place as “*Ishkāshim-i shak-u shūm*” or “the doubting and vile Ishkāshim.” The people of the upper Ghund were not always united and had conflicts among themselves. For this reason, he described it as “*gah Ghund-u gah parīshān*” (sometimes gathered, sometimes dispersed). When Shāh Nāṣir passed through the valley of Shākh’darah, its people turned their faces from him. Because of this attitude, he called them “*shākh ba dīvār*” or “those with horns to the wall,” i.e. those who turn their faces to the wall. The roots for these and other toponyms (*nāmhā-yi maḥal*) in Pamir are found in Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s sayings.⁴³

When Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw came to Pārshinīv, the people of the village did not recognize the stranger. When they asked who he was, he said that he was the renowned poet, the son of Khusraw:

*Man ān shā ‘ir-i ba’nām Ibn-i Khusravam
Masqiṭ Qubādiyānam-u īn jā garm’ravam*

I am that renowned poet, the son of Khusraw
My birthplace is Qubādiyān, and I am a quick
traveler in this place

However, the people did not believe him. Pārshinīv was a dry place at that time and the people of the village had to travel a long distance to fetch water. One day, Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw saw an old woman carrying a jug of water. As he was thirsty, he asked the old woman to give him some water to quench his thirst. The old woman laughed and told him to bring water for himself. Sayyid Nāṣir was angry and struck the earth very hard with his staff. A limpid fountain gushed forth from the ground. This spring is known as “the spring of Shāh Nāṣir” (*chashmah-i Shāh Nāṣir*) and was created by this

⁴¹ Ibid., 5-8. In the original verses, the word is *shī’at*, not *khalq*.

⁴² Ibid., 9-10. In a legend recorded by Muḥammad Rizā Tavakkulī Ṣābirī in Badakhshān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw calls Ḥayātbīgim “Bīshakmurād” (i.e. these are two names of one person). What is noteworthy is that, like this account, the legend recorded by Ṣābirī also mentions the Saljūqid army (*lashkar-i saljūqiyān*). This is unlike the *Hikāyat-i mazār’hā-yi Kuhistān*, which mentions the *malāḥidah*. See Ṣābirī, *Safar-i dīdār*, 142.

⁴³ “Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir,” 11-13.

man who had great natural knowledge (*dānish-i tabī'ī*). In Pārshinīv, Sayyid Nāšir uttered these verses (which are the continuation of the aforementioned verses):

<i>Affāqam-u dirāyatī hamī bih kār baram</i>	I travel much in search of knowledge, and use the knowledge that I have
<i>Farnān nayam, balk zi ahrār-i rāst'ravam</i>	I am not ignoble, I am one of the noble and the honest
<i>Makān ma 'tashīst bī manhal-u bī maghās</i>	[This] land is thirsty with no water and a drinking place
<i>Farjā, chi'sān 'aql buvad āb-u ham'ravam</i>	See how intellect has become my fellow traveller
<i>Īdar, barāyad bih zaffatī yak zihish</i>	Behold, the spring shall emerge with a good gush
<i>Zihish ma-rā nīst, bal zi bāl-i tāz'ravam</i>	Praise not me, but “the white cloud that brings water”
<i>Īn-ast nūr-i bāl, mapindārash zulmatī</i>	This is the illuminating cloud, do not consider it from darkness
<i>Bāriz zih 'aql-u man-i zār pay'ravam</i>	It issues from intellect of which I am a follower

The place where Sayyid Nāšir rested (*dam girift*) is his *qaddam'gāh*. Travellers from various parts of our country stop by the *qaddam'gāh* and taste from “the spring of Shāh Nāšir.”⁴⁴ Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw travelled further down to Sākhcharv and called it “*hamīshah charv*.” He described the people of Rūshān who initially welcomed him warmly and showed him hospitality as the “*rawshandilān-i Rūshān*,” “the Rūshānīs of a sound and serene mind,” who soothe the heart of the wayfarers (*zang az dil-i gharībān šayqal zadah zudāyand*), but later, when some of them ate the food prepared for him, he described them as “those who snatch the morsel from friends like dogs” (*luqmah zih pīsh-i yārān hamchuh sagān rabāyand*). After leaving Rūshān, Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw went to Vanj. Having witnessed the warm hospitality of the Vanjīs, Shāh Nāšir-i Khusraw called Vanj “*ganj-i man*” or “my treasure.” As he continued his journey towards Darvāz, he came across an impassable precipice. Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw, who was both an astronomer and a land-measurer (an engineer, geometrician) (*ham muhandis-i falak va ham muhandis-i zamīn būd*), built *āvriings* on the way from Vanj to Darvāz.⁴⁵

In Darvāz, there lived a giant man (*pahlavān*) named Sikandar (Iskandar). He did not like (*bad mī'dīd*) Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw, because he heard that Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw was a sorcerer (*jādūgar*). Many people, especially Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw's enemies, regarded him a sorcerer, because of the deeds he performed with his wisdom (*hikmat*). One day Sikandar planned to harm Nāšir-i Khusraw. He went to sleep, but when he woke up the next morning his wife told him that his beard and hair was gone. Early in the morning, Nāšir-i Khusraw passed by the village together with his brother Abū Sa'īd. Sikandar went out to seek them and when he found them he uttered the following verses to Nāšir-i Khusraw:

<i>Shāh Nāšir-i Khusraw shah-i bandah'navāz</i>	Shāh Nāšir-i Khusraw, cherisher of servants
<i>Iskandaram-u sag-i tu-yam az Darvāz</i>	I am Iskandar, your dog from Darvāz
<i>Har kas kih ba dargah-i tu āyad bih niyāz</i>	Whoever comes to your court with need
<i>Navmīd zih dargah-i tu kay gardad bāz</i>	Will never leave your court hopeless

When Nāšir-i Khusraw heard these verses, he told Sikandar to go back home, because everything will be back to normal. When Iskandar woke up the next morning, he saw that his beard and hair grew better than it was before. Sikandar then composed the following verses:

<i>Shāh Nāšir-i Khusraw nazar bar mā kun</i>	Shāh Nāšir-i Khusraw, cast a glance on us
<i>Andar dam-i marg nātiqam-u guyā kun</i>	At the last gasp, give me the courage to speak
<i>Khvūd mī'dānam gunāh-i bī-hadd kardam</i>	I, myself, am aware of infinite sins I committed
<i>Ghamkhārī-i mā dar laḥad-u tanhā kun</i>	Be our sole consoler in the grave ⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Ibid., 13-14.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 15-16.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 17-19. This verse is also found in other texts copied in the Soviet time. For instance, it is included in the beginning of the *Charāgh'nāmah* in MSGK93 (copied in 1387/1967) (KhRU-IIS).

Wherever Nāṣir-i Khusraw went in Badakhshān, he administered justice (*bih dād mī'rasīd*). There lived two brothers in Andāvj.⁴⁷ One of them was a *ḥisāb'dān* (literally, “arithmetician,” but it also means “astrologer” in Badakhshān) and the other was a *nāmah'navīs* (literally, “letter-writer,” but it also means a “writer of amulets”). They pretended to possess supernatural influence over rain, snow and other natural phenomena. The ignorant peasants, believing that the *ḥisāb'dān* and the *nāmah'navīs* could really remove every misfortune, paid them to protect their fields and houses from destruction by rain, avalanche and other natural calamities. The *ḥisāb'dān* and the *nāmah'navīs* charged the poor peasants for pointing out auspicious days. They would visit other neighbouring villages and read from a book they called the *Sā'at'nāmah* (literally, *The Book of Hour*). The people never commenced any work without first consulting the *ḥisāb'dān* and finding out the most auspicious hour for the undertaking. He fixed the auspicious periods for the peasants to plough and sow their lands. The *nāmah'navīs* would write his amulets (*nāmahs*) and bury them in the four corners of the peasants' fields to protect them from destruction by natural calamities. He even claimed that he was able to reverse the direction of massive avalanches. In compensation for that, they received a sheep from each household as a reward every year. They also lied to peasants' wives whether their next child would be a son or a daughter and offered to help so that they have sons. They read from a book they called *Kitāb-i arḥām* (literally, *The Book of Wombs*). If it happened by chance that rain, snow and rockslides did not destroy the fields, the brothers would boast and demand more reward from the harvest. However, if the fields and houses of the people became destroyed, the *ḥisāb'dān* and the *nāmah'navīs* would accuse the victims of having bad faith. To justify themselves, they would say that their knowledge (*'ilm*) was only efficacious for those who have faith. Nāṣir-i Khusraw was aware of their affair. He came to Andāvj, gathered the people and told them not to fall prey to ignorance and superstition (*jahl va khurāfāt*). Before he left, he uttered these verses:

<i>In rishvakhūrān, kih fuqahā'-yand shumā-rā</i>	These takers of bribes that are your <i>faqīhs</i>
<i>Iblīs faqīh ast, gar ān-hā fuqahā'-yand</i>	The devil is the <i>faqīh</i> , if they are the <i>faqīhs</i>
<i>Rishvat bi-khūrān, ān gah rukhṣat bi-dihand</i>	They take bribes and then let you leave
<i>Nah ahl-i qazā-and, bal ahl-i qafā-and</i>	They are not from among the people of decree, but rather from among the people of posterity
<i>Bar gāh nabīnī magar ān-rā kih sazā nīst</i>	Don't you see the one not worthy of the office?
<i>Az gāh bi-junbān-u dar chāh bi-mānash</i>	Remove him from the position of authority and put him in a dungeon
<i>Shudah manjūd ḥisāb'dān-u namā'vīs (sic)</i>	The <i>ḥisāb'dān</i> and <i>namā'vīs</i> (sic) came to be destroyed
<i>Asharr-i rishvakhūrānand, mashtūm chū Iblīs</i>	The worst of the takers of bribes, the cursed like Iblīs ⁴⁸

Even today the people of Andāvj hear voices from a cave in the mountains. These are the two devils (*iblis*), the *ḥisāb'dān* and the *nāmah'navīs*, who were thrown in the dungeon by Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Before Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw punished them, he recited these verses to them:

<i>Bih khūn-u māl-i mardum chand kūshī?</i>	For how long will you strive after people's blood and property?
<i>May-i nā'munṣifī tā chand nūshī?</i>	How long will you drink from the wine of inequity?

Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw taught the people of Pamir morality (*akhlāq*). His perfect knowledge enabled him to compose philosophical and religious treatises (*aṣar'hā-yi falsafī-dīnī*) for the people of Pamir. Because of him, the people are interested in the science of creation (*'ilm-i āfarīnīsh*). His teachings do not contradict the teachings that our children receive at schools. He was ahead of his time and criticized blind following of faith. It happened that many “scholars of religion” used his authority to justify their deceptions and injustices of the ordinary people. The teachings of the just Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who fought against oppression and injustice of the “scholars of religion” and “unjust rulers,” were not made accessible to the ordinary people. Instead, relying on his charisma and proclaiming him

⁴⁷ Probably Andāvj in the Ishkāshim district of modern Afghanistan.

⁴⁸ "Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir," 20-21.

as their “spiritual ancestor,” the “scholars of religion” controlled the ordinary peasants. Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a great philosopher and teacher of morality (*adab’āmūz*). Samples of his poems are,

Zih nīkān bāsh andar nīkū-ī kūsh
Makun nīkī-i kas az dil farāmūsh

Whoever does good to you once
Never forget this kindness

Zih mardum zādah-ī bā mardumān bāsh
Chīh bāshī dīv-i mardum, ādamī bāsh

You are born among humans, be with them
Why would you be human devil? Be a human

Barādar ān buvad kih rūz-i sakhtī
Tu-rā yārī kunad dar tang-bakhtī

A real brother is the one who on a difficult day
Helps you when you are in trouble

Kasī k-ū bā tū nīkī kard yak bār
Hamīshah ān nakūī yād mī-dār

Whoever does good to you once
Never forget the kindness

Bih az ṣānī ‘ bih ‘ālam muqbilī nīst

There is no one more fortunate than artisans in the
world

Zih kasb-i dast bihtar ḥāsili nīst

Nothing but the labour of the hand brings better
profit

Bārī az siblat-i har dūn-u har khas
Tan āsūdah zih bīm-u minnat-i kas

Free from the mustachios/arrogance of every base
Quiet and free from anyone’s fear and reproach

Bih az ṣannā ‘-i ‘ālam dihqān ast

Of all professions of the world that of the peasant
is the best

Kih vahsh-u ṭayr-rā rāhat-rasān ast

For the peasant brings comfort to animals and
birds

Jahān-rā khurramī az dihqān ast
Az ū gah zar ‘ gāhī būstān ast

The happiness of the world is due to the peasant
All the sown fields and gardens are his

The *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* concludes by claiming that, unfortunately, even the followers of this great sage (*ḥakīm*) and *pīr* later misused his teachings.⁴⁹

9.2.3 *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*

The *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, which is the latest of these works, was composed in 1982 by Sayyid Yāmīn in Shughnān. The author of this text is very well versed in Persian language. As in the other accounts, it includes poems that are either Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s or that are attributed to him. The text also contains poems that are either composed by the author or based on other sources. Unfortunately, the author does not mention anything about their authorship.

The story begins by stating that “today, many among our people (*mardum-i mā*) question the authenticity of the local history about Ḥakīm Nāṣir-i Khusraw and regard them as “meaningless tales” (*afsāna’hā-yi bī’ma’nī*). However, they are etched in the hearts and minds of the people, which indicates the fact that they are not “meaningless,” but are “meaningful” (*pur’ma’nī*) for the people who love Sayyid Shāh Nāṣir.”⁵⁰ The *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* goes on to say that the clergy (*rūhāniyān*), whom people followed blindly (*bih taqlīd*), accused Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw of unbelief. In fact, unlike those who used the faith of the ordinary people for their own social and economic

⁴⁹ Ibid., 22-24.

⁵⁰ "Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw," 1.

benefits, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a genuine man of truth (*mard-i haqq*) in search of justice (‘*adālat*). The work mentions that some of the people in Badakhshān believe that Nāṣir-i Khusraw performed marvels (*karāmāt kardah būd*) and that God worked through him. This may be because of the extraordinary faith in him, but great individuals like him were able to do things that ordinary people could not even fathom.⁵¹

The remainder of the account in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* is as follows:

Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw was born to the family of landowners (*dihqān*) and free-born (*āzādagān*) in Qubādiyān. When he was a young man, he went to Egypt to learn from the people of Mawlānā Mustanṣir. After not being able to meet with Mawlānā Mustanṣir for four months, Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw, advised by a friend (*dūstī*), waited for the celebration of Nawrūz, when the Imām came out of his palace and went to an open space where Nawrūz was celebrated. In order to attract the attention of the Imām among the crowds of people and soldiers, Nāṣir-i Khusraw dressed in the garment of mendicants (*dervish*). Mawlānā Mustanṣir noticed him and sent his deputy (*nāyib*) to bring Nāṣir-i Khusraw to his court. Mawlānā Mustanṣir received Nāṣir-i Khusraw well and, after some time, sent him to Khurāsān. Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw first went to Baghdād in order to win over the people so that they pledged loyalty to Mawlānā Mustanṣir. The *khalīfah* of Baghdād was sympathetic to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and even asked him to compose a book in defense of his faith. As Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw was in search of truth, he remained in Baghdād and studied their faith. The jurists (*faqīhān*) and other fake scholars (‘*ulamā’-laqābān*) became his enemies (*dushmanān*) because of his commitment to Mawlānā Mustanṣir and his dedication to “wisdom” (*ḥikmat*), and accused him of unbelief (*kufr*). They incited the *khalīfah* of Baghdād against him and the *khalīfah* issued a *fatvah* condemning him to death. Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw could not remain in the territory of the *khalīfah* and even passed by Nīshāpūr and Balkh and came to Badakhshān. Sayyid Nāṣir’s enemies were everywhere and persecuted him. Even at the court of ‘Alī ibn Asad Ḥusaynī in Badakhshān, there were zealous scholars (‘*ālimān*) and the jurists (*faqīhān*) like Naṣr Allāh Qāzī and Naṣr al-Dīn Sāvīr, who were his enemies.⁵² Sayyid Nāṣir wrote these verses about Naṣr Allāh Qāzī:

<i>Naṣr Allāh dar mulk-i Badakhshān faqīh būd</i>	Naṣr Allāh who was a <i>faqīh</i> in Badakhshān
<i>Īn qitrat-i mal’ūn bih yarān qabīḥ būd</i>	This cursed devil was reviled by friend
<i>Mardum’gazā’-i mulabbis-u dapūchah</i>	A deceiving and blood-sucking tyrant
<i>Īn amr bih iṭmām bih ikhvān ṣarīḥ būd</i>	All this was evident to friends

In his search of truth, Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw suffered greatly and sacrificed his life. Having experienced the enmity of people who claimed to serve God and who had good life, Nāṣir-i Khusraw became disillusioned. He wrote the following lines for this very reason:

<i>Agar nīkam v-agar bad khilqat az tūst</i>	Whether I am good or bad, the creation is yours
<i>Khalīqi khūb bāyad āfarīdan</i>	A good creature should have been created
<i>Kunī gar bad zi mā bad-rā mukāfāt</i>	You create and then reward the evil
<i>Nabāyad farq dar mā va tū dīdan</i>	What difference is then there between me and you?

Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw was “the greatest thinker” (*mutafakkir-i buzurgtarīn*) of his time, and we can judge this by the book he wrote for ‘Alī ibn Asad Ḥusaynī. He criticized the ruling class (*ṣinf-i ḥukmrān*) and fought for the causes of the oppressed peasants. It is because of his freedom loving and people loving views that the religious scholars (‘*ālimān-i dīn*) and the jurists (*faqīhān*) became his enemies.

<i>Dar rāh-i haqīqat-u ‘adālat</i>	That hero set out upon a journey
<i>Dar razm bā jīvat-u mubāghat</i>	On the path of truth and justice [and]
<i>Bardāshah tūshah ān kamar’kash</i>	Brought enough accusation and blaming [upon himself]

⁵¹ Ibid., 1-2.

⁵² Ibid., 2-4.

Even many of the scholars and the jurists of the “group” (*tāyifah*) that he represented abused the faith of the people for their economic benefits. This happened when Mawlānā Mustanṣir died and his party (*shī'at*) was inherited by Musta'ī. His people turned the faith that expressed the interests of ordinary people into a religion of oppression.⁵³

<i>Shāh-i 'ādil bih maḥz jāmāh guzāsht</i>	At the moment when the just sovereign left this world
<i>Ṭāghī bar takht nishast vā vaylā</i>	A rebel sat on the throne, woe, alas!
<i>Shī'atī būd ḥaqq al-nās'rā rukn</i>	The party for the people's cause
<i>Zulmatī sakht shudast vā vaylā</i>	Turned into tyranny, woe, alas!
<i>'Āmmah'rā sakht girift Musta'ī</i>	Musta'ī oppressed ⁵⁴ the common people
<i>Hamah sust'bakht shudast vā vaylā</i>	Everyone's fate became dark, woe, alas!

The fate of Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw took him to Alamūt where he stayed with “the leader of the heretics” (*sardār-i ahl-i malāḥadat*) who was a follower of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This story is told in the *Kitāb-i nadāmat*, a book composed by the “scholars in Pamir” (*'ulamā'-i Pāmīr*) before the Soviet period (*pīsh az zamān-i shūravī*). The book also speaks about Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw's travels in the West. After Alamūt, Nāṣir-i Khusraw came to Badakhshān, where people remember him through many *qiṣṣahs* and *rivāyāts*. After leaving the court of 'Alī ibn Asad Ḥusaynī, Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw went to Khulm.⁵⁵ There was a ruler (*shāh*) in that region who taxed his subjects heavily. Having seen the plight of the people, Nāṣir-i Khusraw told them not to pay taxes to the ruler (*bāj-u kharāj*) and promised to protect them from him. Nāṣir-i Khusraw wrote a poem about this tyrant who drank the poor people's blood. He says,

<i>Makhūr nānash, agar khud naf'-i jān ast</i>	Do not eat his bread even if it saves your life
<i>Kih gird āvardah khūn-i muflisān ast</i>	For what he has gathered is the blood of the poor

The poor peasants said they were afraid of the tyrant ruler but listened to Sayyid Nāṣir and stopped paying duties. The ruler became angry, summoned Sayyid Nāṣir and asked why he interfered in his affairs. Sayyid Nāṣir said, “Oh ignorant unbeliever, I am Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the *pīr-i rukn*, and it is better for you to prepare for your last journey (*barā-yi safar-i ākhirat āmādah shav*).” The ruler gave him a condition and said, “if you build mills for the six villages under my rule within twenty-four hours, I will not only stop taking taxes from the people, but will become your follower.” Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the wisdom (*ḥikmat*) that he had was able to build seven mills within twelve hours. The ruler stopped taking taxes from the people, gave up his kingdom and became a follower of Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁵⁶

<i>Ḥikmat-i ū sang-i rāh-i zulm shud</i>	His wisdom became an impediment to oppression
<i>Shāhid-i ān khvūd shāh-i Khulm shud</i>	The king of Khulm himself became witness to it
<i>Tīgh-i jabrī az kaf-i dastash rahānd</i>	He let the sword of cruelty fall from his hand
<i>Rāst bar aṣnāf falāḥ-i ḥulm shud</i>	The peasants' dream of having happiness and deliverance became fulfilled

Sayyid Nāṣir travelled to every corner of Badakhshān. He went to Ishkāshim, Vakhān, Darmārakht, Pārshinīv, Rūshān, Darvāz, Shughnān and other places in the region. In Charsīm, a very wealthy man (*mard-i bāy-u badavlat*) exploited the people who worked for him in the field. He had a sorcerer whom he asked to suspend the sun in the sky, because the people who worked for him were supposed to work from dusk to dawn. Having seen their plight, Nāṣir-i Khusraw left the village quietly for Shitam. In the morning, the people saw that the mountain behind the house of the man fell onto his house, killing him and his sorcerer. Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw spent some time in Shitam and after a while left for Khijiz (Khijez) through Zivār. He travelled in Basīd, Rāshārv, Barchadīv, Nisūr, Dasht and other villages in Bartang. He found the people of most of the villages in Bartang kind and cordial but

⁵³ Ibid., 5-8.

⁵⁴ Literally, “to seize firmly.”

⁵⁵ Khulm was a dependency of Balkh, on the confines of Badakhshān. Until recently, it was part of Samangān province.

⁵⁶ “Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw,” 9-10.

warned the people of Visāyd and Sarīz of repercussions for their immorality. What happened to these villages is known to all.⁵⁷ Sayyid Nāṣir wrote these verses about Bartang:

<i>Bartang marav kih rāh-i Bartang khatar ast</i>	Don't go to Bartang, for its road is dangerous
<i>Rawmīd-u Khijīz zi chāh-u zindān batar ast</i> ⁵⁸	Rawmīd and Khijīz are worse than a dungeon and a prison ⁵⁹

Sayyid Nāṣir brought inflictions upon “deceiving and hypocritical religious figures” (*bālā-yi dīndārān-i riyākār va firībgar 'azāb mī'āvard*). When he came back to Ghund through Zivār and went to Āqmamad, he found out about the affair of a very wealthy *mullā* who had befriended a devil (*dīv*). This devil possessed young girls (*bih dukhtarān-i javān yār mī'shud*), and the *mullā* performed fake exorcism (*azāyim*). Since the devil and the *mullā* were complicit in this, the devil left the girls alone, giving the impression that the work of the *mullā* was effective. In this way, the *mullā* took reward for the fake service. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who had the power of insight (*baṣīrat dasht*), knew of the real affairs of the man. The next day the *mullā* became paralyzed and stopped deceiving young girls.

<i>Dīv-i pur-i talbīs khawdān zadah būdī</i>	The deceitful devil possessed young girls
<i>Nashāṣ bih sar'sāmāh dar ān gham'kadāh būdī</i>	Having become mad, the crowd of young girls remained in the mansion of sorrow
<i>Āmad va bih sayfī bi'zad bar sar-u pāyash</i>	He [i.e. Nāṣir-i Khusraw] arrived, struck the forehead and feet with the <i>sayfī</i> prayer ⁶⁰
<i>Shīk gashtah mullā va ubnā'zadah būdī</i>	Paralyzed, the <i>mullā</i> remained branded with infamy ⁶¹

In the past, a king who was very cruel to his subjects ruled Ghund. He levied heavy taxes on poor peasants. He forced them to give their sons to his service and forcefully took their daughters away, dishonoring them and their families. Those who rose against him were severely punished or killed right away. The people had no choice but to continue living under these unspeakable horrors of the king's brutality. One day the people saw an old man who requested an audience with the king. His request, however, was not granted. The old man then stood before the king's palace for two days. While he was standing there, he stretched his hands out and said a prayer, the meaning of which was unknown to the people. In the evening of the second day, the old man turned his face toward a group of people who had gathered there in the square before the palace and uttered these words: “I have come here to help you. I am aware that your king has wronged you. The king will be punished for what he has done to you. Don't worry now! The tyrant is dead! He died this very hour.” All the people gathered around him and heeded his words. He spoke of the injustice (*ẓulmat*) and inequality (*nā'barābarī*) and urged the people to uproot these inhumane practices and phenomena so that they and their children lived in freedom and harmony. With these words, the old man turned his face to the east and began to walk away slowly. His figure gradually disappeared from view. An old man among the villagers rose to his feet and said, “Thank you God for sending Nāṣir to our aid!”⁶²

<i>Ān Shāh bih faẓīhat</i>	For his abuse, ignominy
<i>Āvā-yi jahān shud</i>	Killings [and] oppression

⁵⁷ This is most probably a reference to the earthquake that took place in 1911 in Bartang. As a result of this earthquake, the Lake Sarīz came about.

⁵⁸ The author does not include the remaining verses of this popular poem. The omitted verses are: *Har kas kih bih Rawmīd-u Khijīz dil bandad, Az kāfar-i gabr-u nāmusulmān batar ast* (He who is attached to Rawmīd and Khijīz, is worse than infidels and non-Muslims). See Tillo Pulodī, "Nazare ba adabiēti pesh az revoliūtsionii Badakhshon," *Sharqi Surkh*, no. 12 (1952): 75.

⁵⁹ "Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw," 11-12.

⁶⁰ The third line could also be read as “He came and struck on his forehead with a sword,” but considering the general portrayal of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, I am fairly certain that it is the “sword prayer” (*du'ah-i sayfī*) that is meant here. Nāṣir-i Khusraw does not engage in physical confrontation with his enemies. He inflicts pain and illness upon them by other means. The pre-Soviet hagiographical sources explicitly mention divine aid and the assistance of spiritual beings/spirits, but the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* and the other Soviet hagiographical sources, despite describing Nāṣir-i Khusraw's wondrous deeds, do not present them as such.

⁶¹ "Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw," 13.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 13-14.

Bih vajāmat bih har jā shanān shud
Bih nikāyat āmāj-i sinān shud
Bih mubāghat changāl-i kamān shud
Ān Pīr bih faẓīlat
Āvā-yi jahān shud
Bih 'adālat bih har jā 'ayyān shud
Bih ri 'āyat rāmī-i sinān shud
Bih muḥabbat qavvās-i kamān shud!

That king became notorious in the world
 Disliked in every place
 [He] became a target for spears and arrows
 For his virtue, justice
 Patronage [and] love
 That Pīr became known in the world
 and appeared in every place
 [He] became the shooter of spears and arrows

Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw had many companions who travelled with him in Badakhshān. He left his *ash'ār* and the *Vajh-i dīn* for the people. After travelling on this side of the river, they went to Barpanjah. In that village, there was a man named Shāh Ẓiyāyī, the ancestor of the poet by this name, who did not have a sharp mind and who could not study well. He was intellectually weak. Because of this, he suffered both at school and at home, as his teachers and his parents tormented him. For this reason, he left his home and one day he met Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Shāh Ẓiyāyī was aware of Sayyid Nāṣir's fame as a great Tajik poet and wanted to be like him in this art. However, because of his weak intellect (*zihni-za'if*) he did not even hope to be any close to him in poetry. Nāṣir-i Khusraw was aware that Shāh Ẓiyāyī had the desire to become a poet, so he turned to him and said, "Read" (*bikhān*). Shāh Ẓiyāyī looked at Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw in silence and did nothing. Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw told him for the second time, "Read." Shāh Ẓiyāyī replied by saying that he could not. For the third time, Shāh Nāṣir-i Khusraw looked right into Shāh Ẓiyāyī's eyes and said, "Read."⁶³ At that point, everything became known to Shāh Ẓiyāyī and from then on, he wrote great poems, which are famous in Pamir.

At Barpanjah, while Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw was swimming in the river, a vulture (*kargas*) flying above him noticed that a snake entered his shoe (*mahsī*). The snake wanted to bite Nāṣir-i Khusraw as soon as he came out of the water. At that moment, the vulture took Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw's shoe and flew high into the sky. When Nāṣir-i Khusraw saw this, he became angry. The vulture took the snake and threw it in a plain without water and brought Nāṣir-i Khusraw's shoe back to him. When the vulture came back, it prostrated (*sajdah kardah*) before Nāṣir-i Khusraw, asked for forgiveness and said: "A snake planned to poison you, but I took and threw it in a plain without water." Nāṣir-i Khusraw praised (*bahā dād*) the vulture and wrote the famous poem in its honour (*dar haqq-i vay*).⁶⁴

Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw travelled further and arrived in Yārkh. He was exhausted after trekking the mountains. The people of Yārkh were very rich, but their wealth made them blind to the few poor households living in the village. The rich people did not welcome Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Wherever he went, they threw stones at him, made fun of him and drove him away. There lived one old woman (*kampīrī*) among the poor people in Yārkh. She had only one rooster (*khurūs*), a sheep (*gūsfand*) and a sieve (*gharbīl*). She accommodated Nāṣir-i Khusraw and served him bread and *shīr-rūghan*,⁶⁵ which she made with her last bowl of milk. Before he went to sleep, Nāṣir-i Khusraw told her to put the rooster in the sieve and go to the top of the mountain at midnight along with the few households that treated him well, because something was going to happen that night. When she woke up at midnight, she saw that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was missing. She remembered his words and climbed the mountain with the other people and stayed at the top of the mountain till morning. In the morning, she looked down at the village and saw nothing but a massive lake. Everything and every living creature were beneath the water, but only her sieve with the rooster was floating on the surface of the water. From then on, the people of Badakhshān (*Kuhistān*) put their property (*māl*) in sieves hoping not to lose it or hoping that it increases.⁶⁶ This is how the lake of Yārkh came into being.⁶⁷

Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw then returned to Barpanjah and, together with his companions, reached the valley of Yumgān. There, they took a liking to one area and decided to settle there

⁶³ It is worth noting that the ordering to "read" three times is reminiscent of Angel Gabriel (Jibrīl) telling the Prophet Muḥammad to read three times and it is after uttering the word "read" three times that the Prophet began to recite the first revealed verses of the Qur'ān that start with the word "read" (or recite, *iqra*).

⁶⁴ "Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw," 15-16.

⁶⁵ *Shīr-rūghān* (a combination of *shīr*, milk and *rawghan*, butter) is a warm cream made of milk, freshly churned butter, salt, and sometimes water. It is commonly eaten with bread. On *shīr-rūghān* as a holy food in Afghan Shughnān, see Frederik J.W. van Oudenhoven and L. Jamila Haider, "Imagining alternative futures through the lens of food in the Afghan and Tajik Pamir mountains," *Revue d'ethnoécologie [En ligne]* 2 (2012).

⁶⁶ This is a practice widely used in Badakhshān until recently.

⁶⁷ "Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw," 17.

permanently. The owner of the land where they wanted to build their houses told them to pay for the land in gold. Sayyid Nāṣir did not have gold, but asked the man to pick up a handful of earth in his hand. The man did what Nasir told him to do and closed his hand. When he opened his hand, he did not see earth in his hand. The earth had miraculously turned into gold. When the man returned home and told everything to his wife, his greedy wife asked him to go back to Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw and ask him for more gold. She told him the land cost more gold than he brought home. Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw, again, performed the same marvel and gave the man more gold. Even this time, the man's wife was not satisfied and wanted more gold from Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The man came to Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw for the third time and demanded even more gold. This time, Nasir sent the man home empty-handed. But when the man reached his home, he found his greedy wife completely blind and the gold, which he brought home had turned back to earth.⁶⁸

Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw finally settled in Yumgān and lived there in a cave in the company of his companions (*vārān*). He composed several works, including the *Vajh-i dīn*, *Dīvān-i ash'ār*, *Qānūn-i a'ẓam* and *Zād al-musāfirīn* in Yumgān. He passed away and is buried in the cave in Yumgān.

These are the stories found in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*. Apart from these, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* mentions how Nāṣir-i Khusraw built pathways on mountains, named villages, and punished unjust people. Towards the conclusion, it states how Nāṣir-i Khusraw laid the foundation for science and learning in Badakhshān and how people love him and remember him.

9.3 Analysis: New Agendas of the Soviet Hagiographies

The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* draw primarily from three sources: 1) Nāṣir-i Khusraw's own works and his biography as established by scholars; 2) the pre-Soviet written Badakhshānī hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and 3) the oral hagiographical tradition of Badakhshān, which also contains adaptations of certain elements that existed in the pre-Soviet period. The choice and presentation of much of the material from these sources reflect agendas that bear the influence of Soviet ideology. In the following paragraphs, I examine various elements taken from these three sources in order to establish the central arguments of the chapter: The hagiographical works produced during the Soviet period present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a proponent of the peasantry, ordinary and poor people and an opponent of tyrants, hypocrite clergy and wealthy people. They also present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a progressive philosopher, a proponent of reason and humanism and an opponent of blind faith and superstition. The sources also connect Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the Tajik nation, presenting him as Tajik poet with roots in Tajikistan.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 16. The same story is also recorded in Bāmiyānī, *Afsānahā-yi tārikhī*, 69. Rizvonshoeva, "Simoi Hakim Nosiri Khusrav dar rivoiātu afsonaho," 578.

9.3.1 Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Biography and Works

The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* incorporate elements from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's scholarly biography and works. The incorporation of elements from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's scholarly biography is one of the most obvious shifts in the evolution of the Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. First of all, the hagiographical works connect Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Qubādiyān, in current day Tajikistan. This does not occur in any of the pre-Soviet hagiographical sources. In scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw, it has been accepted that he was born in Qubādiyān. He calls himself Abū Mu'īn Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāṣir-i Khusraw al-Qubādiyānī al-Marvazī in his *Safar'nāmah*,⁶⁹ and also refers to his roots in Qubādiyān in his poetry.⁷⁰ As in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* mentions Qubādiyān as Nāṣir-i Khusraw's birthplace and even makes this reference more specific by mentioning Sharhtuz and Mikāyanābād. The ruins of the ancient town of Qubādiyān are located in the Sharhtuz region of Tajikistan, and the Soviet scholarship mentions Sharhtuz as Nāṣir-i Khusraw's birthplace.⁷¹ In the Soviet period, between 1930 and 1970, the present-day district of Qubādiyān was known as Mikāyanābād; the Soviet scholarship also associated it with Nāṣir-i Khusraw's birthplace.⁷² Although the region was no longer called "Mikāyanābād" officially by the time the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* was composed, its inclusion in the account indicates that it was either still known by this name among the people or that the author of the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* simply relied on Soviet scholarship composed before 1970.

Apart from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's birthplace, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* mentions that his journey took seven years. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as we know from his *Safar'nāmah*, began his seven-year journey in 437/1045 and returned to Balkh in 444/1052.⁷³ The *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* also mentions quite accurately that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was forty years old when he had a vision, after which he set out on his journey in 437/1045. Based on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's own works, it is clear that he was born in 394/1004 and was about forty years old when he had the vision.⁷⁴ In a *qaṣīdah*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions the year 394/1004 as the year of his birth.⁷⁵ In the *Safar'nāmah*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw indicates his age by saying "when are you going to wake from the sleep of forty years (*khāb-*

⁶⁹ Khusraw, *Safar'nāmah*, 1. As Qubādiyān was a district of Marv, Nāṣir-i Khusraw also calls himself al-Marvazī. Ivanow, *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, 6. Taqī'zādah, "Muqaddimah," 4.

⁷⁰ See for example, "Muqaddimah," 297:23.

⁷¹ See for instance, Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 169. For information about the ruins of Qubādiyān in Shahrtuz, see A. Ū. Īakubovskīi, ed. *Trudy sogdiisko-tadzhiksoi arkhologicheskoi ekspeditsii*, vol. 1 (Moscow: : 1950), 111, 83-84.

⁷² See for instance, Aīnī, *Gulchine az devoni ash'or*, 14. The region was named after the Soviet statesman Anastas Ivanovich Mikoian (d. 1978).

⁷³ Khusraw, *Safar-name*, 29, 206. *Nāṣir-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, 1, 103-04. *Safar'nāmah*, 1, 123.

⁷⁴ Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 169.

⁷⁵ *Bigzash tih hijrat pas sīṣad navad-u char, binhād ma-rā mādar bar tūdah-i aghbar*. There is, however, another *qaṣīdah* that mentions 357/968 (*bih sāl-i pas sīṣad-u panjāh-u haftum, bih zu-l-qa'dah ma-rā binhād mādar*). *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 184. As Naṣr Allāh Taqavī has argued, the copyist of the manuscript has clearly distorted this *qaṣīdah*. See *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 184, n1.

i chihil'sālah)?”⁷⁶ In addition, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāšir* mentions that Nāšir-i Khusraw spent three years in Egypt, which can also be established based on the *Safar'nāmāh*.⁷⁷

Other elements in the *Āmadan-i Nāšir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, such as the excellent life, wealth and security of the people in Egypt, the markets, honesty, the justice of the Fāṭimid “Sultān,” the pious and learned *vizier*, tolerance to different peoples and so on, also echo the account of Nāšir-i Khusraw’s *Safar'nāmāh*. For example, concerning the wealth of the people, Nāšir-i Khusraw writes, “The people were so rich that if I told the people of Persia they would not believe me.”⁷⁸ Mentioning the security of the people, he writes, “The security and welfare of the people of Egypt have reached a point that the drapers, moneychangers, and jewelers do not even lock their shops – they only lower a net across the front, and no one tampers with anything.”⁷⁹ Or, “The people are so secure under the sultān’s reign that no one fears his agents, and they rely on him neither to inflict injustice nor to have designs on anyone’s property.”⁸⁰ Nāšir-i Khusraw also praises the grand vizier and writes that he “... is a personage exceptional in his asceticism, piety, trustworthiness, truthfulness, learning and intellect.”⁸¹ Using the very word “sultān”, Nāšir-i Khusraw praises him as a just ruler and describes his fair treatment of peasants and artisans in the *Safar'nāmāh*.⁸² About the treatment of artisans, Nāšir-i Khusraw writes, “Nothing is taken from anyone by force. The full price is paid for all the linen and silk woven for the sultān, so that the people work willingly – not as in some other countries, where the artisans are forced to labor for the vizier and sultān.”⁸³ Similarly, we find descriptions of the honesty of merchants⁸⁴ and the tolerance that the “Sultān” displayed and protection given to different peoples, even those who did not share his doctrines in the *Safar'nāmāh*.⁸⁵

There are other elements that are based on Nāšir-i Khusraw’s own works or his scholarly biography in the hagiographical sources. For example, the *Āmadan-i Nāšir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* mentions that Nāšir-i Khusraw’s brother Abū Sa’īd travelled with him to Egypt. This is also mentioned in his genuine *Safar'nāmāh* (although the text does not give his name).⁸⁶ The *Risālat al-nādāmāh* and the *Siyāhat'nāmāh-i Nāšir* provide his brother’s name as well.⁸⁷ Both the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāšir* and the *Qīṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw* mention that Nāšir-i Khusraw wrote a work on

⁷⁶ Khusraw, *Safar-name*, 31. *Nāšir-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels*, 2. *Safar'nāmāh*.

⁷⁷ Bertel’s, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 178-80.

⁷⁸ Khusraw, *Safar-name*, 126. *Safar'nāmāh*, 46-70.

⁷⁹ *Nāšir-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels*, 57. *Safar-name*, 130.

⁸⁰ *Nāšir-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels*, 55. *Safar-name*, 126.

⁸¹ *Safar-name*, 109. *Nāšir-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels*, 46. *Safar'nāmāh*, 48.

⁸² See for example, *Safar-name*, 127.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 97. *Nāšir-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels*, 40. *Safar'nāmāh*, 48.

⁸⁴ “The merchants ... are honest in their dealings.” *Safar-name*, 125. *Nāšir-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels*, 55.

⁸⁵ See for instance the account on a wealthy Christian in Egypt, *Safar-name*, 126. Or, protection given to a wealthy Jewish. *Ibid.*, 130. *Nāšir-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels*, 58.

⁸⁶ *Safar-name*, 14, 34. *Nāšir-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels*, 3. *Safar'nāmāh*, 6.

⁸⁷ The *Siyāhat'nāmāh-i Nāšir* mentions Nāšir-i Khusraw’s brother (whom he calls Sultān Sa’īd), but not that he travelled with him to Egypt or elsewhere. It only mentions that Nāšir-i Khusraw called Sultān Sa’īd to visit him when he was at the court of the king of the heretics. *Siyāhat'nāmāh-i Nāšir*, 36. Rahmonqulov, Baḥr ul-akhbor, 19.

philosophy for ‘Alī ibn Asad, the ruler of Badakhshān. The reference is clearly to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s work, *Jāmi‘ al-ḥikmatayn*, composed as a response to ‘Alī ibn Asad’s inquiry.⁸⁸

In addition, the author of the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* mentions Māzandarān, which does not occur in any of the pre-Soviet hagiographical sources and other works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw. I already discussed the possibility that, in the *Bayān al-adyān*, Ṭabaristān should be read as Ṭukhāristān,⁸⁹ but the only source apart from the *Bayān al-adyān* that mentions Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s journey to Rustamdār and Gīlān (in Māzandarān) is Dawlatshāh’s *Tadhkīrah* and it is quite possible that Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited these locations.⁹⁰ His own poetry indicates that he was in Māzandarān, and, as Taqī’zādah argues, if Nāṣir-i Khusraw was in Māzandarān, he did not spend much time there.⁹¹ At any rate, this reference to Māzandarān is probably based on either Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry or other scholars’ writings on him.

Unlike the pre-Soviet hagiographies, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* uses the verse about his mastering all sciences (“There hasn’t remained any kind of knowledge that I haven’t used more or less” - *namānd az hīj gūn dānish kih man z-ān, nakardam istifādat bīsh-u kamtar*), quoting it verbatim.⁹² Similarly, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* mentions what Nāṣir-i Khusraw says about becoming “ruler over the soul and property of the people in Yumgān” (*shukr ān khudā-rā kih bih Yumgān zi faẓl-i ū, ba jān-u māl-i khalq farmān-ravā shudam*).⁹³ The *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* also uses verses about “takers of bribes” that are found in Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Dīvān*.⁹⁴ The same work also uses a line of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poem about Turks (“I cannot become a servant to the Turks?”), found in his *Dīvān*.⁹⁵ Other verses, cited in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* and the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir*, including those about the evil nature of the snake, the hypocrite friend, avoiding the illicit food of tyrants, remembering the kindness of others, being kind to people, serving one’s parents, being a human and not devil-like, and the praise of the labour of peasants and artisans come from the

⁸⁸ Khusraw, *Kitāb jāmi‘ al-ḥikmatayn*, 17.

⁸⁹ See chapter five.

⁹⁰ In Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s own poetry, there is a reference to the ruler of Gīlān, but it does not indicate he had been there. *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 304. *Gar tū nishāt dargah-i jīlān kunī, man qaṣd sū-yi dargah-i raḥmān kunam*.

⁹¹ See *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 412:2-3. (*dūstī-i ‘ītrat va khānah-i rasūl, kard marā Yumgī-yū māzandarī*) and *ibid.*, 506:2 (*bargīr dil zih balkh-u binīh tan zih bahr-i dīn, chūn man gharīb-u zār bih māzandarān shudam*).

⁹² *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 185:12. The claim that Nāṣir-i Khusraw mastered all sciences is reminiscent of the pseudo-biographies and the *Kalām-i pīr*. The *Kalām-i pīr*, for instance, features a verse similar to the one used in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, which is *dar jahān ‘ilm namādist kih na-khvāndam ū-rā* (“not a single science was left in the world which I had not studied.”) Harātī?, *Kalām-i Pīr*, Persian, 12, English text, 6.

⁹³ This verse is slightly different (*shukr an khudāy-ra kih ba Yumgān zi faẓl-i ū, bar jān-u māl-i shī‘at farmānravā shudam*) in *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 283. *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī), 140.

⁹⁴ The version in the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* is slightly different from the one published in Taqavī’s edition of the *Dīvān*. See *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 97:9, 97:11, 222:22. *In rishvatkhūrān, kih fuqahā‘-and shumā-rā, Iblīs faqīh ast, gar īn-hā fuqahā‘-and* (97:9), *Rishvat bi-khūrānd, ān gah rukhṣat bi-dihand, Nah ahl-i qazā-and, bal az ahl-i qafā-and* (97:11), *Bar gāh nabīnī magar ān-rā kih sazā hast, K-az gāh barangīzī-vu dar chāh nihānīsh*.

⁹⁵ The Turks were my slaves and servants before, / How can I make myself a servant of the Turks? (*turkān rahī-vū bandah-i man būda-and, man tan chih gūnah bandah-i turkān kunam*). *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 305:4.

Sa'adat'nāmah generally believed to be the work of Nāṣir-i Khusraw by Soviet scholars.⁹⁶ Other verses, such as those about not coveting other people's property, the true brother who gives a hand in hardships and remembering the good that others do, come from the poetic *Rawshanā'ī'nāmah*.⁹⁷

Among other elements that were based on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's own works is the term "envoy" (*saḡfīr*) in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, which Nāṣir-i Khusraw uses in reference to himself in his *Dīvān*.⁹⁸ The *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* also mentions the notion of 'ilm-i āfarīnīsh or "knowledge of creation," which Nāṣir-i Khusraw also uses in his own works. For example, in the *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn*, he writes that the so-called scholars ('ulamā'laqabān) call those who possess "knowledge of creation" unbelievers (*kāfir*).⁹⁹ Criticizing the pseudo-scholars in Khurāsān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw states that they do not combine "knowledge of true religion" ('ilm-i dīn-i ḥaqq) with "knowledge of creation" ('ilm-i āfarīnīsh) and that is the task of philosophy ('alāiq-i falsafah). The philosopher (*ḡaylasūf*), according to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, considers these nominal scholars as animals (*sutūrān*).¹⁰⁰

The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* mentions that the "religious scholars" ('ulamā'-i dīn) and the ruling Saljūq Turk ruler (*amīr-i saljūqī*) called Nāṣir-i Khusraw a Carmathian (*qarmaṭī*). This is also based on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's own works and is part of his accepted biography. For example, he mentions that the 'ulamā' of Khurāsān and Balkh¹⁰¹ called him a *qarmaṭī*,¹⁰² the Saljūq sultān persecuted him and, possibly, the 'Abbāsīd caliph also condemned him, but he clearly indicates that this was related to religion (*sar-i dīn khuṣūmat kardān*), search for knowledge and his love for the family of the Prophet.¹⁰³ The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* mentions the reason for Nāṣir-i Khusraw's persecution to be his views on equality (*barābarī*), humanism (*bashardūstī*) and criticism of oppressive classes who used religion to suppress and control the people.

⁹⁶ *Khush āyad tab'-ī mār āshuftan-rā, Nashayad mār juz sar kuḡfian-rā; Munāḡfiq-rā madān yār-i muvāḡfiq, Munāḡfiq-rā munāḡfiq dān, munāḡfiq; Makhūr nānash, agar khūd naf'-i jān ast, Kih gird āvardah khūn-i muḡlisān ast; Zih nīkān bāsh andar nīkūī kūsh, Makun nīkī-i kas az dīl farāmūsh; Hamīshah nīk-khvāh-i mardumān bāsh, Bih nīkī kūsh v-ān ḡah dar amān bāsh; Bih pūrī khīdmat-i mādar padar kun, Javānī-yū junūn az sar badar kun; Zih mardum zādah-ī bā mardumān bash, Chīh bāshī dīv-i mardum, ādamī bāsh; Bih az ṣānī' bih 'ālam muḡbilī nīst, Zih kasb-i dast bihtar ḡāsīlī nīst, Barī az siblat-i har dūn-u har khāṣ, Tan āsūdah zih bīm-u minnat-i kas; Bih az ṣannā-i 'ālam dīḡqān ast, Kih vaḡsh-u ṡayr-rā rāḡat-rasān ast, Jahān-rā khurramī az dīḡqān ast, Az ū ḡah zar' ḡāhī būstān ast. Khusraw, *Dīvān (Taqavī)*, 546:10, 46:15, 47:18, 48:18, 50:10, 55:7, 56:9, 56:13, 56:16, 57:3, 57:5. See also Aīnī, *Gulchine az devonī ash'or*, 126, 28, 33, 38, 40, 41, 43, 51. Two of the above verses appear slightly differently in Taqavī's edition of the *Dīvān*: *Zih mardum zādah-ī bā mardumān bāsh, Chīh bāshad dīv būdan, ādamī bash* and *Bih az ṣānī' bih ḡūī muḡbilī nīst, Zih kasb-i dast bihtar ḡāsīlī nīst*. See also *ibid.*, 130, 41. See *Dīvān (Taqavī)*, 548, 56.*

⁹⁷ *Bih khūn-u māī-i mardum chand kūshī? May-i nā-munṣīḡī tā chand nūshī?; Barādar ān buvad kih rūz-i sakhī, Tu-rā yārī kunad dar tang-bakhī; Kasī k-ū bā tū nīkī kard yak bār, Hamīshah ān nakūī yād mī-dār. Dīvān (Taqavī)*, 512, 16, 33. These verses from *Rawshanāh-i'nāmah*, which is attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, are included in *Gulchine az devonī ash'or*, 151, 55, 64.

⁹⁸ *Nah bas fakhrām ān k-az Imām-i zamānah, sū-yī 'āqīlān-i Khurāsān saḡfīram. Dīvān (Taqavī)*, 290.

⁹⁹ Khusraw, *Kitāb jāmi' al-ḡikmatayn*, 15-16.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁰¹ For instance, he mentions a certain "Imām-i Balkh" in *Dīvān (Taqavī)*, 485:17-18.

¹⁰² Khusraw, *Dīvān (Taqavī)*, 448:2.

¹⁰³ For this reason, Nāṣir-i Khusraw calls the Saljūqs and sometimes the Abbasid caliphs "devils" and "Pharaohs." See *ibid.*, 102:3, 92:2, 431:16. In one of his famous poems, Nāṣir-i Khusraw writes that it is the love for the family of the Prophet that made him Yumḡī (*dūstī-i 'īrat-u khānah-i rasūl, kard ma-rā yumḡī-vu māzandarānī*). *Ibid.*, 413:2.

These examples, mentioned above, indicate that the hagiographical accounts, written in the Soviet period, incorporated elements from the accepted scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and that their writers were exposed to the Soviet scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The sources also make use of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's own works and works that are attributed to him. None of these elements (with the exception of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's brother travelling with him) occur in the pre-Soviet hagiography. More importantly, these elements include two things that are in line with the new socio-political context. First, they focus on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's praise of rulers who treat peasants and artisans fairly and on his criticism of those who do otherwise. The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* also has Nāṣir-i Khusraw praise the peasants and the working people (*kishāvar'zān va kārvar'zān*). Second, they focus on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's connection with Tajikistan and present him as a Tajik poet and philosopher. Apart from mentioning Qubādiyān and Shahrtuz (Mikāyanābād), the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as one of the famous scholars, poets and philosophers (*yakī az 'alimān, shā'irān va faylasūfān-i mashhūr*). According to this account, when the people in Shughnān asked who he was, he replied by saying that he was "the poet Nāṣir-i Khusraw" (*man shā'ir Nāṣir-i Khusravam*). The hagiographies refer to his "knowledge of creation" (*'ilm-i āfarīnīsh*), a notion also discussed by Soviet scholars. Since it was seen as physical or natural knowledge, distinct from spiritual knowledge, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was deemed a proponent of natural science.¹⁰⁴ Understandably, the choice of the material from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's own works and biography is selective in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*. They do not include many elements that are inconsistent with Soviet ideology. For instance, they do not mention anything about the pilgrimages that Nāṣir-i Khusraw performed during his seven-year journey, which he describes in the *Safar'nāmah*. Thus, these hagiographies display the tendency towards historical omission.

9.3.2 Elements of pre-Soviet Hagiographies in the Soviet Hagiographies

In addition to elements from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's scholarly biography and works, in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* we also encounter features of the pre-Soviet Badakhshānī hagiographical stories. The new hagiographical works mention the names of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's companions and other figures. Like the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* mentions Bābā Ḥaydar as his companion. Like the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* speaks about Shāh Ṭālib and other figures close to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, including Khvājah Hamdīn, Khvājah Bashīr, Khvājah Salmān, Aḥmad-i Dīvānah, Sayyid Suhrāb-i Valī and Sayyid 'Umar-i Yumgī. The *Āmadan-i*

¹⁰⁴ See for example, Bertel's, *Nasir*, 204-205. Nāṣir-i Khusraw also writes about the two types of knowledge, i.e. physical or natural and spiritual, in his *Zād al-musāfirīn. Zād al-musāfirīn*, 18-19.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān, like the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, presents the other companion of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Bābā Fāqmadad-i Parvāzī, as a native of Shākh'darah. The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, like the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, mentions that Malik Jān (Jahān) Shāh and Suhrāb Valī were the servants Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Like the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* has Malik Jān (Jahān) Shāh and Suhrāb Valī gather vowings or spiritual donations (*nuzūrāt*) for the *pīr* in different localities. Following the pre-Soviet hagiographies, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* provides the name of the ruler in Yumgān, Gīv ibn Kaykāvūs, as well that of the woman who helped him, Bīshakmurād. Like the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and other pre-Soviet sources, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* mentions Nāṣir-i Khusraw's escape to the court of 'Alī ibn Asad Ḥusaynī in Badakhshān. It also points to the enmity of zealous scholars ('*ālimān*) and the jurists (*faqihān*) such as Naṣr Allāh Qāzī and Naṣr al-Dīn Sāvir. Like the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* mentions that Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited the 'Abbāsīd caliph in Baghdād after coming from Egypt. The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* identifies the tyrant king as Sho Tabarruk, a name that appears in the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, but not in relation to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Moreover, like the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* mentions a tyrant king in Jurm. Finally, like the pre-Soviet hagiographical sources, those composed in the Soviet period mention Nāṣir-i Khusraw's meeting with the Fāṭimid Imām and Nāṣir-i Khusraw's arrival to Badakhshān, which resulted from that encounter.

In the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw's father, though originally from Qubādiyān, is presented as the king of Balkh. This does not occur in the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, but it is somewhat similar to the legend in the *Athār al-bilād* of al-Qazvīnī (d. ca. 682/1283), according to which Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a king of Balkh.¹⁰⁵ However, its version is much closer to that of the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* in which Nāṣir-i Khusraw's father is the king of Balkh. Similarly, the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* mentions that Nāṣir-i Khusraw's ancestors were the rulers (*amīrs*) of Balkh.¹⁰⁶

The hagiographies written during the Soviet period include other elements from the pre-Soviet sources. Some of the elements in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* are derived from the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (not to be confused with the hagiographical work composed during the Soviet period). For example, when Nāṣir-i Khusraw asks one of his friends (*yakī az dūstān*) to help him to meet with the *Sulṭān*, he is informed that every year the *Sulṭān* goes to the gardens (*bāghāt*) by the Nile river, built by his ancestor Ḥākīm bi-Amr Allāh, and celebrates Nawrūz for one week.¹⁰⁷ The same account is also given in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, written during the Soviet period.

¹⁰⁵ Browne, "Nasir-i-Khusraw: Poet, Traveller, and Propagandist," 325-26.

¹⁰⁶ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 1. Raḥmonqulov, Baḥr ul-akhbor, 5.

¹⁰⁷ *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (Folder 5), 153. *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (Folder 175), fol. 98a. Khurāsānī, *Kitāb bih hidāyat al-mu'minīn al-tālibīn*, 77-78. The text is also reproduced in Qurbānshāh, *Afsānah va Haqīqat*, 194-98.

The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* also mentions the naming of villages by Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān. Both the pre-Soviet and Soviet hagiographical sources discuss Nāṣir-i Khusraw's words about the nature of people in different localities. We also come across identical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Yumgān and, like the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* mentions that he spent twenty-five years in Yumgān. Again, like the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* mentions Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and Nāṣir-i Khusraw travelling to Egypt together. Following the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* talks about Nāṣir-i Khusraw building *āvring*s on the mountains. Like the *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*,¹⁰⁸ the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* uses the story about the snake under a rock, witnessed by Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh. These are some of the main elements, borrowed from the pre-Soviet hagiographical works.

Although these elements come from the pre-Soviet hagiographical works, the new hagiographical accounts present them differently, responding to the contingencies of the new environment. In the pre-Soviet hagiographies, as examined in Chapters Five and Six, other saints are described as arriving from outside of the regions of modern Tajikistan, such as India and Iran. In the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, for example, Shāh Ṭālib-i Sarmast, also known as Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī, comes to Badakhshān from India.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, in the same account as well as in the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Bābā Ḥaydar comes to Badakhshān from Yazd, Iran.¹¹⁰ The *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir*, however, introduces these figures as having roots in Qubādiyān. As was the case with the pre-Soviet hagiography, it presents Khvājah Hamdīn, Khvājah Bashīr, Khvājah Salmān, Aḥmad-i dīvānah and Sayyid 'Umar-i Yumgī as local men, but, unlike the pre-Soviet hagiography, it does not mention anything about the ancestors of Sayyid Suhrāb-i Valī. It simply states that he was a disciple of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān. In the same vein, while the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, like the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, presents Bābā Fāqmad-i Parvāzī as a native of Shākh'darah, it describes Shāh Ṭālib-i Sarmast, Mīr-i Gul Surkh and Khvājah Nūriddīn as Nāṣir-i Khusraw's disciples in Rūshān, Shughnān and Bartang respectively, without mentioning where they came from. We know that in the oral tradition of Badakhshān, *pīr* Mīr-i Gul Surkh, whose shrine is located in the village of Sarchashmah in Shughnān of Afghanistan, is believed to have come from Khurāsān to Badakhshān after Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹¹¹ This, however, is not mentioned in any of the hagiographies written in the Soviet period. According to an oral hagiographical story of Badakhshān, recorded by the researchers at the Khorog Research Unit in Rūshān, Shāh Ṭālib came with Nāṣir-i Khusraw from Qubādiyān in the

¹⁰⁸ *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 11.

¹⁰⁹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 100. Rahmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 45.

¹¹⁰ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 129-30, Ēl'chibekov, 94. *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 57-58. Rahmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 28.

¹¹¹ Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 218-31.

11th century and settled in Vamār in Rūshān.¹¹² It seems that connecting Shāh Ṭālib with Qubādiyān came about in the Soviet period. All these display a tendency in the Soviet hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw to connect figures with Badakhshān or Tajikistan and in this way avoid, unlike the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, incorporating famous Muslim figures from regions beyond Badakhshān or Tajikistan into the history of the region. Most importantly, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* do not mention of Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh's visit to Badakhshān or his shrine in Darvāz, which is a prominent feature of the pre-Soviet hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

As discussed above, like *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*¹¹³ and the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*,¹¹⁴ the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* describes Malik Jahān Shāh and Suhrāb Valī as Nāṣir-i Khusraw's servants that gather the spiritual donations on his behalf. However, the elevated positions and almost sacred nature attributed to Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh in the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* are missing from the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*. As discussed in Chapter Six, stories of Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh are at the heart of the hagiographical stories in the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*. The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* not describe the two figures as the “head *khalīfah*” (*sar-khalīfah*),¹¹⁵ “pearls from the same mine” with Nāṣir-i Khusraw¹¹⁶ and does not mention anything about their knowledge of divine unity¹¹⁷ or their learning from Nāṣir-i Khusraw, their receiving Nāṣir-i Khusraw's “breath” (*nafas*),¹¹⁸ inheriting his authority or ability to perform marvels.¹¹⁹ Neither does it trace Suhrāb Valī's genealogy back to Mūsá Kāzīm, the way the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* do.¹²⁰ Unlike the pre-Soviet hagiography, it does not present Suhrāb Valī as a limited *dā'ī* (*dā'ī-i maḥdūd*), the senior licentiate (*ma'zūn-i akbar*) and truthful teacher (*mu'allim-i ṣādiq*) and 'Umar-i Yumgī as a junior licentiate (*ma'zūn-i asghar*).¹²¹ Instead, by combining elements from the life of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (e.g. seeing a luminous person in his dream,¹²² witnessing the good life of people in Egypt) with hagiographical accounts (e.g. Nāṣir-i Khusraw telling Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh to observe the snakes), it provides a criticism of the practices of religious leaders, who benefited economically by receiving money from the believers. In the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw instructs Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh about the importance of “teaching and guiding”

¹¹² Shakarmamadov, *Folklori Pomir*, 4, 98.

¹¹³ *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, 11.

¹¹⁴ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 80-84, Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhhbor*, 37-38.

¹¹⁵ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 107, Ēl'chibekov, 78.

¹¹⁶ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 129-30, Ēl'chibekov, 94.

¹¹⁷ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 50, 129-30, Ēl'chibekov, 35, 94.

¹¹⁸ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 84, Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhhbor*, 38.

¹¹⁹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 84, Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhhbor*, 38.

¹²⁰ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 55-56. Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhhbor*, 27. *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 122-126.

¹²¹ *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 147-148; Ēl'chibekov, 107

¹²² The famous dream in which he saw a figure that pointed to his weakening his intellect, but here Nāṣir-i Khusraw sees a luminous person, which reminds Nāṣir-i Khusraw of the plight of the people of Badakhshān

instead of “taking the property” of the ordinary people through the example of the two snakes. As he says, “[o]ur purpose is to make the people’s life better and not make it worse.” The omission of many elements from the stories about Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Malik Jahān Shāh, the selection of particular elements and the changing of those elements (e.g. one snake in the *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* becomes two snakes, as symbols of the two figures, in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*), and their presentation in the ways described above, conveys a message that is befitting the socio-political context in which it was written. While Nāṣir-i Khusraw is the champion of the causes of the oppressed, his aim is to improve the lives of ordinary people and to criticize the clergy, which used religion to oppress the people and benefit from them. The inclusion of this story also agrees with the new context in which those claiming authority from Nāṣir-i Khusraw were criticized. This is in line with the discourse of the Soviet scholarship, examined in Chapter Seven. One of the major agendas of the pre-Soviet hagiographical stories of Nāṣir-i Khusraw featuring Sayyid Suhrāb Valī and Jahān Shāh is to lend prestige and authority among the people to familial and spiritual lineages linked to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This is clearly not the case in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, which reflects the changed agenda of the hagiographical tradition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

The presentation of the material regarding Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s royal background in Balkh is also different in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*. Historically, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who moved to Balkh, describes it as a home and a place “like paradise” (*chūn bihisht*), where he had friends, brothers and relatives.¹²³ Whilst the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, like the pre-Soviet accounts, mentions Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s royal heritage, it presents them differently. In this work, Nāṣir-i Khusraw abandons his comfortable and luxurious life in search of “truth” and “justice” and is critical of the maltreatment of ordinary people, peasants and artisans, by the ruling class, conveying a message that reflects the concerns of the time when it was written.

Although the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* mentions that Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and Nāṣir-i Khusraw travelled to Egypt together and that Nāṣir-i Khusraw came to Badakhshān, it simply calls them “representatives” (*namāyandah*) of the ruler of Maghrib in the East (*mashriq*), rather than *hujjats* of the Imām. The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* also calls Nāṣir-i Khusraw the “guide” (*rāh'namā*). As demonstrated above, the Soviet hagiographical sources praise the Imām of Egypt (referred to as “Sulṭān,” etc.) for his contribution to the good life of his subjects, even those who did not share his doctrines. The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* claims that Nāṣir-i Khusraw decided to learn the doctrines of the Fāṭimids because of the good life of the Egyptians, but does not mention religious or spiritual reasons for that. It also mentions peasants (*dihqān'hā*) whose life, just as the life of merchants, was stable under the Sulṭān and who, along with the workers, could present their

¹²³ *Balkh tu-rā dādam*, *Dīvān (Taḡavī)*, 253. *Chūn bihisht*, Khusraw, *Dīvān (Taḡavī)*, 330:4. *Khānah-i man*, *ibid.*, 253:25. *Dūstān* *ibid.*, 253:23. *Barādar*, *qavm-i man* *ibid.*, 254:1-5.

grievances to the Sultān. The work refers to the Sultān’s justice and benevolence and the security of the people, which, as demonstrated above, is based primarily on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Safar’nāmah*. The Soviet scholars, as examined in Chapter Eight, wrote about the belief of the Ismā‘īlīs in the Just Ruler. By the 1970s, scholars like Braginskī did not criticize the Fāṭimid Imāms as “feudal lords,” but depicted them as rulers who managed to provide security for their subjects. Even in this context, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* does not digress from the Soviet scholarly narrative about Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

It must be mentioned that although the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, like the pre-Soviet hagiographies, discusses old trees, some of which are regarded as sacred in Badakhshān, it does not describe them as *mazārs* (unlike, for instance, the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār’hā-yi Kuhistān*). It simply says that Nāṣir-i Khusraw planted them. The focus in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* is on Nāṣir-i Khusraw helping people improve their life through land improvements and road building, and by digging canals. Indeed, Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s worldly activities take a prominent place in the Soviet hagiography. The *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as “an astronomer and a land-measurer” (an engineer, geometrician) (*ham muhandis-i falak va ham muhandis-i zamīn būd*) who built walkways on overhanging cliffs (*āvriings*) on the way from Vanj to Darvāz. As mentioned, all the three sources point to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s acquisition of worldly sciences. In relation to this, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* refers to Nāṣir-i Khusraw by using the word “man” (*mard*), never used to refer to him in the pre-Soviet hagiography. Except very few elements, the three works do not include any of the numerous stories about the wondrous deeds of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, found in the pre-Soviet hagiographical accounts. They contain stories about his wondrous deeds, but none of those are similar in nature to the ones included in the pre-Soviet hagiographies. We do not come across stories in which Nāṣir-i Khusraw traverses great distances instantaneously, levitates, flies through the air, rides a stone, walks on water or heals the sick. These kinds of stories were at the heart of the pre-Soviet hagiography, but in the Soviet period, Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s wondrous deeds are directed outwards rather than, reflexively, inwards, as they benefit others rather than redound to the benefit of the agent.¹²⁴

9.3.3 Oral Hagiographical Tradition in the Soviet Hagiographies

The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* incorporate elements from the hagiographical tradition of Badakhshān, many of which are not found in the written pre-Soviet hagiographies. There are, however, several elements, taken, in an adapted form, from the pre-Soviet sources. Above, I demonstrated how the presentation of certain elements of the pre-Soviet hagiographical sources change in the Soviet sources. Here, I will demonstrate how the elements themselves change in the Soviet hagiographical sources. As mentioned

¹²⁴ Renard, *Friends of God*, 91.

above, most of the wondrous deeds, described in the pre-Soviet sources, do not occur in the Soviet hagiographical sources. Stories of wondrous deeds in the *Āmadan-i Nāšir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāšir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw* are different from those in the narratives of their pre-Soviet predecessors. These are mainly punishment stories, and their messages are linked to the dictates of the period in which they were composed. They primarily present Nāšir-i Khusraw as a destroyer of tyrant kings and hypocrite clergy who deceive the ordinary people to benefit themselves. In the following paragraphs, I will examine the punishment stories and comment on their connection with the oral hagiographical tradition in Badakhshān.

The *Āmadan-i Nāšir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* tells the story of Nāšir-i Khusraw's punishment of Sho Tabarruk, the tyrant king in Jurm. I have encountered this name in other stories related to Nāšir-i Khusraw's activities in Badakhshān. As is the case with the *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, this work refers to a tyrant king of Jurm who ate people's eyes. Although the *Āmadan-i Nāšir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* does not mention this gory detail, it shows that he was an enemy of Nāšir-i Khusraw and later died as a result of stomach inflammation (*shikam varam kard*). No Badakhshānī ruler named Sho Tabarruk is mentioned in the sources available to me, although it is possible that there may have been a ruler by this name in Badakhshān. However, it seems that "Sho Tabarruk" is a misreading of the name Shāh Tapar or the Saljūq Sulṭān Shāh [Muḥammad] Tapar who fought against the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs and who was killed by them in 511/1118.¹²⁵ The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir* also mentions Sho Tabarruk (*shbh tbrk*), but unlike this work, it has him fight Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (during the imamate of Mawlānā Hādī) in Ṭabas in Khurāsān.¹²⁶ Perhaps, the name Shāh Tapar (Sho Tabarruk) serves as an archetype of the enemies of the Ismā'īlīs and can be applied in different circumstances. It is not clear where the information about the confrontations between Shāh Tapar (Sho Tabarruk) and Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ or Nāšir-i Khusraw comes from, but it is certainly part of the common Badakhshānī hagiographical material. In the *Āmadan-i Nāšir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, Sho Tabarruk dies after Nāšir-i Khusraw utters the words "*bi'tark*" (Burst!) three times. This same occurs in the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, except that there, a devotee (*fidā'ī*) who was sent by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ to kill Shah Tabarruk (شه تبرک) walks around his bed three times and utters "*bi'tark*" thrice. The night before this Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and others performed a *du'ā* for Shah Tabarruk's stomach so that it would increase and burst. In it, Shah Tabarruk also dies because of stomach inflammation.¹²⁷ This story, as mentioned, is quite common. We come across a similar one in the *Hikāyat-i Sīstān* (also known as *Kitāb-i Bādār Sām* and *Qiṣṣah-i Malik-i Sīstān*), according to which Sulṭān Tapar died at the foot of Alamūt when his stomach increased in size and burst as a result of the *du'ā-yi shikam (tabar kih dar*

¹²⁵ The figure is the Saljūq Sulṭān Muḥammad Tapar who ruled from 498-511/1105-1118 in Persia. He launched a series of campaigns against the Ismā'īlīs. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 320, 35.

¹²⁶ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 18-25. Shāh Tabarruk in Rahmonqulov, *Bāhr ul-akhhbor*, 12-15.

¹²⁷ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir*, 18-25. Shāh Tabarruk in Rahmonqulov, *Bāhr ul-akhhbor*, 12-15.

pā-yi qal'ah-i alamūt būd bih zārb-i du 'ā-yi shikam bi'tarkīd).¹²⁸ It is possible that this work, copies of which can be found in Badakhshān¹²⁹ and which may have been written in about 588/1192, is the original source of this story.¹³⁰ In this particular text, “Tapar who” (*tabar kih*) (تبر که) is written as تبرک, which could easily be read as Tabarruk. At any rate, by using previous material and changing it, the work shows how Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishes the unjust ruler who oppresses his subjects, emerging as a saviour of the ordinary people. This makes it different from the previous hagiographies, where Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishes but does not kill his enemies or unjust rulers.

In the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw turns a wealthy adversary and his dragon into stones, which, it states, can still be seen on the way to Ishkāshim. This also seems to be part of the oral hagiographical tradition of Badakhshān, which does not appear in the pre-Soviet hagiographies. There are many legends about the dragon (*azhdahār*) in Badakhshān. According to one, the so-called *azhdahār'sang* or “dragon-stone,” located in Shirgīn in Vakhān, was a dragon (*azhdahār*, sometimes *azhdahā*) that had devoured people before a “warrior” (*pahlavānī*) turned it into a stone by the Lord’s power (*qudrat-i khudāvand*).¹³¹ In another legend, the person who killed the dragon was Ḥazrat-i ‘Alī, who slaughtered it with his famous “double-edged” sword, *zū-l-faqār*.¹³² In another legend, which was recorded in 1981 by R. Shirinova, Khūjah-i Khizr kills a dragon in Bijund, which is a valley above Nishūsp in Darmārakht on the way to Ishkāshim from Shughnān.¹³³ If we follow the narrative of the hagiography summarized above, we can identify the location “on the way to Ishkāshim” as Nishūsp, and the hagiography most probably refers to this place. At any rate, the story about Nāṣir-i Khusraw killing a wealthy man and a dragon is slightly different from the other stories about other saints and dragons in circulation even in the pre-Soviet Badakhshān.¹³⁴ In the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s wondrous deeds are directed not only inwards, towards his own benefit, but also outwards, towards the benefit of others. In the other stories, the saints kill the dragons because they want to devour them, and there is no mention of the oppression of peasants by wealthy individuals, but in the story recorded in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw turns not only the dragon, but also the wealthy man who oppresses his servants. Again, we come across the image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a punisher of kings and “feudal lords” and a supporter of the oppressed people.

¹²⁸ MS A1514, 132b-150a, (IOMRAS).

¹²⁹ One Badakhshānī manuscript is kept in (IOMRAS), MS A1514, 132b-150a. Two manuscripts are kept in the library (OITAS). See Bertel’s 1959/9v, 1960/21b, A1514). Copies of the text are also found in the archive of KhRU-IIS.

¹³⁰ MS A1514, 132b-150a, (IOMRAS). Number 3358 in O.F. Akimushkin, *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR: Kratkiĭ alfavitnyĭ katalog, Part I* (Moscow: 1964). Maryam Mu’izzī, “Bāznigarī dar ravābiṭ-i Ismā’īliyyān va mulūk-i Nīmrūz bar pāya-yi mutunī-i navyāftah,” *Muṭāli’āt-i ta’rīkh-i Islām* 2, no. 6 (1389/2010): 107-08.

¹³¹ This stone is a remedy for madness and people even took pieces of it to Farghāna. The story was recorded by Lola Khudoberdieva in 1991 (from Zebjon Qimmatkhonova) in Zāng, Ishkāshim and is published in Shakarmamadov, *Folklori Pomir*, 2, 239-42.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ The story, which is recorded by R. Shirinova in 1981 in Nishūsp, Shughnān is found in FSH 11:1413.

¹³⁴ See for example, Zarubin, *Materialy i zametki*, 139-40.

Punishment stories with identical messages are also found in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*. In one of them, Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishes an unbeliever ruler who levied heavy taxes on his subjects in Khulm. There, Nāṣir-i Khusraw feels sorry for the plight of the people and decides to protect them from the oppression of the ruler. For this story, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* incorporates elements from the oral hagiographic tradition of Badakhshān, including those also found in the pre-Soviet hagiographical literature. We can come across similar stories, in which saints punish kings, in Badakhshānī legends. One strikingly similar legend, recorded by R. Mamadaminova in Sardīm of Shughnān in 1991 (from Azizbek Amirbekov), features Imām ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib instead of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. According to this legend, a powerful unbeliever from the village of Badchār in Shughnān called Mīrsalīm, made the people of the neighbouring villages pay him a heavy tax. Imām ‘Alī appeared in the village, and when he saw the people were going to pay the tax, he inquired about it. They said they took it to Mīrsalīm. Imām ‘Alī told them not take it to him, but they said they were afraid of the consequences. Then they sent one person to Mīrsalīm to inform him about the man who did not let them pay him the tax. Mīrsalīm came to ‘Alī and asked why he did not allow them to do it, to which ‘Alī replied, “Oh unbeliever Mīrsalīm from Badchār, I am ‘Alī *bar haqq*; say the *kalimah* (Shughnānī, *kalima arza kin*) or I will kill you right away.” Mīrsalīm replied, “If you build a windmill (*bodi khidorj*), I, too, will become a Muslim.” The windmill, which was built there, still stands to this day. The wind that appeared from the East at that time still blows from November to May.¹³⁵ Based on the context *kalimah* refers to *kalimah-i shahādat*, which is a Muslim declaration of faith, “I testify that there is no god but God and I testify that Muḥammad is His Messenger.”¹³⁶

As we can see, this narrative also contains elements from the pre-Soviet hagiography, for example, an unbeliever king who tells Nāṣir-i Khusraw to build mills in the villages under his control, which is somewhat similar to the king of the *malāḥidah* in the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* who tells Nāṣir-i Khusraw to build an artificial moon over the cities of his dominion. In both cases, the rulers promise to become Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s followers. Also, both stories describe Nāṣir-i Khusraw as *pīr-i rukn* and his wondrous deeds as the result of his wisdom (*ḥikmat*). However, a major difference in terms of the presentation of material is that the author of the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* is explicit about the fact that Nāṣir-i Khusraw helped the peasants, the ordinary people who were heavily taxed. According to the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, once Nāṣir-i Khusraw built the mills for the six villages under the man’s rule, the latter stopped taxing the people, gave up his kingdom and became a follower of Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This aspect of the hagiography is absent from the pre-Soviet hagiography. In the pre-Soviet hagiography (e.g. the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*),

¹³⁵ R. Mamadaminova, FSH11: 3597-3599.

¹³⁶ According to Shakarmamadov, who includes this legend in his *Folklori Pomir*, *kalimah* means *kalimah-i shahādat* from the Qur’ān that a *khalīfah* or an old man recites at the bed of someone who is dying. Based on the context, however, this

Nāṣir-i Khusraw does not punish kings for oppressing people, but punishes them for not believing in him (e.g. Malik Jahān Shāh) or for not letting him leave (e.g. the ruler of the *malāhidah*). In the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishes the kings for a different purpose, namely, for helping the ordinary people, the peasants.

The scenario of Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishing and killing a wealthy man and his sorcerer in Charsīm (in Shughnān), found in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, is found here again, featuring the same motivation. There is a need to save the exploited peasants who worked for the wealthy man in the field. In this tale, the sorcerer assists the wealthy man by suspending the sun in the sky, because the people who worked for the man were supposed to work from dusk to dawn. Stories with landlords collaborating with sorcerers and oppressing peasants working for them can be found in the oral hagiographical tradition of Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs recorded during the Soviet time.¹³⁷ Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishes not only kings and landlords, but “deceiving and hypocritical religious figures” (*dīndārān-i riyākār va firībgar*) as well. The story in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, according to which Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishes a wealthy *mullā* in Āqmamad (Shughnān), is in this vein. In this story, the wealthy *mullā* is aided by a devil (*dīv*) in deceiving young girls by performing fake exorcism (*azāim*). In fact, according to the story, the devil possesses the girls and leaves them when the *mullā* performs the exorcism. This way, the people became his victims, because they believed he cured them and paid him for his service.

The devil possessing young women is a famous trope in Badakhshānī tales and legends, but this story is similar to one titled *Zan-i zāl*, “the wrongful wife,” in which an old man plans to get rid of his greedy wife. He tells her that he has discovered a cave with treasure in its pit. They set out together to take the treasure, but as she descends into the cave, the man cuts the rope and lets her fall hard to the bottom. A devil, trapped in the bottom of the cave, was so scared by the falling woman that he jumped high enough to find himself outside of the cave. As the man accidentally frees the devil, the devil tells him that he would possess young girls and he could recite any fake prayer (*rāst-u durūgh*), and that he would leave one alone and possess another. In this way, the man could earn his reward (*haqq*) and become wealthy. The devil and the man do this for some time.¹³⁸ The story in this account and other versions of the story is clearly related to the one in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, but it is different in that the man is not a *mullā* and Nāṣir-i Khusraw does not figure in it. In the *Qiṣṣah-i*

refers to the recitation of the *kalimah* in acceptance of Islam as Mīrsalīm was an unbeliever and not to reciting the *kalimah* for a dying person, which is only done for Muslims. Shakarmamadov, *Folklori Pomir*, 2, 346.

¹³⁷ See for example A.Z. Rosenfeld and A.I. Kolesnikov, “Materialy po epigrafike Pamira,” *Epigrafika Vostoka* 23 (1985): 93.

¹³⁸ Later in the story, the devil falls in love with the daughter of a king and possesses her. The king asks the man to treat her, but the devil says he would kill him if he tries to do that. At the same time, the king threatened to kill the man if he failed to cure his daughter. The man finally agrees to help the king. He tells the king to let all the doors open when the girl becomes sick. When the time came, the man ran through the gate shouting, “Oh Friend, my wife has come out of the cave. She won’t leave me and you alive now.” Upon hearing this, the devil runs away, leaving the young woman alone. FFVII489-1494, Davlatshoev, Shughnān, Sarā-yi Bahār, Shohzodamhammad Muhammadsherozshoev, 1961.

Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who had the power of insight (*baṣīrat dasht*), knew the man's covert doings and punished him by paralyzing him.

What is noteworthy is that, at least in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, there are already Muslims in the area (the *mullā* in Āqmadad), whereas in the pre-Soviet hagiography, Nāṣir-i Khusraw brings the light of Islam to the region. Here, the *mullā* deceives the people and enriches himself through religion. This reflects the influence of the Soviet environment. The stories associate kings, wealthy landlords and *mullās* with dragons, sorcerers and devils who keep the ordinary people in constant fear, deceive and oppress them. In the Badakhshānī hagiography of this period, sorcerers and devils are negative forces associated with monarchy, wealth and the abuse of religion for personal gains and enslavement of the people.

The *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* has another punishment story in which Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishes a very cruel king in Ghund, Shughnān. Again, the reason for this punishment is the king's cruelty to his subjects, the heavy taxes on poor peasants, forcefully taking daughters for service and for dishonouring them. This and the other stories in which Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishes the *shāhs* clearly reflects the sentiments of the Ismā'īlīs regarding the brutality of their local *mīrs* or *shāhs*, most of whom were Sunnīs. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, the local *mīrs* (e.g. Muḥabbat Khān, Yūsuf 'Alī Khān and others) were cruel, sold people as slaves and launched numerous campaigns in places like Ghund and Shākh'darah. The Soviet scholarship was likewise critical of the horrors incurred by the local *mīrs* in Badakhshān. Hence, in Soviet context, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* speaks of the plight of the people under the local *mīrs* freely. Criticism of local *mīrs* or *shāhs* is absent from the pre-Soviet hagiographical sources.

Unlike the pre-Soviet hagiographical accounts, those written in the Soviet period present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as swift at punishing not only tyrant kings and oppressing lords, but the wealthy people who are indifferent to the sufferings of ordinary and poor people. The *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* includes the famous story about Nāṣir-i Khusraw arriving in Yārkh where the wealthy people do not treat the poor people well and do not welcome him in the village. Thus, he punishes them by destroying their village and by turning it into a lake. He saves only one old woman and other people from the poor families. This story borrows its elements from the oral Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition. There are many punishment stories associated with the Yārkh and other lakes in Badakhshān. For example, according to a story recorded by D. Karamshoev (from M. Ahmadov, 75 years old) in Bajū(v) in Rūshān, a person (*shakhsī*) punished the people of Yārkh by creating a lake there.¹³⁹ It is usually “an old man” (*muṣafed*) and “a person (*shakhse*),” rather than a specific figure that exacts this punishment. For example, according to a story recorded by G. Burhonova in 1991 in Shughnān, “an old man” destroyed the settlements of Visāyd and Sarīz in Bartang as a punishment for

¹³⁹ D. Karamshoev, FSH11:1729-1730.

their unwelcome, rude and insolent attitude and for not offering sacrifice (*khudoïi*).¹⁴⁰ Another story is recorded by M. Davlatshoev in 1961 in Sīzhd in Shughnān, in which “an old man” (*muīsafed*) punishes the wealthy people of Sarīz for their lack of hospitality. The old man worked for them for some time before, but they did not reward him for his work properly.¹⁴¹ N. Shakarmamadov also records a slightly different story in 1974 in Bardarah in Rūshān, which also features “an old man” and “a person” (*shakhse*).¹⁴² R. Shirinova records a story in 1986 (from Nuralisho Eronshoev, 52 years old) in Maydān of Rāshtqal‘ah, according to which the lake of Durum (in Shākh‘darah) was created as a punishment for the disrespecting people.¹⁴³ Davlatshoev (in 1961, in Shughnān), Dodikhudoev (in 1975, in Rūshān) and Shirinova (in 1986, in Rāshtqal‘ah and in 1976 in Shughnān) recorded stories that feature an “old man” creating the lakes Sarīz, Yārkh, Durum and Shīva (in Shughnān of Afghanistan) as punishment and saving an old woman with her rooster and a sieve for her kindness.¹⁴⁴ The story recorded by Shirinova in Nishūsp in Shughnān, features the legendary Khūjah-i Khizr who created the lake Shīva to punish the people for not recognizing him or showing disrespect.¹⁴⁵ In some stories, the creation of the lake Shīva and also Zārquīl (Lake Victoria) is also associated with Nāṣir-i Khusraw. For instance, Frederik J.W. van Oudenhoven and L. Jamila Haider record the following story from a farmer in Shughnān:

“At the bottom of what is now lake Shewa, there was once a village. One evening, an old man came to the village and asked for some food. His cloths were torn and people laughed at him, threw stones at him. One woman, however, treated him kindly. She was poor and had only *shiroghan* to offer him. Thanking her, he told her to take her son and belongings and to seek refuge in a place high up on the mountain. She did as he had told her, and that night a strong earthquake hit the village. Water appeared from the ground and flooded the village and its inhabitants. Later, the woman understood that the old man had been the holy Nasir Khusraw. Since that day, *shiroghan* has been considered a holy food.” According to them, a very similar legend is told about the lake of Zorkul on the border of Afghanistan and Tajikistan.¹⁴⁶

In most of these stories, people are punished for their lack of hospitality, but in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishes the people of Yārkh, in addition to their lack of hospitality, for their ill treatment of the poor. Hence, he emerges once again as a supporter of the people and of equality. In the pre-Soviet hagiography, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is presented as someone who is forgiving in most cases. In the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, he forgives Malik Jahān Shāh for attempting

¹⁴⁰ G. Burhonova, FSH11: 4265-4274. Also, D. Karamshoev, in which both “old man” (*muīsafed*) and “a person” (*shakhse*) occur. D. Karamshoev, FSH11:1729-1730. The lake Sarīz lake was created as a result of an earthquake in 1911 in Bartang.

¹⁴¹ M. Davlatshoev, FFVII:1506-1508.

¹⁴² The story is found in FB1: 2666-2668.

¹⁴³ Shakarmamadov, *Folklori Pomir*, 2, 348-49.

¹⁴⁴ M. Davlatshoev, FFVII:1506-1508. According to the story recorded by D. Karamshoev, this happened in connection with Yārkh, but in case of Sarīz the “old man” saved “an old man” with his grandchild. D. Karamshoev, FSH11:1729-1730. R. Shirinova’s story is found in *ibid*.

¹⁴⁵ The story recorded in 1976 in Nishūsp of Shughnān (from Sukhanoro Saodatqadamova, 23 years old) is found in FSH11:8516-8518. Another story about Khūjah-i Khizr and the creation of Shīva can be found in N. Jonboboev and Sh. Muḥammadsherzodshoev, *Durdonaḥoi Badakhshon (asotir va rivoyatho)* (Khorog: 1992), 20.

¹⁴⁶ Haider, "Imagining alternative futures through the lens of food in the Afghan and Tajik Pamir mountains."

to kill him.¹⁴⁷ He also forgives the “hypocrites” and Qāzī Naṣr Allāh for inciting Malik Jahān Shāh to murder him, saying “kindness is the tradition of my ancestors.”¹⁴⁸ This is despite the enmity that other people show to him. This attitude reflected the particular agendas of the pre-Soviet period. Criticism of political and religious rulers as well as the wealthy ones, which is one of the agendas of the Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw, is virtually absent from the pre-Soviet hagiographical accounts.

Much of the material for the story (in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*) about the hypocrite *mullā* (*mullā-yi munāfiq*) and his sorcerer (*jādū*) in Farghāmū is also based on the local Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition. In the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, it is a vulture (*kargas*) that saves Nāṣir-i Khusraw from the snake. This is one of the most famous stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān. We also find it in Davlatshoev’s compilation of folklore, collected in 1961 in Shughnān.¹⁴⁹ Shakarmamadov reproduces this story in his *La"li kūhsor*, which is based on Davlatshoev’s notes.¹⁵⁰ The poem that the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* refer to, but do not have, is given in *La"li kūhsor*:

Aql sharif ast, vale ba ḥar kas narasad
*Tovus zarif ast, vale ba kargas narasad*¹⁵¹

Intellect is a noble thing, not everyone can have it
 The peacock is beautiful, but nothing close to vulture

It is not clear whether these verses belong to the same story, because Shakarmamadov adds them to the story that is based on Davlatshoev’s notes. In Davlatshoev’s version, the poem is not mentioned, as the annotator writes, “the poem is not recorded here” (*ki on she"r īn jo navishta nashuda ast*).¹⁵² This poem that is mentioned by Shakarmamadov comes before the story and is part of another story (which is on the banishment of Adam from paradise) in Davlatshoev.¹⁵³ Nonetheless, if these are the verses that Nāṣir-i Khusraw is believed to have composed in praise of the vulture or eagle, the reference is therefore not to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s famous poem about the eagle. The famous poem about the eagle has a different moral in which the eagle is killed by an arrow and shows how vanity brings one to destruction (*az māst kih bar māst*).¹⁵⁴ Robert Middleton also correctly notes this in

¹⁴⁷ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 69-71. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 32-33.

¹⁴⁸ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 69, 74. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 32, 34.

¹⁴⁹ *Folklori Badakhshon (nasr): materialhoi ekspeditsiiai folklorii solhoi 1960-1961*. VI: 1445-1448, 386-87. The stories collected by Davlatshoev in Ghund (Shughnān) and others were annotated by Shirinova in 1969. The collection is preserved in the Archive of the Institute for the Study of Languages and Literature

¹⁵⁰ Shakarmamadov, *La"li kūhsor*, 38-39. A slightly shorter version of the same story titled *Nosir-i Khusrav, divuskat kargas* (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, snake and vulture) is also published (with Tajik and Russian translation) in *Folklori Pomir*, 2, 101-02.

¹⁵¹ Shakarmamadov, *La"li kūhsor*, 38-39.

¹⁵² *Folklori Badakhshon (nasr): materialhoi ekspeditsiiai folklorii solhoi 1960-1961*. VI: 1445-1448, 386.

¹⁵³ The story in the original Shughnānī along with its Russian and Tajik translation on the expulsion of Adam from paradise (*charo odamro az jannat rondand*) is published in Shakarmamadov, *Folklori Pomir*, 2, 52-56. The poem on *kargas* is included in this story. In Davlatshoev’s notes, the poem is slightly different (*chun aql sharif ast ba ḥar kas narasad, tovasash khushruī ba kargas narasad*). In Shakarmamadov’s *Folklori Pomir*, the poem has been slightly altered (*aql chun chizi sharif ast ba ḥar kas narasad, pari tovas zarif ast, ba kargas narasad*). Shakarmamadov also changes the language of Davlatshoev’s text (e.g. *Nosiri Khisrav ba kargas baho doda dar haqi vai she"r guft to Pir Shohnosir-i Khusrav ... dar haqqash badohhatan gufta ast*), *La"li kūhsor*, 38-39.

¹⁵⁴ *Dīvān* (Mīnuvī), 523-24.

his translation of this legend that appears in Shakarmamadov's *Folklori Pomir*.¹⁵⁵ At any rate, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* does not cite the poem itself, but simply indicates that Nāṣir-i Khusraw wrote his a famous poem in praise of the eagle or vulture. The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, however, states explicitly that the poem is about hypocrisy, arrogance and pride. Either way, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*'s mentioning the destruction of "the snake of evil and hypocrisy" by "the eagle of justice and wisdom" is quite noteworthy. As discussed above, the snake, together with demons, is associated with hypocrite and false *mullās*. The symbolism of snakes for people's evil passions and hypocrisy with regard to religion is also known in Ṣūfism.¹⁵⁶ Legends about ungrateful and evil snakes intending to harm Nāṣir-i Khusraw abound in Badakhshān.¹⁵⁷ This story, which is longer in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* and shorter in *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, does not appear in the pre-Soviet hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. In the two sources, the message, again, is related to the hypocrisy of *mullās* who deceive the ordinary people and enrich themselves by taking advantage of their faith. Although it is an eagle and not Nāṣir-i Khusraw who kills the hypocrite *mullā*, the story still suggests that Nāṣir-i Khusraw's intention was to punish the man and his wife for taking money from the people through deceit.

The same attitude is reflected in the story about Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishing the corrupt *ḥisāb'dān* and the *nāmāh'navīs* in the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir*. The choice of this story is deliberate. In Badakhshān, *ḥisāb* means "astronomical/astrological calculation" and '*ilm-i ḥisāb* means 'astrology.' The person who practices *ḥisāb* studies the influence of the stars to determine the character of a person. He or she also claims to have knowledge of the future. Apart from these, the *ḥisāb'dān* determines auspicious time for important events, like weddings, holidays, the beginning of ploughing fields, travelling and other matters.¹⁵⁸ *Ḥisāb'dāns* had knowledge of traditional calendar based on lunar (*qamarī*) and solar (*shamsī*) cycles. They were usually the local clergy, the *pīrs*, their *khalīfahs* and people from their families, who enjoyed great influence and honor among the population.¹⁵⁹ As Andreev notes, "simple people, peasants and cattlemen" did not know how to use the traditional calendar, a task that was the prerogative of *ḥisāb'dāns* from among the local clergy or their relatives.¹⁶⁰ As Kholov and Qaiūmova note, "The population of Eastern Bukhārā and the people of Pamir had great

¹⁵⁵ Shakarmamadov, *Folklori Pomir*, 101-102. Robert Middleton, "Legends of the Pamirs," <http://www.pamirs.org/Legends%20of%20the%20Pamirs.pdf>.

¹⁵⁶ See Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Some Religious Aspects of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 142. Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Some Religious Aspects of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 142.

¹⁵⁷ In one story, Nāṣir-i Khusraw protects a snake from a dragon (*azhdahār*) by covering it in his sleeve, but the ungrateful snake wanted to bite him. At anger, Nāṣir-i Khusraw curses the snake and throws it against the mountain. Its *nishānah* can still be seen on the mountain. In another story, Nāṣir-i Khusraw dispels (*raf*) a dragon and snakes in Rūshān. Shakarmamadov, *Folklori Pomir*, 4, 51.

¹⁵⁸ Mikhail Andreev, *Tadzhiki doliny Khuf (verkhov'ia Amu-Dar'i). Materialy kizucheniiu kul'tury i byta tadzhikov*, vol. 2 (Stalinabad: 1958), 152.

¹⁵⁹ M. Sh. Kholov and Kh. A. Qaiūmova, *Metrolōgiia i khronologiia Vostochnoi Bukhary i Zapadnogo Pamira (vtor. polov. XVIII - nachalo XX vv.)* (Dushanbe: Donish, 2013), 86.

¹⁶⁰ Andreev, *Tadzhiki doliny Khuf*, 2, 152.

respect for and confidence in the local clergy. In the Pamirs, a *pīr* is a spiritual guide, the head of local Ismā‘īlīs, and the *khalīfah* is his helper. Believers among the Pamīrī people revered their *pīrs* and *khalīfahs* as saints, who gave them not only spiritual food and protected them from misfortunes in life (diseases, childlessness, poverty, etc.), but also contributed to an increase in the yield of all crops and livestock...”¹⁶¹ It is noteworthy that the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān attribute the introduction of *hisāb’dānī* in the region to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. For instance, he is believed to have introduced the traditional calendar based on solar cycles to Badakhshān.¹⁶² It is, however, worth mentioning that, in Badakhshān, the most famous treatises on astrology and astronomy based on which auspicious and inauspicious days (*sa‘d* and *naḥs*), the beginning of the New Year (*Nawrūz*) and other constellations are determined are not attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. In addition to the *Sā‘at’nāmah* that is mentioned in *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir*, these treatises include the *Nawrūz’nāmah* and the *Nujūm*.¹⁶³ As Andreev, Kholov and Qaiūmova show, *hisāb* was in use in Badakhshān even in the Soviet period.

As mentioned above, most of the poem that is included in the story belongs to Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹⁶⁴ The last two lines, which mention *hisāb’dān* and *nāmah’navīs* (“The *hisāb’dān* and *namā’vīs* (sic) came to be destroyed, The worst of the takers of bribes, the cursed ones like Iblīs”) cannot be found in any of the published editions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Dīvān* or in his other works. It is possible that the writer of the hagiography authored these lines. At any rate, the word *nāmah* is also used in the pre-Soviet hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. In the *Siyāḥat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, for instance, Nāṣir-i Khusraw destroys the army of the *malāhidah* with the influence of the planet Mars (*mirrīkh*). To do that, he writes a *nāmah* and places it under a stone.¹⁶⁵ Hence, whereas in the pre-Soviet hagiography Nāṣir-i Khusraw is presented as a *nāmah’navīs*, in the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* he is portrayed as an opponent of the practice or its misuse by the clergy. My informants in Shughnān mentioned to me that *nāmah’navīsī*, especially for stopping avalanches (*rixt pataraj chidow*), was a widespread practice in the Soviet period and continues to be practiced even today. Although both *nāmah’navīsī* and *hisāb’dānī* were practiced in the Soviet period, the story in the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* seems to offer criticism of the practice of *hisāb’dānī* and *nāmah’navīsī* and more importantly a

¹⁶¹ Qaiūmova, *Metrologiā i khronologiā*, 86.

¹⁶² Andreev, *Tadzhiki doliny Khuf*, 2, 152. I. Mukhiddinov, *Zemledelie pamirskikh tadzhikov Vakhana i Ishkashima v XIX - nachale XX veka (Istoriko-étnograficheskii ocherk)*. *Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoi literatury* (Moscow: Nauka, 1975), 72. Qaiūmova, *Metrologiā i khronologiā*, 96, 121. M. Sh. Kholov, *Taqvimhoi kishovarzii tojikoni kuhiston* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 2006), 84-85.

¹⁶³ Qaiūmova, *Metrologiā i khronologiā*, 87. *Nujūm* is attributed to Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn ‘Alī Iṣfahānī (d. 15th century). Iṣfahonī, *Nujūm*. The *Nawrūz’nāmah* mentioned Qaiūmova is not to be confused with the *Nawrūz’nāmah* or *Maw’izah fi al-sā‘at al-mazkūr mubārak* of Yā‘qūb Shāh ibn Ṣūfī that contains a sermon (*maw’izah*) to be read on Nawrūz. Digital copies of a text titled *Nawrūz’nāmah* can be found in MS Folder 175 (copied in 1280/1863) and MS Folder 19 (undated) (KhRU-IIS). Copies of the text are also kept in the archives of OITAS. Their accession numbers are 1963/12v, 1959/24i and 1967/171. Baqoev, *Alfavitnyi Katalog*, 97. There is a treatise known as the *Sā‘at’nāmah-i ‘Isā (Jesus’s Book of Hour)*. Only a few pages of this work can be found in MS Folder 19 (KhRU-IIS). Its author and the date of its transcription are unknown. The pages look very old.

¹⁶⁴ *Dīvān* (Taqavī), 97, 222.

¹⁶⁵ *Siyāḥat’nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 37. Raḥmonqulov, *Bahr ul-akhbor*, 20.

criticism of its practice for personal enrichment by means of deception and exploitation of the ordinary peasants. The source also equates belief in *hisāb'dānī* and *nāmah'navīsī* with “ignorance” and “superstition” and has Nāṣir-i Khusraw urge the ordinary people to uproot these harmful practices. Soviet ideology reverberates in the story, because, as elsewhere, Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishes the clergy for their misdeeds.

Apart from the punishment stories, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* incorporates elements from the oral hagiographical tradition to present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a famous Tajik poet. One good example is the story about Shāh Z̤iyāyī, “the ancestor of the poet” who “was aware of Sayyid Nāṣir’s fame as a great Tajik poet.” According to the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, Shāh Z̤iyāyī is the ancestor of a poet of same name. Historically speaking, we do not know whether the poet Z̤iyāyī who lived in the late 16th century, had a grandfather with the same name who was also a poet.¹⁶⁶ But it seems that the author of the hagiography was aware that the second Z̤iyāyī was not a contemporary of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, and, because of that, associated his ancestor by this name with Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The association of Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Z̤iyāyī is found in other stories in Badakhshān. According to one story, which was recorded in 1962 in Bartang, Shāh Z̤iyāyī lived in Balkh, but came to serve his *pīr* Nāṣir-i Khusraw. After being in his service for three years, he was told that his service was complete (*khizmat ado shud*) and was let go. However, Shāh Z̤iyāyī did not want to leave and, in order to stay, he intentionally wounded his foot with an axe. When he recovered from the wound he continued to serve Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Nāṣir-i Khusraw discharged him for the second time, but Shāh Z̤iyāyī broke his other foot this time. Nāṣir-i Khusraw knew that Shāh Z̤iyāyī did not want to leave and agreed to let him stay. He then remained with his *pīr* after that.¹⁶⁷ Another story is somewhat similar to the story about Shāh Z̤iyāyī becoming a poet, but instead of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, it features “an old man” (*muīsafed*) whom Shāh Z̤iyāyī sees in a dream and who tells him to twice wake up and read (*barkhezu bikhon*). When he wakes up, he becomes a knower of everything (*hama chiz aēn shud*).¹⁶⁸ It is therefore clear that, although these stories are famous in Badakhshān, they do not occur in the pre-Soviet hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Although the pre-Soviet hagiography uses Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s poetry and attributes poems to him, it does not point to his “fame as a poet,” let alone a Tajik poet. The *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, however, presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a famous Tajik poet, thus connecting him with the Tajik nation and reflecting the dictates of its time. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Mirshakar spoke of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s patriotism and desire for the prosperity of his homeland, Tajikistan. The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* mentions

¹⁶⁶ On Z̤iyāyī, in addition to the sources mentioned before, see Ĥabibov, *Ganji Badakhshon*, 155-61. See also Nisormamad Shakarmamadov, *Nazmi khalqii Badakhshon* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1975), 82.

¹⁶⁷ This story was recorded by Nisormamad Shakarmamadov in Rawmīd, Rūshān in 1962. His informant was 65-year-old Mahtaram Hojimatadov. The record is kept in FB1: 1154-1155 of the archive of KIH.

that Nāṣir-i Khusraw spoke of love for homeland (*vatandūstī*), a trope that appears for the first time in the Soviet period.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Soviet scholarship made a distinction between progressive medieval Ismāʿīlism, on the one hand, and feudalist medieval Ismāʿīlism together with modern Ismāʿīlism, on the other hand. Soviet scholars, especially after the 1970s, also note that the Ismāʿīlism that Nāṣir-i Khusraw represented was the voice of the oppressed. As mentioned before, by this time, scholars such as Braginskiĭ praised the Fāṭimid Imāms, especially Mustanṣir, during whose reign Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited Egypt, as rulers who managed to provide security for their subjects. Although the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* does not make the rigid distinction that the Soviet scholarship makes, it clearly mentions that many among the scholars and jurists of the group that Nāṣir-i Khusraw represented began to use the faith for their interests (*manfiʿat*). This, according to the story, happened after Imām Mustanṣir, the “just sovereign” (*shāh-i ʿādil*), died, and his son Mustaʿlī inherited his party (*shīʿat*). Mustaʿlī then turned the faith that supported the rights of the people (*ḥaqq al-nās*) into a religion of oppression (*ẓulmatī*). Of course, we must take into account the fact that the author of the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, as a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī, did not regard Mustaʿlī as a legitimate Imām, and called him “a rebel” (*tāghī*). It is possible that the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* only suggests that the Mustaʿliyyah branch of Ismāʿīlism turned into a religion of oppression. The author, however, does not say this explicitly. Neither does he mention the other branch of Ismāʿīlism, the Nizāriyān. He simply states that the party (*shīʿat*) turned into a religion of oppression after the death of Imām Mustanṣir. This appears to reflect the attitude of the Soviet scholars towards the perceived two forms of medieval Ismāʿīlism: the voice of the oppressed and the tool for oppression.

9.3.4 Nāṣir-i Khusraw, a Religious Figure, a Saint

The overwhelming majority of the stories in the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* describe Nāṣir-i Khusraw as destroying those who oppress and deceive ordinary people. The selection of the elements from the oral hagiographical tradition and the manner in which they are presented reflect the social values of the writers’ period. The sources still present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint capable of performing epistemological and power marvels. Their description of the feats as “wisdom” and “extraordinary deeds” seems to have only a nominal difference, as they are, in essence, marvels that only saints can perform. Thus, the hagiographical sources tend towards keeping the memory of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint alive and reflect faith in his sainthood. True, he is presented as a Tajik poet, a patriot, a great man

¹⁶⁸ The story is recorded from Shohzodamuhammadov Muḥammadsherdzho in *Sarā-yi Bahār* in Pārshinīv in 1991. M. Davlatshoev in FFVI: 1498-1500. According to Shohzodamuhammadov, Shāh Ziyāyī the son of Maḥmad Khān was born in

and a great philosopher, a champion for the causes of the oppressed, the peasants and the workers, a progressive thinker, a proponent of humanism, an opponent of inequality, superstition, spiritual enslavement, ill-treatment and taking advantage of ordinary people, abuse and misuse of religion and other forms of oppression. Moreover, the focus of the stories is placed much more often on the social meanings and implications of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's deeds than on the sacred meanings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's person itself. Thus, we do not come across words like *quddūs*, *pīr-i quddūs*, *buzurgvār*, *buzurg*, *valī*, *ḥujjat* and others, which generally mean "saint," in reference to him before. However, at his core, he remains a saint who both symbolizes the ideals projected onto him and transcends variations in the ways he is represented.

Among the accounts, there are punishment stories in which Nāṣir-i Khusraw's image is similar to the one presented in the pre-Soviet hagiographies. For example, just like Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishes Jahān Shāh for attacking him, in the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir*, he punishes Iskandar, the giant from Darvāz.¹⁶⁹ Nāṣir-i Khusraw does not destroy Iskandar, but teaches him a lesson, after which he becomes his follower. Davlatshoev also recorded this story in 1961 in Charsīm, Shughnān.¹⁷⁰ Shakarmamadov reproduces this story in his *La'li kūhsār*¹⁷¹ and changes it slightly (e.g. in Davlatshoev's version, Sikandar "detested Nāṣir-i Khusraw as he had heard that he was a sorcerer," which Shakarmamadov changes to "he apparently hated Hakim Nāṣir-i Khusraw for the reason that he was a sorcerer.")¹⁷² The poem is quite noteworthy. First, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is described as "*shāh-i bandah'navāz*," which literally means "one who is kind to servants" or "one who honours slaves." *Bandah'navāzī* is usually understood to be the divine benevolence that is inherent in saints. For instance, the famous Chishtī Ṣūfī poet of Deccan al-Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz (d. 825/1422) is known as Khvājah Bandanavāz.¹⁷³ Second, Iskandar says that he is "his dog," and *sag-i dargah* is a famous expression in Badakhshān, which means "the servant at the court." *Naẓar bar mā kun* is also an important expression. It does not simply mean "look at us," but "take care of us," "look favourably

Barpanjah, but moved to Mazār-i Sharīf.

¹⁶⁹ Sikandar-i Darvāzī is also mentioned in the *Silk-i guhar-rīz*. In this story, Sikandar-i Darvāzī's daughter Bībījān Bakhthavā'ī sends religious dues (*nuzūrāt*) to Imām Zu'l-Faqār 'Alī (d. 1043/1634) through the *rāhī* 'Abd al-Ma'sūm and calls the Imām as "my father's Mawlā." Gulzār Khān, *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, 137, 143.

¹⁷⁰ *Folklori Badakhshon (nusr): materialhoi ekspeditsiiai folklorii solhoi 1960-1961. Daftari VI: 1443-1444*. However, in the *Folklori Pomir*, vol. 2, it is noted that Shakarmamadov himself recorded this story in Charsīm. See Shakarmamadov, *Folklori Pomir*, 2, 325.

¹⁷¹ *La"li kūhsor*, 39-40.

¹⁷² The same story (with Tajik and Russian translation) appears in *Folklori Pomir*, 2, 98-101. Here, according to the original Shughnānī, "tuī disga khuḍj guē Nosiri Khusrav jodugar, dijati wi achao zhiwj nachu," (he [Sikandar] heard that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a sorcerer and for this reason he did not like him." The Tajik and Russian translations provide an accurate translation. A. Ḥabibov records another version of the story in *Ilm va haēt*. According to this version, Nāṣir-i Khusraw responds to Iskandar differently: *Eī sad dilakī, dah dilakī, yakdila kun, Sarrofi vujudi khud shavu khud sara kun, On gah ki ba dargaham biēt ba niēz, Rozi dili khud gar kih nadiēt, gila kun!* Oh you who doubts, do not doubt, Know your essence (being) and learn to control it, Then, when you come to my court with a need, If you do not find hope, then blame me. Ḥabibov, "Chashmai Nosiri Khusrav," 11.

¹⁷³ See Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in Qawwali* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 84.

upon us.”¹⁷⁴ By extension, it means “to watch over, to guard, to protect.” *Naẓar* or “a glance” is an important concept in Islam. The glance (*naẓar*) of a holy man has immense power to transform another person, for better (*naẓar-i ‘ināyat*) or for worse (*naẓar-i haybat*).¹⁷⁵ In the context of the poem, it refers to the former. According to Ṣūfism, if a saint wishes to give God-Realization to someone, his single glance is sufficient. *Naẓar* has long been a Ṣūfī trope, a glance that is exchanged between a Ṣūfī master and a disciple¹⁷⁶ and is applied to the benign gaze of Ṣūfī masters, which watches over and protects their disciples. It is the magical power of saints that transforms the disciples.¹⁷⁷ As Shāh Ni‘mat Allāh said, “With one glance we turn the dust of the road into gold” (*mā khāk-i rāh-rā ba-naẓar kīmiyā kunīm*). Or, the *naẓar*, or glance of favour, that Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī said a man of God directed at Shams al-Dīn, who, due to that blessed glance, became incomparable to anyone in the world and was made into a Friend of God.¹⁷⁸ At any rate, the story about Iskandar is also not found in any of the pre-Soviet hagiographies, but its message is similar to those. It glorifies Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a saint.

Although these examples are few, they can still point to the fact that not all the stories present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a destroyer of tyrant kings, wealthy people and hypocrite clergy. However, what is noticeably observable is that the number of stories in which Nāṣir-i Khusraw punishes ordinary people for not believing in him is insignificant compared to the pre-Soviet hagiographies. Instead, the image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a destroyer of tyrant kings, wealthy people and hypocrite clergy becomes at the centre of the hagiographies written in the Soviet period. In this, we find a major shift in the development of Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the Soviet period.

9.3.5 Moral Teachings

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was presented as a moralist and a sage in Soviet scholarship. His numerous poems were published in both Tajik and Russian. The secondary school and university textbooks were replete with his poems about desirable moral qualities. The Soviet hagiographical stories present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a “mirror of vices” and identify desirable moral qualities like unselfishness, self-control, showing gratitude, kindness, generosity, honesty, mutual-respect, courage, care for the needy, respect for the elderly, and forgiveness and to vices like ingratitude, avarice, hostility, theft, arrogance and disrespect. These moral qualities, which transcend

¹⁷⁴ Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 1410. It is also *naẓar bar mo kun* in Davlatshoev, but Shakarmamadov changes it to “*nazare bar mo kun*,” which simply means “look at us.” Shakarmamadov, *La"li kūhsor*, 40. It is also “*nazare bar mo kun*,” in *Folklori Pomir*, 2, 98-101.

¹⁷⁵ See for instance, Richard Gramlich, *Die schiitschen Derwischorden Persiens: Affiliationen*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1965), 205-07.

¹⁷⁶ Omid Safi, *The Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Religious Inquiry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 134.

¹⁷⁷ Michael Glunz, “The Persian Qasidah in post-Mongol Iran,” in *Classical Traditions and Modern Meanings*, ed. Stefan Sperl and Christopher Shackle (London and New York: Brill, 1996), 202.

culture, geography and chronology, resonate with Soviet moral principles promoted by the Soviets.¹⁷⁹ Through the punishment stories, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* demonstrate vividly the didactic functions of the miraculous. In that, they are similar to the pre-Soviet hagiography.

One of the most obvious differences between the Soviet hagiography and the pre-Soviet hagiography is that the former focuses overwhelmingly on social justice and equality as a moral virtue, while the latter focuses on obeying the moral imperative of the clergy. In Soviet hagiography, it is the ordinary people that are the repository of moral virtue. The stories focus on the oppression and exploitation of the peasant masses by the wealthy and unjust landowners, rulers and religious figures. They attack the deception of the workers and peasants implicit in the feudal system. This is clearly absent in the pre-Soviet hagiography. In the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir*, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw tells the ordinary people “not to fall prey to ignorance and superstition (*jahl va khurāfāt*),” “to clean their land of ... deceiving and hypocrite people,” and “to uproot ... injustice (*zulmat*) and inequality (*nā'barābarī*)” so that the people and their children live in freedom and harmony. To an extent, they identify moral responsibility with a fight for social justice and equality. As is the case with the Soviet ideology, the stories clearly criticize the morality of capitalist and feudal society, which justifies the exploitation of man by man. It is a criticism of the old society, which, according to the Soviet ideology, was based on social inequality and exploitation.¹⁸⁰ In speaking about the oppression of the people by a tyrannical king and the heavy taxes levied on them, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* explicitly states that such was the situation before the October revolution. The stories in the sources suggest that the poor peasants and workers should live well and in freedom, fight for their own interests and social justice. Hence, through the authority of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the hagiographers highlight moral traits seen as deserving encouragement in the Soviet context. In this, its take on what is just and right is somewhat different from that of the pre-Soviet hagiography. Whilst the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* locate moral virtue in obeying the successors of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and their descendants, paying them religious dues and seeking their prayers, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir*, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* locate moral virtue in seeking justice and equality. Whereas the first furthers the cause of the clergy, the latter furthers the interest of the ordinary people.

The *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* quote Nāṣir-i Khusraw's own verses on kindness, humanity, service to parents, help to friends in need and others

¹⁷⁸ Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī, *The Feats of the Knowers of God: Manāqeb Al-'ārefīn*, trans. John O'Kane (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 267.

¹⁷⁹ On the moral duties of the Soviet citizens, see George C. Guins, *Soviet Law and Soviet Society* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1954), 24-36.

¹⁸⁰ As Lenin asserted, the Communist “... morality is everything that is useful for the destruction of the old world of exploiters and for the unification of all toilers around the proletariat ...” *ibid.*, 29.

from the *Dīvān*, *Sa'ādat'nāmah* and *Rawshanā'ṭ'nāmah*. As mentioned above and in the previous chapter, poems from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's works and works attributed to him that contain moral admonitions were widely published and circulated in the Soviet period. Kamol Aīnī, who, like the other Soviet scholars, regarded Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a great moralist, includes most of these verses in his *Gulchine* (published in 1957).¹⁸¹ As is the case with the Soviet scholars, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* describes Nāṣir-i Khusraw as “a teacher of morality” (*adabomuz*). Nāṣir-i Khusraw's moral admonitions on a variety of topics were appreciated in the Soviet period, but it is especially those that are related to criticism of “feudal aristocracy,” “usurers” (*sudkhuron*) and “parasites” (*muftikhuron*) and the praise of peasants and artisans (*dehqonon va kosibon*) that were given significant attention.¹⁸² It is for this reason that the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* include Nāṣir-i Khusraw's verses in praise of peasants (*dehqon, kishovarz*) and artisans (*sone"*) among the verses on moral virtues.

9.3.6 *The Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the Risālah-i Afsānah va ḥaqīqat and the Risālat al-nadāmah*

Before concluding this chapter, I must mention an important point with regards to the attitude of the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* and the *Risālah-i Afsānah va ḥaqīqat* to the *Risālat al-nadāmah*. The author of the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* begins the work by saying “this is *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, which I wrote in response to *Afsānah va ḥaqīqat (kih dar javāb bih afsānah va ḥaqīqat navishtam)*.” Considering the author's words about “many people” who question the authenticity of the local history about Nāṣir-i Khusraw and who regard them as “meaningless tales,” it is obvious that the author was aware of the *Risālah-i Afsānah va ḥaqīqat* and felt the need to compose his or her own work. The *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* is not an overt response to the *Risālah-i Afsānah va ḥaqīqat*, because it does not engage with it directly or refute its claims. It simply mentions that local history about Nāṣir-i Khusraw is not “meaningless,” but “meaningful” for the people who love Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Unlike the *Risālah-i Afsānah va ḥaqīqat*, which considers the *Risālat al-nadāmah* as a “meaningless tale” created by the scholars of religion, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* does not question its authenticity and mentions that the book (which it calls *Kitāb-i nadāmat*) was composed by the “scholars of Pamir” (*'ulamā'-i Pāmīr*) before the Soviet period (*pīsh az zamān-i shūravī*). Both *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* and the *Risālah-i Afsānah va ḥaqīqat* evidently consider it to be the work of the pre-Soviet Ismā'īlī clergy in Badakhshān. “The scholars of Pamir before the Soviet period” would certainly refer to scholars living in the area later incorporated into the Soviet territory. In talking about the “scholars of religion,” the *Risālah-i Afsānah va ḥaqīqat* also means the local

¹⁸¹ Aīnī, *Gulchine az devoni ash"*, 29.

¹⁸² As an example, see *ibid*.

Ismā'īlī scholars of Pamir” who, according to it, created the *Risālat al-nadāmah* to legitimate their status.¹⁸³

The *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir* and the *Risālat al-nadāmah* mention the *malāḥidah*, but they are very clear on the fact that the faith of Nāšir-i Khusraw and his followers had nothing to do with them. Unlike *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir* and the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw* associates the *malāḥidah* at Alamūt with Nāšir-i Khusraw and states that the head of the “heretics” was a follower of Nāšir-i Khusraw. It is clear that the author of the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw* was not very familiar with the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, to which he refers. The *Risālat al-nadāmah*, as demonstrated in Chapter Six, depicts the *malāḥidah* as Nāšir-i Khusraw’s opponents who forced him to write a commentary on the Qur’ān according to their faith. Nevertheless, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāšir-i Khusraw*, unlike the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāšir* and the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, does not dissociate Nāšir-i Khusraw from the *malāḥidah*. The author evidently does not feel the need to present Nāšir-i Khusraw as an acceptable figure to those who accused him of heresy, which was one of the agendas of the pre-Soviet hagiography.

An untitled text in Badakhshān criticizes those who believe in Nāšir-i Khusraw’s authorship of the *Risālat al-nadāmah* (which it calls the *Risālah fī zād al-ākhirah*).¹⁸⁴ According to this text, some religious people (*ba'zī mu'taqidīn-i dīn*), to win acceptance among the lay people (*bih gharaz-i maqbūl-i 'avvām*), wrote another treatise and attributed it to the pen of Nāšir-i Khusraw so that the community would use it. Some enemies, attempting to create discord among the followers of the Imām of the time for the purpose of falsifying the tradition of the Ismā'īlīs, composed different treatises and attributed them to Ḥujjat Nāšir-i Khusraw.¹⁸⁵ According to this text, the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, which is attributed to Nāšir-i Khusraw, is devoid of Nāšir-i Khusraw’s expressions and technical terms (*'ibārāt va istilāḥāt*). Referring to the introduction (*muqaddimah*) of Ḥasan Taqī'zādah to Sayyid Naṣr Allah Taqavī's edition of Nāšir-i Khusraw's *Dīvān*, the text indicates that this treatise “was considered to be the work of Nāšir-i Khusraw and his brother Abu Sa'īd by this community and is revered by the ignorant ones among them.”¹⁸⁶ Ḥasan Taqī'zādah, however, mentions nothing to this effect. In fact, he only argues that the *Risālat al-nadāmah* must have been composed based on Nāšir-i Khusraw’s own poems,¹⁸⁷ a view that Andreï Bertel's also supports.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ Qurbānshāh, *Afsānah va Ḥaqīqat*, 2.

¹⁸⁴ Folder 168 (KhRU-IIS)

¹⁸⁵ ... *ba'zī mu'taqidīn-i dīn bih gharaz-i maqbūl-i 'avvām risālah-i dīgar ham navishta-and va ba ism-i Ḥakīm manšūb kardā-and tā jamā'at istifādah girānd va ba'zī mukhālīfīn bih gharaz-i parishānī-i payravān-i imām-i zamān va barā-yi buṭlān-i āyīn-i Ismā'īlīyān risālahā-i mukhtalīf manšūb bih ḥujjat kardāh navishta-and tā du zih yakī paydā shavad va parishānī biyafzāyad*, Folder 168, 1.

¹⁸⁶ ... *ta'rif-i Nāšir va tartīb-i Abū Sayyīd barādar-i Nāšir tasawwur kardāh dar miyān-i in jamā'at balk-i bih dast-i dailyān-i bī 'ilm muhtaram va mukarram mīdārānd*, Folder 168, 2.

¹⁸⁷ Taqī'zādah, "Muqaddimah," 1-7.

¹⁸⁸ Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, 149-50.

The text in Folder 168 points to the fact that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was not opposed to Mawlānā Nizār and Mawlānā Hādī and that he was not even their contemporary (*ham'aṣr*). It also mentions that he was a *dā'ī* and *hujjat* of Khurāsān during the imamate of Mustanṣir bi'llāh.¹⁸⁹ As Quadratbek Ēl'chibekov shows, the Pakistani Ismā'īlī author Quadratullāh Bīg ibn Khānṣāhib Muḥabbatullāh Bīg makes a similar claim in his *Da'vat-i Nāṣirī*, which he published in Gilgit in 1958. Quadratullāh writes that, after carefully studying the *Risālat al-nadāmah* and similar treatises, he concluded that none of them belong to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. According to him, it is Nāṣir-i Khusraw's enemies that attribute the treatises to him for the sole purpose of misleading his supporters and followers. Apart from that, these treatises are not in the style of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and do not even contain his expressions and terms.¹⁹⁰ It is quite possible that the *Da'vat-i Nāṣirī* may have been the source for this portion for the text in Folder 168. Whether it is the source for the two works or not, what remains noteworthy is the *Da'vat-i Nāṣirī* and the text in Folder 168 regard the *Risālat al-nadāmah* to be a work composed by the opponents of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Unlike these, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* regards the *Risālat al-nadāmah* as a work composed by the followers of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Overall, while the *Risālah-i Afsānah va ḥaqīqat* regards the *Risālat al-nadāmah* as a “meaningless tale” and the *Da'vat-i Nāṣirī* together with the text in Folder 168 consider it a product of the enemies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* sees it as a product of his followers. Essentially, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* attempts to show that the tradition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw is the same as that of the *malāḥidah* of Alamūt. In this, as mentioned, its approach differs from that of the pre-Soviet hagiography, which uses elements from the *Risālat al-nadāmah* but regards the *malāḥidah* as non-Ismā'īlīs. In the pre-Soviet socio-political context, the hagiography served an apologetic purpose. Given that in the Soviet period Nāṣir-i Khusraw was regarded as a “heretic” (*eretik*) like other Ismā'īlīs and this term had a positive connotation, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* did not aim to serve this purpose.

Like the *Risālat al-nadāmah*, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* mentions that Nāṣir-i Khusraw went to Baghdād, but diverts from it in stating that the reason he did so to win over the people of the city to the cause of Mawlānā Mustanṣir bi'llāh. It explicitly demonstrates that Nāṣir-i Khusraw studied “their faith” and was even asked by the *khalīfah* of Baghdād to compose a book in defense of his faith. This is somewhat similar to the account of the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, in which Mawlānā Hādī tells Nāṣir-i Khusraw to convert the people of Baghdād. The *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* mentions that the reasons the *khalīfah* of Baghdād issued his death *fatvah* is because of the enmity of the pseudo-scholars (*'ulamā'laqābān*) who criticized him for his loyalty to Mawlānā

¹⁸⁹ *Chi-gūna ravā buvad kih Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw mukhālīf-i Ḥaḏrat Mawlānā Nizār va Mawlānā Hādī bāshad va ū ham-aṣr-i an-hā nabūdah, balk-i Ḥakīm dar ahd-i ḥukumat va imāmat-i Ḥaḏrat Mawlānā Mustanṣir bi'llāh az Miṣr ba uhda-yi dā'ī-i Khurāsān nāmvar shudah va mudīrī-i umūr-i yakī az dīvāzdah'gānah-i jazā'ir kih bih da'vat va niḏām-i jamā'at-i Mustanṣir yāftah bih hujjat-i Khurāsān nāmzad būd, chūnān kih dar dīvān-i ash'ār gūyad.* Folder 168, 2.

Mustanşir bi'llāh and for his commitment to “wisdom” (*ḥikmat*). They also became his enemies because of his freedom-loving and people-loving views. Like the other two Soviet hagiographies, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāşir-i Khusraw* points to how Nāşir-i Khusraw criticized the ruling class and fought for the causes of the oppressed peasants. Here, following the Soviet scholarship on Nāşir-i Khusraw and Ismāʿīlism, the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāşir-i Khusraw* juxtaposes the Ismāʿīlism that Nāşir-i Khusraw represented (*ḥikmat*) with the Islam of pseudo-scholars (*ʿulamāʾ laqabān*) and the “feudal” Islam that oppressed peasants and artisans.

9.4 Pre-Soviet Hagiographies in Soviet Badakhshān

All the observations that I made about the Nāşir-i Khusraw of the hagiographies in the Soviet period, however, do not mean that the Ismāʿīlīs did not emphasize his religious aspect. He performs marvels through prayers, and people continue seeking his “glance.” During the Soviet period, apart from the newly composed hagiographies, the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs continued copying other works that present him as a saint. The *Risālat al-nādāmah* and Gulzār Khān’s copy of the *Silk-i guhar-rīz* were copied during the Soviet era.¹⁹¹

The Ismāʿīlīs also copied an untitled text (recorded as *Shajarah'nāmah-i pīrān-i mawrūşī-i vādī-i Shākh'darah* (*Genealogy of the Hereditary Pīrs of the Shākh'darah Valley*) in KhRU-IIS) about Khājah Āfāq(ī) (or Sulţān Fāq Muḥammad-i Parvāzī), the ancestor of the *pīrs* of Shākh'darah.¹⁹² This text incorporates elements from narratives that are also found in the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāşir*, such as the conversion of ʿUmar Yumgī’s sister, the instigation of ʿUmar Yumgī by some people against Nāşir-i Khusraw, ʿUmar Yumgī’s plan to kill Nāşir-i Khusraw, Nāşir-i Khusraw turning a bridge with ʿUmar Yumgī and his horse upside down, ʿUmar Yumgī becoming a disciple of the *pīr* after witnessing his wondrous deed, a reference to Nāşir-i Khusraw’s invitation of the *malāḥidah*¹⁹³ to religion, etc.¹⁹⁴ Although the text is undated (as it only mentions Saturday, *yawm-i shanbih*), “judging by the condition of the paper,” Beben, the first scholar to utilize this work for his study, believes that it likely dates to the mid-20th century.¹⁹⁵ There is nothing to suggest that the text was composed during the Soviet period, though the condition of the paper and the fact that it is written on a lined notebook

¹⁹⁰ Ēl'chibekov, "Istoki Legend O Nasir Kusrave," 405. Qudradullāh Beg, *Da'vat-i Nāşirī* (Gilgit:1958), 2.

¹⁹¹ This text, known as *Safar'nāmah-i Ḥaḡrat Sayyid Nāşir-i Khusraw*, was transcribed by Nawrūz Shāh ibn Nazar Shāh in 1385/1965. Temporary accession number USBk8, ff. 54a-83a, (KhRU-IIS).

¹⁹² This work is untitled but registered as *Shajarah'nāmah-i pīrān-i mawrūşī-i vādī-i Shākh'darah* (*Genealogy of the Hereditary Pīrs of the Shākh'darah Valley*) in KhRU-IIS, MS Folder 92, (KhRU-IIS). The *Nasab'nāmah* itself follows this text. On this work, see Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 403-08. There are other small works (e.g. *Vaşiyyat'nāmah-i Ḥaḡrat-i Rasūl*) in MS Folder 92.

¹⁹³ The *Shajarah'nāmah*, however, states that there were many “heretics” (*mulḥidān*) in Yumgān when Nāşir-i Khusraw arrived in the region. According to this text, Nāşir-i Khusraw went to Yumgān from Shākh'darah. The text describes those who turned ʿUmar Yumgī against Nāşir-i Khusraw as “heretics” (*mulḥidān*).

¹⁹⁴ Some passages (e.g. the passage that describes how Nāşir-i Khusraw makes the blind see and the lame walk) in both sources are identical. *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāşir*, 77, Raḥmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 35, *Shajarah'nāmah*, 14-15.

¹⁹⁵ Beben, "The Legendary Biographies," 403.

shows that it was clearly copied during that period. The copy, however, is almost certainly based on an earlier text composed long before the Soviet era.

First, like the other pre-Soviet hagiographies, it attempts to legitimate the authority of the *pīrs* of Shākh'darah through Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which, as I have demonstrated before, was a feature of the pre-Soviet hagiographies. Second, it includes a *Nasab'nāmah* (*Genealogy*), according to which Sulṭān Fāq Muḥammad-i Parvāzī is the seventeenth-generation descendant of a certain Shāh 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī and the sixth-generation ancestor of Shaykh Ḥakīm.¹⁹⁶ The list of the *pīrs* in the *Nasab'nāmah* culminates with Shaykh Ḥakīm, which means the work must have been composed during his lifetime. It is also possible that Shaykh Ḥakīm was its author. However, Shaykh Ḥakīm's name does not appear in any of the sources that provide information about Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī *pīrs* that I have used for this dissertation. Bobrinskoī mentions the name of one *pīr*, Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh, who resided in Shākh'darah. Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh, however, cannot be a descendant of Shaykh Ḥakīm, because his ancestor is "Imām Ibrāhīm" the son of Imām Muḥammad Bāqir, not Shāh 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī.¹⁹⁷ Also, Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh was not a traditional *pīr* of Shākh'darah, because his ancestors hailed from Munjān and he came to Shākh'darah (through Chitrāl) in 1899 (two years before Bobrinskoī interviewed him in 1901). Among the fifteen *pīrs*, who, according to Bobrinskoī, were operating in greater Badakhshān (Sariqūl, Yārquand, Chitrāl, Sūchān, Pārshinīv, Barrūshān, Kūlāb and Darvāz) in 1901, only Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh was based in Shākh'darah.¹⁹⁸ As Shaykh Ḥakīm is not mentioned among the fifteen *pīrs*, he must have lived before this time or long before Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh.¹⁹⁹

This text has all the hallmarks of the pre-Soviet Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Nāṣir-i Khusraw blesses Khvājah Muḥammad Yasīn²⁰⁰ and his wife with a child. This child is Khājah Āfāq(ī), the saint of Shākh'darah and the Bābā Fāqī'ī Muḥammad (also known as Bābā Fāq Muḥammad, Bābā Fāq Maḥmad-i Parvāzī, from *parvāz*, "flying," as he is believed to have flown in the air of the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*.²⁰¹ He taught

¹⁹⁶ It is possible that the famous Sūfī master and poet Khvājah 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī of Hirāt (d. 481/1088) is meant here. There is a 15th century Ismā'īlī 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī as well, and it is more likely that he is the referent. See Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages*, 129.

¹⁹⁷ Bobrinskoī, "Sekta Ismail'īa," 11.

¹⁹⁸ Bobrinskoī, "Sekta Ismail'īa," 7.

¹⁹⁹ The text in question mentions that Sulṭān Fāq Muḥammad-i Parvāzī's son Khvājah Aḥmad was born in 1002/1594. We can doubt its accuracy because of its hagiographical nature. As the text relates the story of Sulṭān Fāq Muḥammad-i Parvāzī's meeting with Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the fact that Nāṣir-i Khusraw lived in 5th/11th century, we do not need to view this date as accurate. However, it is quite unusual for Badakhshānī hagiographical texts to record a precise year of birth and death of their characters. The date here may be based on another source that recorded the date of Khvājah Aḥmad. If the date is accurate and as Khvājah Aḥmad is the fifth-generation ancestor of Shaykh Ḥakīm during whose lifetime the work seems to have been composed, it follows that the original text must have been composed sometime between the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century (if we allow 30 to 50 years for one generation).

²⁰⁰ According to the text, Khvājah Muḥammad Yasīn is buried in Baḏūm, Shākh'darah.

²⁰¹ *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, 43. Rahmonqulov, *Baḥr ul-akhbor*, 22. "Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān," 16-17. Although the texts link Bābā Fāq(ī) with Shākh'darah and the people in the villages of Biḏīdž, Sezhd and Baḏūm have shrines dedicated to him, there are other shrines (*qadam'gāh*, *āstān*) associated with this figure and stories related to those shrines elsewhere in Badakhshān. With the exception of only two in Shughnān (Balandparvāz in Sīzhd and Fāqmamad-i Parvāzī in Āqmamad), these places are in Ishkāshim and Vakhān: Pīr-i Fāqmamad in the village of Kūh-i la'1, Pīr Fāqmamad-i Parvāzī

Āfāq(ī) the “names of God” and named him Āfāq(ī) Muḥammad-i Parvāzī. As a result, Āfāq(ī) was able to fly in the air. On one occasion, he flies to the house of his parents and brings a bowl (*kajkūl*, Persian *kachkūl*) of milk back to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Nāṣir-i Khusraw tells Khājah Āfāq(ī) that he was sent to this world to teach him, clean his heart and fill it with knowledge of mysteries. As in the pre-Soviet hagiographical sources, in the *Shajarah'nāmah*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is presented as the knower of the secret of the Necessary Existent (*sirr-i vājib al-vujūd*) dear to God. He is the “cup-bearer” (*sāqī*) of divine knowledge, who gives the cup filled with water from Kawṣar and the “cup of divine unity” (*kāsaḥ-i tawhīd*) to Khājah Āfāq(ī), who then becomes aware of the knowledge (*Khvājah Āfāqī dast bi-dād bih ān sāqī, shud yaqīnash zi bādah-i sāqī*).²⁰²

In the *Shajarah'nāmah*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw performs marvels such as moving the earth, darkening the world dark, drying up the rivers, ordering mountains to come close to one another, turning mountains into sand and so on. He is described as a master (*mawlā*), the *pīr* of Kuhistān, the “illuminating candle” (*sham 'i shabistān*) and the intercessor (*shafī'*) whose glance blesses those he looks at with the knowledge of God and the Prophet (*gar kunī tū bih har kasī naẓar, ū bi-dānad Khudā va Payghambar*). Nāṣir-i Khusraw leads Āfāq(ī) to the path of God and the Imām of the time (*Imām-i zamān*). Once Āfāq(ī) completes his learning at the feet of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, he marries Zaynab Khātūn at Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s request and begins to teach faith in Badakhshān.²⁰³ The text mentions some places in Shākh'darah where Āfāq(ī) builds *langars* and appoints *khalīfahs* for carrying out the *da'vah*. Two of these places are Baḍūm (Bādām in the text) and Biḍīdīz (Bidīz in the text) where shrines associated with Āfāq(ī) Muḥammad are located today.²⁰⁴ In contrast to what takes place in the narrative found in the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, Zaynab Khātūn was not able to conceive a child for seven years, but with the help of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (who blessed Āfāq(ī)’s water for ablution), she gave birth to Khvājah Aḥmad in the month of Ramaẓān in 1002/1594.²⁰⁵ In the *Nasab'nāmah*, the names of the *pīrs* (the descendants of Khvājah Aḥmad and his wife Fāṭimah) are Khvājah Najaf, Shaykh Kamāl, Shaykh Naẓar, Shaykh Sanā'ī, Shaykh Darvīsh and, finally, Shaykh Ḥakīm.

in Nud, Pīr Fāqmamad in Sunjen, Pīr-i Parvāzī (sometimes Barvāzī) in Yakhshvāl, Pīr-i Fāqmamad in Vichkut, Pīr-i Fāqmamad in Darshay, Shāh-i Balandparvāz in Tāqakhāna, Pīr-i Fāqmamad in Vudīt and Pīr-i Fāqmamad in Rin in the modern Ishkāshim district (including Vakhān). See Oshurbekov, "Places, Memories and Religious Identity," 157-59. The *Shajarah'nāmah* (*Genealogy*) about Fāqmamad reflects the tradition of the Ismā'īlīs of Ishkāshim, Vakhān and Shākh'darah.

²⁰² The Arabic word *al-kawthar* (literally, unceasing, abundant good) occurs once in the Qur'ān in Chapter 108, which is called the Chapter of *al-kawthar* (*sūrat al-kawthar*). According to a traditional Islamic interpretation, the Prophet regarded *al-kawthar* as the name of a river and a pond in Paradise. Hence, the word *al-kawthar* became synonymous with *hawḍ*, “the Prophet’s pool” or *nahr Muḥammad*, “the Prophet’s river.” According to one interpretation, “its waters are whiter than the snow and sweeter than honey” or “its waters are of wine.” See J. Horowitz and L. Gardet, “al-kawthar,” *EI2*. Among Muslims in general and Shī'īs in particular it is Imām 'Alī who is the Sāqī al-Kawthar, the supplier of Kawthar. Imām 'Alī serves the believers on the Day of Resurrection (*sāqī 'l-mu' minīn fi 'l-qiyāma*) and the inhabitants of paradise with water from the river of Kawṣar (*sāqī min nahr al-kawthar*). See Amir-Moezzi, *The Spirituality of Shi'i Islam*, 311, n13. See also the *qaṣīdah* of Ātashī, which describes 'Alī as the *sāqī-yi Kawṣar* MSGK131, f. 355 (KhRU-IIS). Parvāzī is also known as Barvāzī, named so after Barvāz, the village some people believe he came from.

²⁰³ Zaynab is perhaps 'Umar Yumgī's sister whom Nāṣir-i Khusraw calls his daughter.

²⁰⁴ It also mentions Chārch, Rāj (Rāzh) and Sijāz (which is either Khazud or Sezhd).

²⁰⁵ *Shajarah'nāmah-i pīrān-i mawrūṣī-i vādī-i Shākh'darah*, 12-21.

Apart from these works, the texts of the *Charāgh'nāmah*, which heap praises on Nāšir-i Khusraw and glorify him as a saint, were copied and used in the Soviet era. For example, in the 1960s, Soviet scholars collected four manuscripts of this work in Badakhshān.²⁰⁶ The following verses show the attitude of the *Charāgh'nāmah* to Nāšir-i Khusraw:

<i>Ū Ka 'bah-i āb-u gil ast</i> <i>Īn Ka 'bah-i jān-u dil ast</i> ²⁰⁷	That Ka 'bah made of water and clay This is the Ka 'bah of heart and soul
<i>Yumgān guzarī tawāf-i Nāšir bi-talab</i>	If you pass by Yumgān, seek to circumambulate [the tomb] of Nāšir
<i>Gar mard-i rahī šafā-yi khātir bi-talab</i>	If you are a man worthy of the path, seek cheerfulness of the mind
<i>Khvāhī kih murād-i dilat ḥašil gardad</i> <i>Az dāman-i pāk-i Shāh Nāšir bi-talab</i> ²⁰⁸	If you wish your heart's desire to be fulfilled Seek the chaste skirt of Shāh Nāšir
<i>Agar gūyam šifatat Shāh Nāšir</i> <i>Namīdānam zi ḥālat Shāh Nāšir</i> <i>Agar gūyam kih mard-i rāh būdī</i> <i>Fuzūn az mard-i rāhī Shāh Nāšir</i> ²⁰⁹ <i>Rasidam bar sar-i (sirr-i) maydān-i 'ishqat</i> <i>Zadam charkh-i samā' at Shāh Nāšir</i> <i>Kiyānand-u tū-ra yārān-i ghārand</i> <i>Valī Allāh Bābā Shāh Nāšir</i> ²¹⁰ <i>Agar charkh-i falak nāgah gardad</i> <i>Bigīrad dast-i mā-rā Shāh Nāšir</i> <i>Makun nawmīd az dargāh mā-rā</i> <i>Hamah rū bā tū dārim Shāh Nāšir</i> ²¹¹ <i>Burīdah bād zabān-i jumlah bad-gū</i> <i>Bih ḥaqq-i rūzgārat Shāh Nāšir</i> ²¹²	If I describe your attributes Shāh Nāšir Words fail me to know your state, Shāh Nāšir If I say you were the man of the path You are greater than the man of the path, Shāh Nāšir I have arrived in the place/secret of the arena of your love And performed the dance of <i>samā'</i> , Shāh Nāšir Who are your friends of the cave O friend of God, Master Shāh Nāšir? If the revolving wheel comes to stop [You] will give us your hand, Shāh Nāšir Do not deprive us of the hope for your court All of us have turned our faces to you, Shāh Nāšir May the tongue of the detractors And those who speak evil of you be cut, Shāh Nāšir

Some variants of the *Charāgh'nāmah* add more verses to the aforementioned poem, which seem to have been composed by a poet with the pen name of Yumgānī:

<i>Dū gīsū-i siyāh-i 'anbarīnat</i> <i>Dihad yād az Imām Shāh Nāšir</i> <i>Agar khīzad chū bād-i rūz-i maḥshar</i> <i>Darāyam dar panāhat Shāh Nāšir</i> <i>Zi Īrān pā nihādī dar Badakhshān</i> <i>Shudah Yumgān makānat Shāh Nāšir...</i>	Your two dark and fragrant forelocks Remind me of my Imām, Shāh Nāšir If the wind of the day of Reckoning begins to blow I will find refuge in you, Shāh Nāšir You came to Badakhshān from Iran Yumgān became your place, Shāh Nāšir...
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²⁰⁶ One of them copied in 1355/1936. See Baqoev, *Alfavitnyĭ Katalog*, 41, #59, 60, 61, 62.

²⁰⁷ *Charāgh'nāmah* in MSGK93, 14 (copied in 1387/1967) (KhRU-IIS).

²⁰⁸ MS USBK54 (Najm al-Dīn from Bartang), f. 6, (KhRU-IIS). Bertel's has *da 'vat-i Nāšir* instead of *tawāf-i Nāšir*. Bertel's, "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az 'urafā," 105. Folder 168 has *turbat-i Nāšir* instead of *tawāf-i Nāšir*. MS Folder 168 (Tolikh), 24, (KhRU-IIS).

²⁰⁹ *Agar gūyam kih mard-i kār būdī, Fuzūn az mard-i kārī Shāh Nāšir* in Ms. USBK54 (Najm al-Dīn from Bartang), f. 6, (KhRU-IIS). Also in Ms. Folder 206 ("This is the blessed *Charāgh'nāmah* that was edited (*tahrīr*) for the people of Badakhshān by the order of Mawlānā"), 3, (KhRU-IIS).

²¹⁰ *Kiyānand-u tu-rā yārān-i ghārand, Valī Allāh Bābā Shāh Nāšir* also appear in the *Silk-i guhar' rīz*, Gulzār Khān, 108, Ēl'chibekov, 78.

²¹¹ The verses from *Rasidam bar sar-i to bā tū dārim Shāh Nāšir* have been omitted in MS Folder 206, 3. Instead, MS Folder 206 has "All the kings are standing at your door, You are the guiding *pīr*, Shāh Nāšir, You are from the pure progeny of the Chosen One, I read your word, Shāh Nāšir (*Hamah shāhān sitādah bar dar-i tū, tū pīr-i rah'nāmā-yī Shāh Nāšir, Tū az avlād-i pāk-i Muṣṭafā-yī, Kih mī'khānam kalāmat Shāh Nāšir*).

²¹² MS USBK54 (Najm al-Dīn from Bartang), f. 6, (KhRU-IIS). Bertel's, "Nazariyāt-i barkhī az 'urafā," 109.

*Ṭawāf-i marqadat āyand bih har dam
Malāik zih āsmān Shāh Nāšir...
Kunand khāk-i darat-rā surmah-i chashm
Jami '-i hūriyān yā Shāh Nāšir
Har ān kas bar darat āyad bih ikhlāš
Shavad ṣaḥibqirān yā Shāh Nāšir
Jami '-i dardman-dān-i jahān-rā
Tū-yī rāḥat-rasān yā Shāh Nāšir
Manam Yumgānī-i madhūsh-u miskīn
Chū kalb-i āstānat yā Shāh Nāšir ...²¹³*

To circumambulate your tomb
Angels descend from heaven, Shāh Nāšir...
All the houris make the dust at your doorstep
Collyrium for their eyes, Shāh Nāšir
Whoever comes to your threshold with sincerity
Becomes master of the auspicious conjunction, Shāh Nāšir
For the afflicted ones in the whole world
You are the bringer of comfort, Shāh Nāšir
I am a confounded and indigent Yumgānī
Like a dog at your place of rest, Shāh Nāšir...

Similar verses by a poet with the pen name Yumgī (who is most like the poet of the above verses) are found in manuscripts copied during the Soviet period. The following, for instance, is included in a *bayāz* transcribed in 1395/1975 in Shughnān:

*Manam az jān ghulāmat Shāh Nāšir
Shudam sarmast-i jāmat Shāh Nāšir
Chū murgh-i purdilī k-az raghat-i tīgh
Dar aftādam bih dāmat Shāh Nāšir
Tū shāhbāzī humāyūn lā makānī
Zi man har dam salāmat Shāh Nāšir
Tū az avlād-i pāk-i Muṣṭafā-yī
Bi-gūyam ṣubḥ-u shāmat Shāh Nāšir
Tū-yī az 'arifān-i kull-i 'irfān
Kih mī'khvānam kalāmat Shāh Nāšir
Dū gīsū-i siyāh-i 'anbarīnat
Dihad yād az Imāmam Shāh Nāšir
Shābī dar vāqi 'ah dīdam manī zār
Kih dar 'arsh ast maqāmat Shāh Nāšir
Tu ham pusht-u panāhī dar Kuhistān
Shudah Yumgān makānat Shāh Nāšir
Bi-yāyad khalq az aṭrāf-i 'ālam
Bih pābūsī tamāmat Shāh Nāšir
Zabānam lāl andar kām gardad
Bih vaṣf-i khānadānat Shāh Nāšir
Ayā shāhā tū bar Yumgī nazar kun
Kih mī'jūyad mudāmat Shāh Nāšir²¹⁴*

I am your sincere and devoted servant Shāh Nāšir
I am intoxicated with your wine, Shāh Nāšir
Like a bird full of courage desiring a sword
I have fallen in your trap, Shāh Nāšir
You are the royal falcon, without place
I send salutations to you every time, Shāh Nāšir
You are of the pure progeny of the Chosen One
I mention this every morning and evening, Shāh Nāšir
You are of the true knowers of all gnosis
And I read your word, Shāh Nāšir
Your two dark and fragrant forelocks
Remind me of my Imām, Shāh Nāšir
One night I, in tears, saw in a true dream
That your place is in heaven, Shāh Nāšir
You are the support and refuge in Kuhistān
Yumgān has become your place, Shāh Nāšir
People from the corners of the world
Come for your reverence, Shāh Nāšir
My tongue becomes dumb in my mouth
In praise of your household, Shāh Nāšir
O king, cast a glance on Yumgī
Who constantly seeks you, Shāh Nāšir

The *Charāgh'nāmah*, as mentioned, was recited in the course of the *Charāgh'rawshan* or *Da'vat-i Nāšir* ceremony, a practice that continued during the Soviet period. During this event, the Ismā'īlīs would also sing devotional songs or *maddāhs* in praise God, Prophets, Imāms and Nāšir-i Khusraw. However, they did that with extreme caution, knowing that the government agents were observing them. As testified to by the authors of the *Risālah-i Afsānah va ḥaqīqat* and the *Sharḥ-i ḥal-i Nāšir-i Khusraw*, the people of Badakhshān had immense faith in Nāšir-i Khusraw, whom they considered a great saint. Overall, the spiritual aspect of Nāšir-i Khusraw never lost its significance for the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs, even during the Soviet period. Gulzār Khān ibn Raḥmān Qūl, who

²¹³ *Charāgh'nāmah*, MS Folder 168, f. 23, (KhRU-IIS).

transcribed many other manuscripts in the late 1960s and the 1970s (some of which I have used in this study), was also a poet. In a *qaṣīdah* composed in 1388/1968, he thanks God that he is not an unbeliever (*mushrik*) and a heretic (*mulhid*), but rather a follower of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the Ismā‘īlī Imām and the family of the Prophet:

Shukr-i Khudā zi silsilah-i mushrikān nayīm
Juz az sagān-i dargah-i īn khānadān nayīm

Thank God, we are not among the unbelievers
We are only the dogs at the door of this family

Mā may zi jān-i Ḥaydar-i karrār khūrdah-īm

We have drunk from the cup of the Lion of
repeated attacks

‘Anqāim-u zi murdah’khūr-u kargasān nayīm
Pīr-i man ast Nāṣir-u Ḥaydar Imām-i māst
Mānand-i nāṣībī zi pay-i mulhidān nayīm...
Mā ḥaqq bih mard-i vaqt shināsīm az kalām

We are the phoenix, not carcass-eating vultures
My Pīr is Nāṣir, and Ḥaydar (‘Alī) is our Imām
We are not like the Nāṣībī after heretics
We know the Truth through the word of the Man
of Truth

Dar ḥaqq’shināsī rūy sūy-i āsmān nayīm ...
Mā-rā kalām-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw nishānah ast
Dar dīn-i Ḥaydarīm, az īn hālikān nayīm

In seeking the Truth, we do not look up to the sky
Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s word is the guidance for us
We are in Ḥaydar’s religion, not among the
perished ones

Gulzār Khān tū dāman-i Nāṣir kaf manih
*Ṣad shukr-i ḥaqq bigū zi nābālighān nayīm*²¹⁵

Gulzār Khān, hold fast onto the skirt of Nāṣir
Give gratitude to God, we are not among the
immature ones

However, since religious views and practices were looked upon with suspicion by the Soviet regime, it seems that faith in and love for Nāṣir-i Khusraw remained largely private. In fact, as mentioned, having failed to eradicate the *Charāgh’rawshan* tradition, the Soviets attempted to add praises of the role of the Communist party and the Soviet Union to the lyrics of the *maddāḥ*.²¹⁶ On one occasion during the *Charāgh’rawshan* ceremony, the Ismā‘īlīs sang *maddāḥ* in praise of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, but as soon as unknown people entered the house, the performer of the *maddāḥ* replaced Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s name with that of Lenin.²¹⁷ Thus, there was a private attitude to Nāṣir-i Khusraw that reflects the faith and reverence of the Ismā‘īlīs and a public attitude in which the faith in and reverence for Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as a religious teacher and saint, were not expressed openly and publicly. The Ismā‘īlīs had the desire to write and record hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw and to prevent them from falling into oblivion. At the same time, they could not express and focus on the religious aspect of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. As a result, they produced hagiographies, perhaps expecting them to become public, that steered away from the fundamental agendas of the pre-Soviet hagiographical works and instead reflected new agendas that sat well with the Soviet policies and

²¹⁴ MS Folder 12, ff. 132-33 (KhRU-IIS). Yumgī is the pen name of Malik Jahān Shāh. See Badakhshī, *Armughān-i Badakhshān*, 28-31. These verses, attributed to Malik Jahān Shāh in Badakhshān, are also recorded in Berg, *Minstrel Poetry*, 475-76.

²¹⁵ MS Folder 18 (KhRU-IIS). The *Silk-i guhar-rīz* copied by Gulzār Khān is also included in this codex. I have another poem by Gulzār Khān (1393/1973) in which he praises and seeks the help of the Ismā‘īlī Imams. He refers to Imāms after Ismā‘īl ibn Ja‘far generally as “all the offspring of Shāh Ismā‘īl” (*jumlah avlād-i Shāh Ismā‘īl*). See MS Folder 13 (KhRU-IIS).

²¹⁶ Qalandarov, *Shugnantsy*, 112.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

ideologies.

Sayyid Shoḥī Kalon, an Ismāʿīlī leader, who kept the Ismāʿīlī religious tradition alive during the Soviet period, mentioned the following to the British Islamicist Malise Ruthven, when the latter visited Badakhshān in the summer of 1996:

The nail of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's philosophy had been driven into our hearts and this protected us over the years. We studied communism at school, Isma'īlism at home. There were no schools for religion. *Ta'lim* (religious education) was conducted in our houses. We performed funerary rites such as the *Chiragh Rawshan* at home. As *khalifas*, we explained the philosophy of the faith. Our main source of religious knowledge was Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Wajh-i Dīn* ...²¹⁸

Conclusion

As the examples of the *Shajarah'nāmah-i pīrān-i mawrūṣī-i vādī-i Shākh'darah*, copies of the *Charāgh'nāmah*, the *Risālat al-nādāmah*, the *Silk-i guhar-rīz*, and other texts show, the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān continued to copy and preserve the hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw during Soviet times. Whether through manuscripts or rituals such as *Charāgh'rawshan*, the Ismāʿīlīs kept their traditional memory of Nāṣir-i Khusraw alive. The saint continued to be of relevance to the Soviet Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs, who, in the words of Gulzār Khān, held fast onto his skirt. However, the Soviet period also marks the emergence of hagiographical narratives with unprecedented representation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's images and themes. The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, composed and recorded in the 1970s and 1980s in Soviet Badakhshān, demonstrate that the Badakhshānī hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw underwent varying degrees of change in the Soviet period. While they make use of material from pre-Soviet hagiographies and the oral hagiographical tradition, they present it in modes that are shaped by and respond to the dictates of the new environment. Analysis of the agendas, authorial motive, choice, presentation and emphasis of material enables us to conclude that the Soviet scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw, examined in the previous chapter, played a significant role in shaping the Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the Soviet Union. Apart from the presence of “historical truth,” absent in the pre-Soviet hagiographical sources, and elements from the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the saint is not venerated for purely religious reasons in the hagiographies composed in Soviet times. Apart from a saint able to perform miracles, he is described as an astronomer, an engineer and a great philosopher who mastered all of the “secular” sciences.

The *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* offer different visions of spiritual and moral ideals that are shaped by Soviet scholarship and the Soviet environment. Much of the focus is on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's worldly achievements, basic moral teachings, advocacy for the rights of peasants and artisans, martyrdom for the causes of the oppressed. He criticizes the traditional rulers and the clergy, and those who follow

religion blindly, are superstitious and abuse or misuse of religion. He punishes the wealthy landowners, hypocrite religious figures and tyrant kings, who deceive, tyrannize and take advantage of the masses. He is saint who exacts punishment for the causes of the oppressed. This image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the saint, is consistent with the Soviet scholarship, which presented him as a fighter against the feudal lords and a champion of the ordinary people.

Although they mention that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was appointed as the “guide” and “representative” of the Fāṭimid caliph, *sultān* or Ismā‘īlī Imām in the region, they add nothing to it. With the exception of one reference in the *Dar Bāb-i Nāṣir* to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teaching, we do not find any other indication that he invited the people to Ismā‘īlism or Islam. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the Islamizing figure of the pre-Soviet hagiography, is not at the centre of attention in the hagiographical works produced during the Soviet period. The hagiographies present him as a great and progressive Tajik poet and philosopher. The Soviet hagiographies reflect the changing nature and demands of society yet uphold the original moral edificatory function of hagiography. The authors understood the need to portray Nāṣir-i Khusraw in a dynamic context and, accordingly, produced works significantly different from those of their predecessors in terms of content, presentation and motives.

²¹⁸ Ruthven, "Nasir-i Khusraw and the Isma‘ilis," 158-59.

Conclusion

In his research on early Christian hagiography and saints, Peter Brown presents a range of methodologies and theoretical approaches to the study and use of hagiography that had not been considered previously and which have since become pivotal to the study of what is now recognized as one of the most important phenomena in religious and cultural life.¹ One of Brown's most important claims is that hagiographies and what they convey about saints should not be seen merely as a low form of popular superstition, as fantastic tales devoid of historical content. In studying the world of late antiquity through hagiography, Brown demonstrates the value of taking the social, intellectual, cultural and political contexts into account, establishing how such factors could shape the cults of saints and the texts, and how, through hagiography, researchers could open an informative and fascinating window into the world from which they emerged.

In the context of European history, examining hagiographical stories to discern encoded social history that reveals the life-worlds of the people who write and tell them is to walk "a well-trod path."² In Islamic studies, although hagiography has generally been considered only a minor source for societal history and deemed less reliable than historiography narrowly defined, or than other forms of literature, scholars have recently begun treating it as an important source for the study of the history of different social strata. It is now appreciated that, in addition to telling us about the holy men and women, i.e. their subjects, hagiographical stories provide information about the writers or narrators. They convey information about their authors and about their views of sainthood, and reveal what their authors were concerned with, aspired to, imagined, valued and believed in. They reflect the ideals, beliefs, values, practices, interests, hopes and fears of those who write and use them. Ideological, pedagogic, apologetic, polemical, moral and didactic concerns are at the heart of the enterprise of composing hagiography.

Following the path of scholars who recover and use hagiographies as important sources for the social history of the community that produces them, this dissertation has introduced and analyzed hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. after 462/1070), the celebrated 5th/11th century Persian Shī'ī Ismā'īlī scholar and traveler who is remembered as a saint among the Ismā'īlī Muslim community of the Pamir mountain range in Central Asia. These stories describe how Nāṣir-i Khusraw, an Ismā'īlī *ḥujjat*, converted the people of Badakhshān to Islam, laid the foundation of a religious tradition that came to be known after him as the *da'vat-i Nāṣir*, Nāṣir's summoning, taught faith and

¹ Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," in *Saints and Virtues*, ed. John Hawley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 3-14. "Arbiters of the Holy: The Christian Holy Man in Late Antiquity," in *Authority and the Sacred*, ed. Peter Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 55-78. "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity, 1971-1997," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6 (1998): 353-76.

² Christian Lee Novetzke, *Religion and Public Memory: A Cultural History of Saint of Namdev in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 35.

morality, resisted injustice, oppression and exploitation, championed the rights of the powerless and poor peasants and workers, gave names to places and performed wondrous deeds (*karāmāt*) in various localities around the region. This dissertation has focused on the roles of these stories as media that convey messages about the politics of social reproduction, which tell us about the times in when they were produced between 10th/16th century and late 1980s. The study has approached hagiographical narratives with the conviction that, although they do not function as direct records of social history, they do indeed convey valuable information about the conceptual universe and social worlds in which the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs lived.

In Chapter One, I introduced the main theoretical framework of the research and reviewed the past research pertinent to the topic of this study. The chapter discussed terms and concepts related to hagiography and elucidated their meanings. I demonstrated that the works examined in this study are hagiographies, because their subject Nāṣir-i Khusraw acts and is expected to act like the saints of the hagiographies of other religious traditions. The general theoretical orientation of this study is influenced by the works of Aviad Kleinberg, Vincent J. Cornell, Pierre Deloos, Edmund Kern, Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, and particularly by that of Robin Rinehart. Like Rinehart’s work, this dissertation focused on Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s community of followers, the ways in which they have made particular choices about which patterns or motifs to use and which to avoid in their hagiographical sources in changing socio-political contexts. As is the case with Rinehart’s, my approach gave importance to the memories of the saint’s followers, which include not only historically plausible material, but also the “mythical” and “legendary.” I have examined the history of the Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition, which itself constitutes a kind of history — “the history of how the saint’s followers have chosen to remember him.”³

In Chapter One, I also reviewed existing studies of Badakhshānī hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and showed that this remains a largely neglected area of historical scholarship on Badakhshān. The majority of scholars (A. Karimova, M. Davlatshoev, N. Jonboboev, N. Shakarmamadov, A. Ĥabibov, Q. Ēl’chibekov, O. Shakarmamadov, G. Rizvonshoeva, Shāh Sulaymān valad-i Qurbān Shāh, et al.), interested in the hagiographical stories, have either merely recorded and catalogued them or characterized them, often negatively, as “legendary” and “mythical” reports regarding a historical figure, Nāṣir-i Khusraw. They have largely dismissed the hagiographies as an unreliable source of information about their subject. Some (W. Ivanow, Q. Ēl’chibekov, Shāh Sulaymān valad-i Qurbān Shāh, et al.) have seen the hagiographies as nothing but the product of “the imagination of the uneducated,” “popular collective fancy” and “the imaginative Badakhshānīs,” which are both “laughable” (*khandah’āvar*) and unfavourable to the image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Having dismissed the hagiographies as unworthy of scholarly attention, these scholars have not seriously

³ Rinehart, *One Lifetime, Many Lives*, 8.

studied and analyzed them in detail. Only a handful of scholars, most notably Jo-Ann Gross and Daniel Beben, pay sustained attention to some of the hagiographical stories Jo-Ann Gross examines the motif of the cave related to oral and written traditions regarding Nāṣir-i Khusraw's burial and death in Yumgān. Daniel Beben's dissertation studies the evolution of the legendary biographical traditions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw among Sunnīs from the 16th to the 19th century. The present study, therefore, provides the first comprehensive introduction and systematic scholarly analysis of all the known written Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiographical works about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. It places the hagiographical narratives of these works within their own historical context and examines the particular agendas that motivated their creation and the value of these narratives for understanding the social and religious history of Badakhshān.

This dissertation took a holistic approach to the hagiographical works and the aims of their creators. It contextualized the data and analyzed the texts in relation to the wider socio-political context. Chapters Two and Three provided an overview of both the religious and socio-political contexts in which the hagiographies were produced. Chapter Two introduced the history of Ismā'īlism and central Ismā'īlī concepts and figures. Knowledge of these is of particular importance for the analysis of the sources examined in this dissertation. In addition, the chapter surveyed the history of Ismā'īlism in Badakhshān and demonstrated that, based on fragmentary evidence available in several sources, we can conclude with confidence that Ismā'īlism has been present in Badakhshān continuously since the time of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the 5th/11th century. To further contextualize the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Chapter Three reviewed the socio-political history of Badakhshān from the 9th/15th century to the end of the Soviet Union (1989). In this chapter, I divided the history of Badakhshān into two main periods: From the 9th/15th to the early 14th/20th centuries and from the early 14th/20th century to the end of the Soviet period. The chapter demonstrated that during the first period, many dominant Sunnī dynasties in Central Asia regarded the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān as “unbelievers” and “heretics” and, as a result, upon conquering the region, persecuted, plundered, enslaved, and massacred them. Certain Sunnī rulers forced the Ismā'īlīs to convert to Sunnism. In such a hostile environment, authors of hagiographical sources, produced during this time, such as the *Risālat al-nādāmah*, either practiced precautionary dissimulation or attempted to present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a figure acceptable to other Muslim communities. Before the second half of the 12th/18th century, the Ismā'īlī Imāms also seem to have practiced precautionary dissimulation as Twelver Shī'īs and Ṣūfīs. Their Badakhshānī followers followed them in this regard. However, several important socio-political developments occurred in the second half of the 17th century in Badakhshān. Mīr Yār Bīk (d. 1118/1706), the Ṣūfī leader and the founder of the Yārid dynasty (founded in 1068/1657), took the side of the local Badakhshānīs, successfully fought the anti-Shī'ī Uzbek rulers of Badakhshān and supported the Shī'īs. Under his rule, which lasted half a century, the region seems to have experienced

relative peace, and none of the available sources point to persecution of religious minorities. It is during the reign of Mīr Yār Bīk that the Badakhshānī poet Ḥusaynī composed his *Haft band*. The *Haft band* openly associates Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the Twelver Shī'ī Imams. There is some evidence indicating that the Ismā'īlī Imāms established closer contacts with the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān during this time. Some of the Yārid rulers who came to rule after Mīr Yār Bīk and some Sunnī rulers continued to regard the Ismā'īlīs as “heretics” and persecuted them, but, at the same time, other important socio-political changes occurred in the second half of the 12th/18th century. Because of the internecine wars, the power of the later Sunnī Yārid dynasty weakened significantly and the local *mīrs* like the Vanjīs and Shughnānīs asserted stronger authority. Moreover, after the mid-18th century, the Ismā'īlī imamate in Iran and subsequently in India began to operate more publicly established closer contacts with the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān came to operate publicly during this time. An important Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī *pīr*, who visited the Ismā'īlī Imām of the time Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Bīg, was authorized to establish the Ismā'īlī *da'vah* in Badakhshān. From the mid-18th century until the time of the composition of the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* (completed in the 1830s), the Ismā'īlī *da'vah* was active in Badakhshān in an unparalleled way. Documentary evidence such as the decrees of the Imāms and receipts for the delivery of religious dues demonstrates that the *da'vah* continued to be active until the beginning of the 14th/20th century or before the establishment of the Soviet Union. Another significant socio-political transformation was brought about by the Russians towards the end of the 13th/19th and the beginning of the 14th/20th centuries. Among many changes that the Russians brought to the region was the protection that they granted the Ismā'īlīs against persecutions by some Sunnīs on religious grounds.

These socio-political changes shaped the contexts for the production of the hagiographical sources and influenced the ways the Ismā'īlīs presented Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the hagiographical sources. Most importantly for our purposes, the ways in which the hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw were written reflect the varying concerns of the Ismā'īlīs that speak to the pressures of the time. The authors of the hagiographical sources produced between the mid-18th century and the beginning of the 20th century do not practice strict precautionary dissimulation. While they still present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as acceptable to other Muslim communities, they begin to associate him openly with Ismā'īlī Imāms, Ismā'īlī teachings and the Ismā'īlī community in Badakhshān. Since the pre-Soviet religious life of the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs was also dominated by their local *pīrs* or religious leaders, members of whose families composed some of the hagiographical works, such as the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* and the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, Chapter Three also examined their role and significance for Badakhshānī Ismā'īlism as well as their activities in the region.

To provide the socio-political context for the latest hagiographical sources, Chapter Three briefly reviewed the socio-political history of Badakhshān during the Soviet period. It demonstrated

that the time of Soviet rule was marked by dramatic social and political transformations. Ismā‘īlīs who lived in Soviet territories no longer experienced direct Sunnī control, oppression and religious persecution, and their social and economic conditions improved significantly. This chapter also demonstrated that although the Soviets initially exhibited tolerance to religious ideas and practices, they adopted strict anti-religious policies in the later decades, especially in the 1960s. During much of the Soviet period, the regime regarded religious teachings as a serious threat to its secularization policy of public life. The Soviets imposed their dogmatic atheist ideology on the citizens and strove in many ways to disparage the Ismā‘īlī Imām, whom they saw as an agent of the British in the context of the “Great Game.” While vilifying Ismā‘īlism and Islam in general, they presented Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a progressive and humanist thinker, a “heretic,” a champion for the causes of the oppressed and a person whose teachings were generally acceptable to Soviet ideology. All of this had direct bearing on the attitude of scholars studying Ismā‘īlism and Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s works, an issue that I examined separately in Chapter Eight.

One of the major issues that this study has dealt with is the ambiguous portrayal of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the earliest hagiographical source, the *Risālat al-nādāmah*. In this work, Nāṣir-i Khusraw could be taken for a Ṣūfī, a Shī‘ī or a Sunnī. There are Shī‘ī and Sunnī elements in the pre-Soviet hagiographical sources on Nāṣir-i Khusraw. In order to make better sense of the complex nature of pre-Soviet hagiographical sources, Chapter Four provided a critical examination of another Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition, that regarding the four local Islamizing and founding figures, Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān, Shāh Burhān and Shāh Khāmūsh. This hagiographical tradition shares common elements with the pre-Soviet Badakhshānī hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. One of the common elements that are of particular relevance to us is the ambiguous presentation of these figures and that of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the *Risālat al-nādāmah*. Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān, Shāh Burhān and Shāh Khāmūsh are variously described as *sayyids*, *pīrs*, dervishes and *qalandars*, terms that Ismā‘īlism shares with Ṣūfism, as well as Twelver Shī‘ism and other Muslim groups. It is primarily because of the absence of explicit sectarian affiliation of these four figures that various academic scholars and other observers came to describe these four men as Ṣūfīs, Sunnīs, Twelver Shī‘īs and Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs. Chapter Four has argued that the various narratives about these four individuals should be treated as hagiography, elements of which change depending on changing socio-political environments and the identity of the narrators, rather than as sources with fixed historical information. Furthermore, Chapter Four contended that just because the Ismā‘īlī hagiographical accounts depict Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān, Shāh Burhān and Shāh Khāmūsh as *sayyids*, *pīrs*, dervishes and *qalandars* does not mean that the Ismā‘īlīs regarded these figures as Ṣūfīs. Likewise, the chapter also argued that the presence of the Twelver Shī‘ī Imams in the narratives does not indicate unambiguously that the narrators considered the four men as Twelver Shī‘īs. It is rather the case that the common Ismā‘īlī-Ṣūfī vocabulary and

genealogical roots reaching to the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms helped the Ismā'īlīs to express their memories of these foundational figures safely in the hostile climate of pre-Soviet Badakhshān.

In the hagiographical narratives recorded during the pre-Soviet period, the Ismā'īlīs did not openly associate the four figures with Ismā'īlī Imāms or Ismā'īlī teachings. An examination of this hagiographical tradition demonstrates the fact that the hagiographical tradition about Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the pre-Soviet period is not unique in terms of its ambiguity regarding the sectarian affiliation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The chapter further showed that hagiographical narratives like these are valuable not so much as sources for historical information, but in their presentation of the history of how people chose to remember and represent the subjects in specific socio-political contexts. I argued that, to improve our understanding of the working of the hagiographies about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, we must examine briefly the presence of Ṣūfism and Twelver Shī'ism in Badakhshān or the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī tradition. I demonstrated that, while the dominant Sunnī rulers of pre-Soviet Badakhshān maintained an intolerant and occasionally aggressive attitude to Ismā'īlīs, they were largely sympathetic to and supported Ṣūfīs, many of whom held important posts at their courts. The Sunnī rulers also patronized Ṣūfī shrines. An important phenomenon is the patronage of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's shrine by a number of Sunnī rulers between the 9th/15th and the 13th/19th centuries. Apart from Ṣūfism, the rulers of Badakhshān, especially the Tīmūrīds, seem to have tolerated Twelver Shī'ism in the 10th/16th century. I submitted that Twelver Shī'ism might have spread to Badakhshān in the 10th/16th century, when the local Tīmūrīd rulers in Badakhshān enjoyed the support of the Ṣafavids, who were actively proselytizing and spreading Shī'ī Islam. The earliest hagiographical work (the *Risālat al-nādāmah*) about Nāṣir-i Khusraw seems to have been composed at this time. I argued that it is, therefore, likely that the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs practiced some form of precautionary dissimulation as Ṣūfīs and/or Twelver Shī'īs from the 16th century till at least the mid-18th century. Knowledge of this phenomenon improves our understanding of the hagiographical sources about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which contain references to the Twelver Shī'ī Imāms and terminology that Ismā'īlism shares with Ṣūfism.

In addition to providing an account of the wider historical and socio-political context that shaped the portrayals of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshānī hagiographical works, I showed other incentives for the hagiographical composition. I demonstrated that both Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his followers, the Nāṣiriyyah or the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān, have been attacked in non-Ismā'īlī sources as unbelievers. The pre-Soviet hagiographical sources examined in this dissertation seem to have been composed in response to accusations leveled against Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his followers. For this reason, Chapter Five briefly examined accounts about Nāṣir-i Khusraw in non-Ismā'īlī sources composed between the 5th/11th and 13th/19th centuries. It argued that, although there are several non-Ismā'īlī sources that provide a non-polemical account about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, for over eight centuries, most accounts are antagonistic and denounce him for his convictions. At the same time, right from

Nāṣir-i Khusraw's lifetime, there were some non-Ismā'īlī authors who praised his wisdom, poetic abilities, spiritual and ascetic accomplishments, and refrained from condemning him for his faith, thus displaying a non-partisan approach. During these eight centuries, only one 9th/15th century Shī'ī author from Quhistān, who may have been influenced by Ismā'īlīs, expressed admiration for Nāṣir-i Khusraw's commitment to the Prophet's family and praised him for his faith. Moreover, two Sunnī authors, Dawlatshāh Samarqandī in his *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā* and Majd al-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshānī in the *Jāmi' al-salāsil*, praised Nāṣir-i Khusraw for his spiritual accomplishments and asceticism. I argued that these accounts are uncommon and are indeed exceptions to the general rule of denunciation and negative judgment of his faith. Dawlatshāh refrains from ad hominem attacks. Although he associates Nāṣir-i Khusraw with a Ṣūfī master, he does not consider him a Ṣūfī. In fact, for Dawlatshāh, Nāṣir-i Khusraw represents a proponent of reason, which is inferior to the mystical and intuitive knowledge of the Ṣūfī master. Consequently, Majd al-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshānī seems to be the only person who praised Nāṣir-i Khusraw for his faith among all the non-Ismā'īlī or non-Shī'ī authors, although for him, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was a Sunnī. Contrary to an alternative scholarly opinion, I argued that Nāṣir-i Khusraw does not seem to have been largely "sunnitized" during the eight hundred centuries, and the case of Majd al-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshānī is therefore unique. However, this Ṣūfī author's account about Nāṣir-i Khusraw is based on the Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiographical tradition that is already found in the *Risālat al-nādāmah*. Thus, this particular account may be seen as an attempt at the "sunnitization" of the Ismā'īlī hagiographical tradition, albeit one that was likely orchestrated by the Ismā'īlīs themselves.

The examination of the non-Ismā'īlī sources in Chapter Five demonstrated that the Sunnī authors, in most cases, attacked and berated Nāṣir-i Khusraw for his Ismā'īlī teachings. They regarded his religious opinion and doctrines as "false," accused him of corrupting Islam with un-Islamic doctrines, including teachings about transmigration. They also charged him with blasphemy, impiety, immorality, heresy, and of claiming false prophethood. Nāṣir-i Khusraw generally remained a symbol of the worst form of heresy and a heresiarch in the minds of the majority of the non-Ismā'īlīs who reported on him. This prompted non-Ismā'īlīs to attribute some heretical verses to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and to claim that he rejected the notion of final gathering and rebuked God for leading his creatures into temptation, injustice and sedition. For this reason, the Ismā'īlīs of Badakhshān felt it necessary to write hagiographies presenting Nāṣir-i Khusraw and, through him, his followers, in a form acceptable to the accusers. It is also for this reason that the Ismā'īlī authors of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hagiography use these heretical verses in their hagiographical accounts and attempt to demonstrate that Nāṣir-i Khusraw did not really subscribe to the views expressed in them.

Having provided the wide historical, socio-political context for the Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the general attitude to him and his followers in non-Ismā'īlī sources, in

Chapter Six I examined and analyzed the earliest Badakhshānī hagiographical work, the *Risālat al-nādāmah*. I argued that this work may have been composed in the 10th/16th century in Badakhshān, not long before its earliest extant recension emerges in the *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār va zubdat al-afkār* of Taqī al-Dīn Kāshī (d. after 1016/1607). Contrary to the views of a number of scholars, including Andrej Bertel’s, Maryam Moezzī, Rizā Haravī and Daniel Beben, who generally take this work to be a by-product of an attempt at the “sunnification” of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his dissociation from heresy and Ismā‘īlism, I argued that its original authors were the Shī‘īs of Badakhshān, most likely the Ismā‘īlīs, who portray Nāṣir-i Khusraw not as a Sunnī, but simply as a Muslim who had wrongly been accused of unbelief and heresy. Premises for this conclusion are based on a number of factors: First, there are prominent Shī‘ī elements in the *Risālat al-nādāmah* that have been largely ignored or explained away by notions like ‘Alid loyalism and *ahl al-baytism*. I showed that the vague concepts of ‘Alid loyalism and *ahl al-baytism* do not do justice to the complexity involved in the presentation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the *Risālat al-nādāmah*. Second, I demonstrated that the *Risālat al-nādāmah* was definitely composed in Badakhshān, because of its author’s (or authors’) greater familiarity with this region in comparison to other places referred to in the work. Third, the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān, as judged by the hagiographical tradition about Shāh Malang, Shāh Kāshān, Shāh Burhān and Shāh Khāmūsh, had no choice but to describe Nāṣir-i Khusraw in ambiguous terms and avoided any explicit declaration of his Ismā‘īlī affiliation. In other words, they practiced precautionary dissimulation in the face of adverse circumstances of Badakhshān in this period. Fourth, prior to the Soviet period, the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān were mainly known simply as Shī‘īs and not specifically as Ismā‘īlīs. Fifth, references to the Twelver Shī‘ī Imāms, and elements that may be described as Twelver Shī‘ī are regularly found in Ismā‘īlī literary works and poems composed after the 10th/16th century. Considering these factors, I argued that the Badakhshānī Shī‘ī authors of the *Risālat al-nādāmah* are none other than the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān.

Chapter Six then moved onto an examination of the most important agendas of the *Risālat al-nādāmah*. The most significant of these, as mentioned, is the presentation of the image of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and through him the position of his followers in forms more acceptable to the 10th/16th century Muslims of other persuasions, including the Sunnīs of Badakhshān. Its authors also sought to glorify the figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, increase devotion to him and assert his spiritual authority by attributing wondrous deeds to him and by tracing his ancestry back to Prophet Muḥammad. Moreover, I argued that the other most overt agenda of the *Risālat al-nādāmah* is the critique of myopic fanaticism in religion. The Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān obviously felt the urge to earn the acceptance of the more dominant non-Ismā‘īlī — mainly Sunnī — people of Badakhshān. I maintained that the later Ismā‘īlī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw should be seen as a continuation of the Shī‘ī-Ismā‘īlī hagiographical tradition presented in the *Risālat al-nādāmah*. This goes against the view that the

Ismā'īlī authors of later hagiographical works produced after the late-18th century borrowed from the supposedly Sunnī-authored *Risālat al-nādāmah*.

Chapter Six also introduced other previously unstudied works related to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. First, it examined an early Ismā'īlī account about Nāṣir-i Khusraw found in the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (dated 1078/1667), primarily to point out that Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiographical elements related to Nāṣir-i Khusraw existed from at least the 11th/17th century onwards. The chapter also introduced and analyzed the early poetic hagiography, i.e. the *Haft band* of Ḥusaynī, which also testifies to the fact that Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiographical elements linked with Nāṣir-i Khusraw existed well before the end of the 18th century. Many elements found in the *Haft band* reappear in the later hagiographical works, such as the *Sayāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*. This contradicts the view that the Ismā'īlīs did not have a textual hagiographical tradition concerning Nāṣir-i Khusraw until the late 18th century, when they included material from Sunnī textual sources in their hagiographical account (the first chapter of the *Kalām-i pīr*). Apart from these, the chapter introduced and provided a translation of Mahjūr's *Dar manqabat-i Sayyid Nāṣir, az Mahjūr bih tarz-i Kāshī* (*On the Virtues of Sayyid Nāṣir by Mahjūr in Kāshī's Style*), another poetic hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw produced sometime in the first half of the 18th century. An examination of Ḥusaynī's *Haft band* and Mahjūr's *Dar manqabat* has revealed some important facts about the evolution of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hagiography in Badakhshān. These poetic hagiographies, unlike the *Risālat al-nādāmah*, explicitly and unambiguously associate Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Shī'ism. In other words, they unequivocally portray Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Shī'ī saint. Historically, this period saw the establishment of the rule of Mīr Yār Bīk (1068-1118//1657-1706) and his immediate successor, during which aggression towards Shī'īs is not recorded in the sources. This environment, along with the fact that the Ismā'īlī (both Qāsim Shāhī and Muḥammad Shāhī) Imāms still practiced *taqiyyah* under the cloak of Twelver Shī'ism shaped the way in which Nāṣir-i Khusraw is presented in the *Haft band*. The association of Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Twelver Shī'ism, however, is presented in a peculiar way. Although the *Haft band* refers to the Imāms of Twelver Shī'ism, its presentation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the hidden Imām does not sit well with the traditional doctrines of Twelver Shī'ism. The Twelver Shī'ī elements in the *Haft band*, as with their presence in the works of other Ismā'īlīs, do not mean Ḥusaynī was necessarily a Twelver Shī'ī. As a follower of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Badakhshān, he must have been an Ismā'īlī and the *Haft band* should be considered a Badakhshānī Ismā'īlī hagiography of the saint. Like Ḥusaynī's *Haft band*, Mahjūr's *Dar manqabat* regards Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Twelver Shī'ī saint as well.

In Chapter Seven, I introduced the later hagiographical accounts found in the *Kalām-i pīr*, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Ḥikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān*, and analyzed their main agendas in light of the cultural, political and religious landscape described in Chapter Three. These works were composed between the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 20th century. I

demonstrated that they use material from the *Risālat al-nādāmah*, but express new agendas. One of the most significant differences between these sources and the *Risālat al-nādāmah* is that they openly portray Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an Ismāʿīlī, associate him closely with the Ismāʿīlī Imāms and express his Ismāʿīlī teachings. In these sources, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is not a Muslim who traversed various Islamic paths. Unequivocally, he is an Ismāʿīlī saint who leads his followers to salvation. In this chapter, I provided an extensive analysis of the hagiographical accounts in the *Kalām-i pīr*, the *Silk-i guhar'rīz*, the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* and the *Hikāyat-i mazār'hā-yi Kuhistān* and argued that they advance five agendas. These agendas bear the influence of the socio-political context of the periods in which they were composed, the late 18th and early 20th centuries respectively, in which, on the one hand, the Ismāʿīlīs were still considered heretics and attacked on religious grounds and, on the other hand, the Ismāʿīlī *da'wah* became very active in Badakhshān after the public emergence and effective political involvement of the Ismāʿīlī Imamate in Iran. In this situation, the Ismāʿīlī authors of the hagiographical accounts both continue to present Nāṣir-i Khusraw in a form acceptable to other Muslims and to stress his Ismāʿīlī affiliation. I showed that, in addition to recording memory of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, these sources serve five major purposes: 1) strengthening devotion to Nāṣir-i Khusraw (and through him to the Ismāʿīlī Imām) and increasing faith in him by emphasizing his spiritual authority and sanctity; 2) legitimating the Islamic pedigree of Badakhshān; 3) legitimating the religious authority and leadership of those who claimed to have inherited his authority; 4) divorcing Nāṣir-i Khusraw from heresy; and 5) promoting devotion to the institution connected to Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ismāʿīlī doctrines as well as moral teachings.

Tracing the development of the Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition in the Soviet period, this study showed that the Ismāʿīlī authors of hagiographical works produced during this period have varying agendas. The reasons for the change, again, have to do with the socio-political background outlined in Chapter Three. However, the social context of these sources is much more complex; hence, in order to improve our understanding of the specific workings of Badakhshānī hagiographies of Nāṣir-i Khusraw within the Soviet-conditioned context, I examined the intellectual and literary context in which the hagiographical sources were composed. Chapter Eight discussed patterns and developments in the study of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's biography, teachings and hagiography in Soviet scholarship produced between the late 1920s and the late 1980s. In addition, the chapter examined the *Risalah-i Afsānah va haqiqat* and the *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* as examples of biographical writings about Nāṣir-i Khusraw among the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān to illustrate the influence of Soviet scholarship on the changing attitude to Nāṣir-i Khusraw's hagiography among the community. Influenced by historicist ideas, the Ismāʿīlī authors of these works question the reliability and trustworthiness of the hagiographical tradition about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The sources also indicate that members of the Ismāʿīlī community of Badakhshān, now with a high literacy rate and easy access to

academic scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw, begin to give preference to “historical” and “biographical” as opposed to legendary and hagiographical accounts.

Examination of Soviet scholarly works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ismā‘īlism in Chapter Eight showed that while the Soviet scholars “feudalized” Islam and criticized what they called “orthodox Islam,” they exhibited a sympathetic attitude to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. For them, Nāṣir-i Khusraw was, above all, a progressive philosopher-heretic and a Tajik poet who incessantly condemned the “feudal lords,” the dominant class, Muslim clergy and despotic rulers and supported the causes of the oppressed peasants and workers. Scholars, journalists and government agents painted Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an advocate of humanist values, free thought, rationality, socio-economic equality and justice as well as the rights of the common people. Scholars and journalists even went so far as to cite portions from Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s works out of context to make it seem as though he was an anti-religious thinker who denounced religious scholars and even denied the existence of God. Whilst his Muslim detractors denounced Nāṣir-i Khusraw for his “heretical” views, the Soviet scholars praised him for them. For the Soviet scholars, Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s “heretical” views, expressed, so to speak, the sigh of the oppressed. I explored these trends in some detail in Chapter Eight, because they impacted the portrayal of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the hagiographical works written in the Soviet period, such as the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān* (1395/1975), the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* (1396/1976) and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (1403/1982).

Following an examination of the developments and patterns in the Soviet study of Ismā‘īlism in general and Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teachings in particular, Chapter Nine introduced the previously unstudied hagiographical works, the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, the *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw*. As with the other chapters of the dissertation, it offered an in-depth analysis of these remarkable sources meant to discover the images that their authors used to develop Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s character and roles. I demonstrated that the authors of these new hagiographical sources, in addition to including their own views and poems, use the material found in the pre-Soviet written Badakhshānī hagiographical works, incorporate various elements from oral Badakhshānī hagiographical tradition, the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, his authentic works, such as the *Safar'nāmah* and the *Dīvān*, and works attributed to him, such as the *Sa'ādat'nāmah*, and present them for fresh purposes that mirror a range of contemporary concerns. The sources either modify elements taken from earlier hagiographical stories or present them in a different way, responding to Soviet secular and ideological influences. I showed that these sources are not concerned with the central purposes of all the pre-Soviet hagiographical works. Instead of genealogically connecting Nāṣir-i Khusraw with Mūsā al-Kāẓim, they point to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s roots in Qubādiyān, Tajikistan. This is because, in the Soviet period, scholars associated Nāṣir-i Khusraw primarily with the Tajik nation. Rather than legitimizing the authority of the religious leaders

who inherited their spiritual authority from Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the sources present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a critic of religious scholars and leaders, censuring them for spiritually enslaving their followers. This is primarily related to the fact that by the time of their composition, the *pīrs*, whose authority the pre-Soviet hagiographical sources mainly sought to justify, had been eliminated, marginalized or had fled from the region. This is also due to the anti-religious policies of the Soviet Union.

Apart from the above-mentioned agendas and implied intentions, the new hagiographical sources exhibit no interest in legitimizing the Islamic pedigree of Badakhshān. This is clearly due to the fact that the Ismāʿīlīs of Gorno-Badakhshān were then part of the Soviet Union, in which anything related to Islam, or religion more generally, was looked upon with suspicion and actively discouraged. Unlike the pre-Soviet hagiographies, the hagiographical works written during the Soviet period do not attempt to divorce Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his followers from accusations of heresy. At least one of these sources, the *Qiṣṣah-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, makes “the leader of the heretics” (*sardār-i ahl-i mulāḥadah*) an adherent of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Thus, the author of this work associates Nāṣir-i Khusraw with the *malāḥidah*, contrary to the attempts of the pre-Soviet hagiographies to distance Nāṣir-i Khusraw from them. Finally, these sources do not promote explicit devotion to Ismāʿīlī teachings, undoubtedly because of the anti-religious stance of the government. Such shifts in the evolution of the hagiographical tradition about Nāṣir-i Khusraw must have been directly connected with the socio-political context. The only trait that runs throughout every hagiographical text is the emphasis on basic moral and ethical values that may be divorced from religion. Soviet scholars presented Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a preceptorial figure, a sage and a moralist, and translated and published many of his poems in Russian in addition to publishing his poems in Tajik. Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s teachings about justice, kindness, civility, empathy, diligence, self-control, honesty, courage, respect (honouring and respecting parents and elders, mutual respect), care for the needy and others express widely shared moral values and ethical virtues respected by religious and secular people alike. The Ismāʿīlī hagiographers of the Soviet period could express such moral views freely. However, even in this regard, the sources make Nāṣir-i Khusraw call upon the people to uproot injustices in society. In this manner, they indicate that it is the moral responsibility of the people to destroy the injustices of the rulers and the clergy and protect the defenseless at the same time. In contrast, authors of the pre-Soviet hagiographical works, especially the *Siyāḥat-nāmah-i Nāṣir*, believed that followers of the *pīrs* are morally obliged to obey them unconditionally. Finally, in Chapter Nine, I attempted to demonstrate that the fundamental agendas of the *Āmadan-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw bih Badakhshān*, *Dar bāb-i Shāh Nāṣir* and the *Qiṣṣah-i Sayyid Nāṣir-i Khusraw* are related to criticism of the wealthy landowners, hypocrite religious figures and despotic rulers who deceive, subjugate and take advantage of the ordinary people, the peasants and the workers. This is the main concern of the three sources, which

remarkably agrees with the Soviet ideology as expressed in scholarship about Islam, Ismā‘īlism and Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

In this dissertation, I used the hagiographies of the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān as a window into the world in which they lived, expressed themselves, their hopes and fears, their identity and beliefs, their strengths and vulnerabilities, through their saint, Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Nāṣir-i Khusraw has remained an important figure for the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān for centuries. He has remained a symbol of their values and ideals in changing historical environments. This dissertation showed both the meanings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s sacred life for the Badakhshānī Ismā‘īlīs and the significance and functions of the narratives in which those meanings are expressed. The presentations of and responses to his stories echo the concerns of various intentions and historical contexts. Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s sanctity existed in the fluid world of discourse and will most likely continue to do so in the future.

While the representations of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s sanctity during the period, examined in this study, changed, his sanctity remained meaningful to his followers. They derived meanings from them in various contexts, even during Soviet times when the regime went to great lengths to eradicate belief in him and his teachings. Sayyid Shoḥī Kalon’s words, as recorded by Ruthven, are noteworthy. Sayyid Shoḥī Kalon confirmed that the Ismā‘īlī teachers like him consulted Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s *Vajh-i dīn* and teach faith in the Soviet period at home.⁴ What is particularly noteworthy about Sayyid Shoḥī Kalon’s words is his claim that Nāṣir-i Khusraw protected the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān during the Soviet rule. This extremely knowledgeable, highly charismatic yet soft-spoken leader reiterated these very words to me in 2010, adding the following memorable lines:

Ḥazrat Pīr Shāh Nāṣir has taught and continues to teach us the truth. Ḥazrat Pīr Shāh Nāṣir planted faith in and love for God, the Prophet and the Family of the Prophet in our hearts and in our very essence. Yes, his books are with us. We read them and benefit from them. But he himself is always with us and is always present in his *da‘vah*... I assume you know that in the *da‘vah*, the *Charāgh'rawshan* ceremony, the main seat by the *khalīfah* on the *barnekh* [a place in Pāmīrī house that is reserved for distinguished people and guests] is Pīr Shāh Nāṣir’s seat. We call it *sajjādah-i Ḥazrat-i Pīr* [*sajjādah*, literally a carpet/mat on which Muslims pray, but here it means “sitting place”]. This shows that this saint’s exalted place has always remained present in his *da‘vah* for a thousand years. He has also remained in our minds and hearts for a thousand years. He will remain like this for thousands of years to come...⁵

⁴ Sayyid Shoḥī Kalon was the son of Sayyid Shāh’zādah Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Farrukh Shāh (d. 1353/1935), the compiler of the *Siyāhat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*.

⁵ Ḥazrat-i Pīr Sho Nosiri khu da"vat qati mashard haqiqat ta"lim ḡodat ḡid ḡhal. Ḥazrat-i Pīr Sho Nosir mash dilat vujudandi ḡmunat muḡabbat tar Khudovandat Paḡhumbat Ahli bait weḡd. Wi kitobenen mash ja, un, khoḡam wevat baḡra zezam, ammo ū khubaḡ mis doim mash qati, khu da"vatand doim hozir... Famita bagher da"vatand, charoḡhravshand, sar katanak joḡ barnekhti khalifa barand Pīr Sho Nosir joḡ. Wita mash sajjodai Ḥazrat-i Pīr luvam. Yid mashard daḡ ikdi divestidi, wi valī volo joyat maḡom red hazor sol wi da"vatand. Disga ūda red ū hazor sol mash khotirandat mash diland ga tam. Di dastur ta ga ūda rist hazorho sol...

Epilogue

The post-Soviet Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs have not produced any written hagiographical works about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. However, numerous hagiographical stories continue to circulate in the region orally. Most of these stories are different versions of the legendary accounts that are found in the hagiographical sources produced and recorded in the pre-Soviet and Soviet periods. Currently, considering the absence of written hagiographies in post-Soviet Badakhshān and the existence of abundant oral hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which have yet to be recorded, catalogued and studied, it is too early to identify and analyze stories that may have emerged in the post-Soviet period in response to the decrees of the new socio-political context.

Almost every village in Badakhshān has a story and every corner, a memory, about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. However, my repeated attempts to find new written or oral hagiographical stories with post-Soviet flavour in Badakhshān bore no fruit. It is safe to assume that the post-Soviet Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs have not composed new hagiographical accounts about Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Instead, they have returned to the traditional pre-Soviet hagiographies in the *Sayāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, the *Silk-i guhar-rīz*, the *Kalām-i pīr*, and the *Risālat al-nādāmah* for stories of their saint. For that reason, a work like the *Sayāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, a pre-Soviet hagiographical text, was transcribed into Cyrillic Tajik and published in the post-Soviet period under the title of *Baḥr ul-akhbor*. This and other hagiographical texts like the *Silk-i guhar'rīz* are considered normative hagiographical texts on Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Similarly, the Ismāʿīlīs refer to stories recorded by Bāmiyānī.¹ Findings of my research conducted in the summers from 2009 to 2013 in Badakhshān allow me to safely conclude that the post-Soviet Ismāʿīlīs merely remember, preserve and re-tell their traditional hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw without composing novel accounts with distinct motives and agendas.

During my research in Badakhshān, I found that, while many Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs attach significance to the hagiographical stories found in the pre-Soviet and Soviet hagiographical sources and believe that the events they describe truly took place, others regard them as tales that reflect nothing but people's love for and faith in Nāṣir-i Khusraw. With the demise of the Soviet Union, the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān have re-established contact with the outside world. In the new post-Soviet environment of Badakhshān, now digitally connected with the world beyond the borders of the former Soviet Union, the Badakhshānī Ismāʿīlīs are able to access information about Ismāʿīlism and Ismāʿīlī figures more easily than ever. Academic books and articles by international scholars on the history and doctrines of Ismāʿīlism have been and continue to be translated and published in Tajik.² Tajik scholars have

¹ Bāmiyānī, *Afsānahā-yi tārikhī*.

² For example, Alice Hunsberger's *Nasir Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan* was translated into Russian as Élis K. Khansberger, *Nasir Khusrav - rubin Badakhshana. Portret persidskogo poëta puteshestvennika filosofa*, trans. Leïla Dodykhudoeva (Moscow: Ladimir, 2005). Farhad Daftary's *A Short History of the Ismāʿīlīs* as Farkhad Daftari, *Kratkaia*

published studies on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's religious, philosophical and moral teachings.³ Since the fall of the Soviet Union, some have edited and published Nāṣir-i Khusraw's own works and those attributed to him.⁴ Much attention has been given to the linguistic aspects of his works, since he is considered to be one of the major classical Tajik writers and poets.⁵ Others have studied his views on pedagogy and their practical implications for teaching modern Tajik students.⁶ The proceedings of the conference devoted to the 1000th anniversary of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which was held at the Qurghan-Teppa University in 2003, reflect on the educational and pedagogical views of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, his attitude towards the formation of the moral world and the upbringing of the moral qualities of the younger Tajik generation.⁷ The scholars present at the conference distance themselves from the Soviet ideology and representation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a "heretic" who spoke against "feudalist Islam."

As mentioned, in this new environment, the post-Soviet Ismā'īlīs have gained access to studies in different languages on Ismā'īlism in general and on Nāṣir-i Khusraw in particular. The Ismā'īlīs read the academic works for information about the historical Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Being familiar with the scholarly biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, similar to some Ismā'īlīs during the Soviet period, many among the post-Soviet Badakhshānī Ismā'īlīs view the hagiographical stories as tales without any historical basis. As a young participant at a religious ceremony in Shughnān mentioned to me, "We should read our *pīr*'s compositions and prominent scholars' writings about him and stop taking the

Istoriā Ismailizma: Traditsii musul'manskoī obshchiny, trans. Leila Dodykhudoeva (Moscow: Ladomir, 2004). Daftary's *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines* was translated and published as *Ismoiliēn: tarikh va aqoid* (Moscow: Ladomir).

³ Some of these studies include Nozir Arabzoda, "Ismailitskaia filosofia Nosira Khusrava" (PhD Diss., Tajik State University, 1998). *Jaḥoni andeshahoi Nosiri Khusrav (Mir ide'i razmyshleni Nosira Khusrava)* (Dushanbe: Nodir, 2003). Shukrat Karamkhudoev, "Sopostavitel'nyi analiz religiozno-filosofskikh ide'i Nosira Khusrava i Dzhalaleddina Rumi" (Diss., Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, Tajik State University, 2009). K.S. Abdurakhimov and Z.K. Sidiqova, *Talimoti akhloqii Nosiri Khusrav. Moral'noe uchenie Nosira Khusrava* (Dushanbe: 2007). Dzuma Beronov, "Koranicheskie motivy v poezii Nosira Khusrava" (Diss., Candidate of Philological Sciences, Tajik National University, 2003). Abusaid Shokhumorov, *Nosiri Khusrav. Strela vremeni* (Dushanbe: Adib, 1991). Shokhumorov provides a brief biography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and includes some of the Russian translators' translation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's poems from the poetic *Rawshanā'īnāmah* and *Sa'adat'nāmah* and some *qaṣīdahs*. J. Qurbonshoev, "Soṣokul'turnye usloviia formirovaniia èticheskogo ucheniia Nasira Khusrava," *Vestnik Tadjikskogo Natsional'nogo Universiteta* 3 (2014): 23-28. Ūsufdzhon Norboev, "Metafizika Aristoteliia i Nasira Khusrava (sravnitel'nyi analiz)" (Diss., Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, Tajik State University, 2015). R. Z. Nazariyev, *Sotsial'naia filosiya Ikhvan as-safa i Nasira Khusrava* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 2011). Kh. Sharipov, *Rozi jahon* (Dushanbe: 2004).

⁴ Khusraw, *Kulliyat*. This volume includes Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Jāmi' al-hikmatayn*, *Khwān al-ikhvān* and *Gushāyish va Rahāyish*. It also includes the poetic *Rawshanā'īnāmah* and *Sa'adat'nāmah*, which are attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The editors have also included the *Risālat al-nādāmah* in this collection. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Vajhi din* (Dushanbe: Amri Ilm, 2002). *Zad ul-musafirin*, trans. (in Russian) M. Dinorshoev (Dushanbe: Adib, 2005). *Zod-ul-musofirin*, ed. A. Alimardonov, et al. (Dushanbe: Shujoiēn, 2010). *Jome' ul-hikmatain* (Dushanbe: ÈR-graf, 2012). *Khon ul-ikhvon* (Dushanbe: ÈR-graf, 2012). *Razreshenie i spashenie (Kushoish va rahoish)* (Dushanbe: ÈR-graf, 2016). *Safarnoma* (Khujand: 2003). *Ravshanoinoma* (Khorog: 1992). *Kulliyat, Osori falsafi va dinī*, vol. 2 (Dushanbe: 2003). *Kulliyat, Osori falsafi*, vol. 3 (Dushanbe: 2003). *Devoni ash'or*, vol. I (Dushanbe: 2009). *Devoni ash'or*, vol. II (Dushanbe: 2009).

⁵ Dorghabek Fozilov, "Leksicheskie osobennosti "Safarname" Nosira Khusrava" (Diss., Candidate of Philological Sciences, Institute of Languages and Literature, 2006). M.N. Amonova, "Stilisticheskie osobennosti leksiki i morfologii (imennye chasti rechi) "Safarname" Nosira Khusrava" (Diss., Candidate of Philological Sciences, Tajik National University, 2016).

⁶ Zuhro K. Sidiqova, "Pedagogicheskie vzgliady Nosira Khusrava i ikh realizatsiia v usloviakh sovremennogo obshchestva Tadjikistana" (Diss., Candidate of Philological Sciences, Qurghan-Teppa State University, 2010). Shozodaibrohim Saidibrohimov, "Teoreticheskaia obosnovannost' didakticheskoi sistemy Nosira Khusrava po formirovaniu logiko-myslitel'noi deiatel'nosti uchashchikhsia 8-kh klassov tadjikskoi shkoly" (Diss., Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences, Institute razvitiia obrazovaniia pri Akademii obrazovaniia Tadjikistana, 2013).

⁷ *Nosiri Khusrav va tafakkuri peshqadami bashari (Nosiri Khusrav i peredovoe chelovecheskoe myshlenie)* (*Sbornik stat'ei respublikanskoī nauchnoī konferentsii, posviashchennoī 1000 letiiu Nosira Khusrava*) (Qurghān-Teppa, 30-31 May 2003).

fantastical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw literally.” This young man’s position reflects the attitude of many Ismā‘īlīs towards Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s hagiography in post-Soviet Badakhshān. Despite this, many among the Ismā‘īlīs still attach spiritual significance to these stories. In the words of the young man, who was critical of taking the stories at face value, “these stories have a taste and spiritual meanings, but they are not true” (*dev qiṣṣaenand mazaīat ma"nii ma"navi yastat ḥaqiqat nist*) and “they are like literature that does not state facts, but entertains and teaches about faith. They are useful” (*daven adabiēt mighun az ḥaqiqat ḍar ammo bashand dev nighixtowat ibrat zekhtow, darkoren dav*).

Given the various attitudes among the post-Soviet Ismā‘īlīs to the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the absence of post-Soviet written hagiographical works and the existence of numerous oral hagiographical stories in Badakhshān, I decided that the post-Soviet hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw must remain subject to future studies. However, to get a flavor of the attitude of the Ismā‘īlīs to these stories, I chose to attend ceremonies and gatherings where the hagiographical stories about Nāṣir-i Khusraw were narrated and discussed. Instead of focusing on the different approaches to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s hagiographies among the Ismā‘īlīs or the response of the audience to these stories (which is something that I hope to study in the future), I decided to focus solely on stories told by *khalīfahs* and elders who conducted these ceremonies. In other words, I focused on the narratives and messages of the narrators and not on the response, attitudes and interpretations of the listeners. This would be consistent with the methodology of the previous chapters, which focused on the authors’ motives and agendas, rather than on the readers’ response to and interpretations of these writings. In particular, my aim was to see which elements of the pre-Soviet and Soviet hagiographies about Nāṣir-i Khusraw were used and emphasized more than others, and how they were presented in important ceremonies. This can point to the particular purposes that Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s hagiographies serve in one region (Shughnān) in post-Soviet Badakhshān. While the hagiography itself has not evolved, the emphasis on some of its elements at the expense of others reveals what values the post-Soviet Ismā‘īlīs deemed important.

For this purpose, during the summers of 2009-2013, I attended twelve *shab-i ma‘rifat* (literally, “night of gnosis”) assemblies, when the community members gather to teach and learn about their faith, in the villages of Manīm, Rīvāk, Mūn, Sīzhd, Dībastah, Bāghīv and Ghārjvīn, as well as six *da‘vat-i fanā* ceremonies, assemblies of the faithful on the third day after a person’s death, in the villages of Kulīv, Rīvāk, Sīzhd and Mūn in the Shughnān district of Badakhshān.⁸ The *khalīfahs* and the learned members of the community, who led the *shab-i ma‘rifats* and the *da‘vat-i fanās*, primarily read the directives (*farmāns*) of the present Ismā‘īlī Imām, interpreted the devotional songs sung in the ceremonies and quoted from Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s works. In only four of the twelve *shab-i ma‘rifats* in the villages of Sīzhd, Dībastah, Bāghīv and Ghārjvīn and four of the six *da‘vat-i fanās* in the villages of

⁸ I attended many *shab-i ma‘rifats* and *da‘vats*, but only in these eight ceremonies the *khalīfah* and the elders mentioned Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s stories.

Kulīv, Rīvak, Sīzhd and Mūn did the *khalīfahs* and other members of the community responsible for conducting the ceremonies refer to the hagiographical stories of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in their speeches. I have found out that hagiographical stories told in the *da‘vat-i fanās* and the *shab-i ma‘rifats* are mainly used to edify the faithful and increase devotion to the Prophet, the Ismā‘īlī Imām, and ultimately God through the example of the idealized figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

In these stories, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is regarded, first and foremost, as an Ismā‘īlī teacher, a pious and dedicated paradigmatic Ismā‘īlī Muslim, the *pīr* of Badakhshān, the *hujjat* and servant of God, the Prophet and the Imām. The *khalīfahs* and the other leaders who conducted these ceremonies stressed the importance of following the example of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in search for spiritual truths, ethical comportment, and service to the Imām as well as unconditional love for the Family of the Prophet (*ahl-i bayt*). In these stories, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is presented as a great saint who was blessed by the Imām and as a man who sacrificed everything for his love and devotion for the cause of the Ismā‘īlī Imām and the Family of the Prophet. Nāṣir-i Khusraw suffers for his faith, but remains faithful to the Family of the Prophet despite the hardships and the adversity meted out by his enemies.

As mentioned, the overwhelming focus of the oral hagiographical stories told at the gatherings is on the religious aspect of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s personality and his service to God, the Prophet and the Imām. This was almost absent in the Soviet hagiographical sources. Stories that are told in the gatherings and which cannot be found in the pre-Soviet and Soviet hagiographical sources also stress the religious aspect of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s life. One observation that was easy to make is that the approach of the reciters of the stories in the gatherings to Nāṣir-i Khusraw is more “sober” than that in the pre-Soviet sources. With the exception of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s creation of the spring in Pārshinīv, none of the individuals conducting the ceremonies mentioned Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s marvels. The storytellers did not emphasize his transcendent holiness or engage with traducian notions. Their main purpose was to glorify the Imām, the Prophet and God, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw served as a model, albeit with attributes that are often inimitable.

Likewise, the stories told at the ceremonies and gatherings that I attended were not concerned with many of the motives and agendas of the written pre-Soviet and Soviet hagiographical stories. For instance, they are not told for the purpose of legitimating or discrediting the religious authority and leadership of those claiming spiritual descent from and initiatory ties to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The *khalīfahs* and the others telling the stories were also not interested in dissociating Nāṣir-i Khusraw from the “heretics” or in associating him with them. They did not present Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a punisher of tyrant kings and hypocritical *mullās* and a defender of peasants and artisans. Not a single person described Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a Tajik poet, as his significance goes beyond a specific nation and nationality. Unlike the Ismā‘īlīs of the Soviet period, the post-Soviet Ismā‘īlīs are no longer limited to scholarship that serves a particular ideological purpose.

Tajikistan promotes a strong nationalist ideology. To revive the national identity, it declared 2006 the year of Aryan civilization, taking into account the religion of Tajiks before Islam — Zoroastrianism. With this action, the country’s leadership linked Zoroastrianism with Tajik national identity. Despite that, the government has given a special place to the Ḥanafī school of Sunnī Islam, and a new law “On Religion and Religious Organizations” adopted by Majlisi Oli (The Parliament) in March 2009, favours the Ḥanafī school. Even in this regard, Abū Ḥanīfa is considered not only a great Muslim figure, but also, in the words of President Ēmomali Raḥmon uttered at the International Symposium on ‘Imām A‘zam and the modern world,’ “an outstanding son of the Tajik people.”⁹ Like Abū Ḥanīfa, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is considered as a Tajik hero from Qubādiyān, and in that, the current Tajik approach resembles the Soviet attitude to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. President Ēmomali Raḥmon called Nāṣir-i Khusraw “the son of the nation” and named the former Bishkent region after Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹⁰ Apart from this district, the name of Nāṣir-i Khusraw was given to a street in Shaḥrtuz (also known as Shaḥr-i Tus), a prestigious award on literature at the State University of Kūlāb, and the State University of Qurghan-Teppa. There is a museum (*osorkhona*) at the Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s spring (*chashmah-i Nāṣir*), which contains his published books, modern scholars’ monographs about him and his teachings, images of the present Ismā‘īlī Imām Shāh Karīm al-Ḥusaynī, local Badakhshānī paintings of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, copies of the Qur’ān and some Pāmīrī *rubābs*. When I visited the museum in the summer of 2013, I also noticed that President Ēmomali Raḥmon’s *Tadzhiki v zerkale istorii: ot Ariūtsev do Samanidov (Tajiks in the mirror of history: from the Aryans to the Samanids)* (London: Flint River Editions, 1999) and *Nezavisimost' Tadzhikistana i vozrozhdenie natsii. Tom tretii (The Independence of Tajikistan and the Revival of the Nation. Third Volume)* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 2006), with strong nationalistic content and emphasis on Tajik national unity, were found on the shelves among other books. The nationalist ideology of the Tajik government has a bearing on the Tajik scholarship on Nāṣir-i Khusraw.¹¹

Scholars have studied Nāṣir-i Khusraw as an emblematic figure regional significance, whose ideas are cast as relevant to local life in a modern post-Soviet setting. For example, Jonah Steinberg examines the various narratives, presented at the 2003 conference, that celebrated the thousandth birthday of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in Khorog, Badakhshān, and concludes that Nāṣir-i Khusraw:

⁹ President Raḥmon signed a decree on September 2008 announcing 2009 as Year of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah in Tajikistan. Speech of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan Ēmomali Raḥmon at the International Symposium on “Imām A‘zam and the modern world” <http://www.president.tj/node/2521> (accessed December 18, 2015)

¹⁰ See Ēmomali Raḥmon, *Nezavisimost' Tadzhikistana i vozrozhdenie natsii*, vol. 5 (Dushanbe: Irfon, 2006), 194-212. Svīaz' vekov – preemstvennost' pokoleniī. Doklad v chest' dvenadtsatoī godovshchiny nezavisimosti Respubliki Tadzhikistan i 1000-letīā velikogo tadzhikskogo poēta i myslitelīa Nosira Khusrava (8 sentiābrīa 2003 goda). On the national ideologies of Central Asia constantly referring to historical figures see Erica Marat, "State-Propagated Narratives about a National Defender in Central Asian States," *The Journal of Power Institutions in Post-Soviet Societies* 6/7 (2007): 2.

¹¹ In his introduction to the first collection of Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s works, the editor Aliqul Devonaqulov mainly presents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as “the devoted son of the Tajik people” (*farzandi sodiqi khalqi tojik*). See Khusraw, *Kulliēt*, 14, 16. He briefly examines the works by pointing to their philosophical, moral and didactic teachings. He represents Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a symbol of the unity of Tajik nation.

was presented at the event variously as a pioneer of rationalism and science, a profoundly important figure of Islamic history, an ethical guide, an emblem of renewed identity in the wake of a catastrophic civil war, a groundbreaking figure whose philosophy might serve as a blueprint for the navigation of the formations of capitalism and democracy only recently established in the area, and embodiment of new models and narratives of history.¹²

As Steinberg shows through these narratives, the conference was “a site at which *theories* of time, knowledge, and personhood are actively negotiated and produced.”¹³ He also argues that Nāṣir-i Khusraw “... helps Badakhshanis articulate ideas about their place in Tajikistan, in the world, and in the former Soviet sphere.”¹⁴ The figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw is indeed a polyvalent one, and, through it, identities, values and ideas are asserted, determined, rendered meaningful or even denied in post-Soviet Badakhshān. Steinberg has looked at the various meanings of the figure of Nāṣir-i Khusraw for the Badakhshānīs through presentations at a conference, an intellectual environment where the speakers consciously and explicitly consider the saint and his teachings from various perspectives. The choices of certain images of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the hagiography are not always made consciously and are certainly not made from an academic, or, generally, theoretical perspective.

My research has led me to conclude that the hagiographical representation of Nāṣir-i Khusraw by the Ismā‘īlīs of post-Soviet Badakhshān does not seem to have been influenced by Tajik nationalist ideology. This is primarily due to the fact that the Ismā‘īlīs of Badakhshān practice their faith freely in post-Soviet Tajikistan. For some of my informants, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is, in fact, a symbol of opposition to the politically dominant Sunnīs of Tajikistan. At any rate, unlike the authors of the hagiographical works produced during the Soviet period, the post-Soviet Ismā‘īlīs do not feel the need or the pressure to use the hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw for ideological purposes. There is clearly a discrepancy between the Tajik nationalist ideology along with the scholarship affected by it and Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s hagiography used among the Ismā‘īlīs in the post-Soviet period.

One of the most important events that took place in the life of the post-Soviet Ismā‘īlīs is the arrival of Shāh Karīm al-Ḥusaynī, Āghā Khān IV, the 49th Imām of the Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Shī‘īs to Badakhshān. His visit in May 1995 was the first time that the living Imām of the Ismā‘īlīs visited the area. Having connected with the Ismā‘īlī Imām, the supreme head of the spiritual hierarchy, the post-Soviet Ismā‘īlīs focus their devotion on him. Whereas in the past Nāṣir-i Khusraw, among other saints, was a bridge connecting the Ismā‘īlīs of remote Badakhshān with the Imām and the Ismā‘īlī community

¹² Jonah Steinberg, “Heroes After Lenin: Millennial Anxiety and Cultural Revival in a Post-Soviet Age,” 2. The article is accessible online at <http://www.uvm.edu/~jsteinbe/NasirMillennium.pdf> (accessed December 13, 2015). See also Jonah Steinberg, *Isma‘ili Modern: Globalization and Identity in a Muslim Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 148-58. Steinberg refers to the civil war that broke out in Tajikistan after the fall of the Soviet Union. The civil war, which began in 1992, killed approximately 40,000-100,000 people and displaced more than one million. On the civil war, see Tim Epkenhans, *The Origins of the Civil War in Tajikistan: Nationalism, Islamism and Violent Conflict in Post-Soviet Space* (London and New York: Lexington Books, 2016).

¹³ Steinberg, “Heroes After Lenin,” 16.

¹⁴ Ibid.

elsewhere, the Ismā‘īlīs of post-Soviet Badakhshan now hear and read the Imām’s directives and speeches without any intermediary. While Nāṣir-i Khusraw remains an extremely important figure, the post-Soviet Ismā‘īlīs tend to focus more on his teachings about and devotion to the Imām, the Prophet and God and less on his own sacred personality and wondrous deeds. When reference is made to Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s wondrous deeds (e.g. creating the spring in Pārshinīv), the tellers of the stories emphasize that this power issues from God and is enacted through Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Like the pre-Soviet hagiographies, the stories narrated in the *da‘vat-i fanās* and the *shab-i ma‘rifats* that I attended in 2009-2013 foster devotion to the Ismā‘īlī Imām, the Prophet and, finally, through them, to God. Nāṣir-i Khusraw is regarded as a gateway to the Imām, and the Imām, in turn, as a gateway to the Prophet and God. It is in relation to this approach that the *Sayāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir*, which was published in the post-Soviet period, was interpreted in the *shab-i ma‘rifats* in Shughnān in the summer of 2012. A *khalīfah*¹⁵ who is well versed in Ismā‘īlism and the local history of Badakhshān as well as the Badakhshānī hagiography of Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentioned that the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* conveyed the pure essence of Ismā‘īlism. As he said, “the pole around which the narrative of the *Sayāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* revolves is the sacred number three, which represents these three!” I had read the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* numerous times but found no explicit references to the sacredness of this number. The *khalīfah*, who, like the many other Ismā‘īlī leaders, was extremely generous with his time, was an approachable person. I went up to him and asked what he meant by the sacredness of number three and how the narrative of the *Siyāḥat'nāmah-i Nāṣir* revolves around it. He told me to read the text again carefully. I did, noticing this time that, even though the text does not discuss this explicitly, the significance of this number can, indeed, be observed everywhere in the text. For example, the Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh is described as having three sons and three wives. Imām Mūsá al-Kāzīm is described as having three sons. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and ‘Umar-i Khayyām are three friends. Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh and Nāṣir-i Khusraw disappear from amongst the followers after three nights. A devotee (*fidā‘ī*) that is sent by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ to assassinate Shāh Tabarruk (Tapar) walks around him three times and utters the word “burst!” (*bitark*) three times. Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh travels around the world three times. Egypt, Khurāsān and Badakhshān are described as three important places throughout the text. When Imām Mustanṣir bi’llāh is buried in Māy-i Nav, Nāṣir-i Khusraw builds three *ṣafḥahs*, one on top of another at the shrine. The text divides people into three categories, the *avvām* (the masses), the *mu‘minān* (the faithful) and the *valīs/dervishes*. Nāṣir-i Khusraw spends three nights in Java on his way from Darvāz to Imām Hādī’s residence. The ruler of the *malāḥidah* asks Nāṣir-i Khusraw about the three apples that fall from the tree. One of the figures by the name of Khvājah Hamdīn tells Nāṣir-i Khusraw to pray for water three times. On their way to Badakhshān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his companions come across three valleys (*takāvahs*). Before Nāṣir-i Khusraw leaves

¹⁵ The *khalīfah* wished to remain anonymous.

Munjān, he strikes the earth with his staff and spins in the air three times. In the story about the greedy man Shādī, Nāşir-i Khusraw turns pebbles into money and pearls three times. The text talks about three rulers in Badakhshān (in *Shahr-i kalān*, *Dasht-i Ghurm and Bahārak*). The cradle of Sayyid Sūhrāb Valī (which his family put by a well) disappears for three days. After Nāşir-i Khusraw accepts Jahān Shāh’s repentance, the ruler says he became pure three times. When the time for Jahān Shāh’s sister’s childbirth arrives, he goes to the cave three times. Jahān Shāh’s sister’s child lives for three days. The *valīs* in Yamg perform *chillah* (usually a forty day retreat) for three days. On their way to Badakhshān from Yazd, Sayyid Sūhrāb Valī and Bābā Ḥaydarī stay at a man’s house for three months. The Ismā’īlī army fought against the army of Shāh Tabarruk for three days. Nāşir-i Khusraw helps the people of Kurān to build a ditch three times. Nāşir-i Khusraw provides food for the *dervishes* at the cave for three years.¹⁶

Before I left Badakhshān, I wanted to tell the *khalīfah* about my finding and hear what he had to say in response. He looked at me smiling and said:

The Great Pīr Nāşir was, is and will be a saint and support for us. The number three represents the eternity of his sacredness, in bygone times, in our time and in the time to come. The number three also symbolizes the sacred three to whom Pīr Nāşir invited us. Those sacred three are God most high, our beloved Prophet and the essence of our great Imāms. Pīr Nāşir planted these three trees in our hearts. We have kept the trees green with the water of our love, the air of our submission and the nourishment of our gnosis. In short, Pīr Nāşir showed us the path to salvation! Before the Soviet period, our people experienced oppression in “darkness,” but Pīr Nāşir was our Moon, the bearer of the light of Truth. Life was good in the Soviet period, but in terms of religion and faith, [the Soviet period] was like a dark night. However, Pīr Nāşir remained like the luminous Moon above us and the bearer of the light of Truth. Pīr Nāşir had said that “even if there remains only one day, God shall prolong it until there comes the great one from the Family of the Prophet, who will replace injustice with justice.” Today the Sun has risen, that Great One has come.¹⁷

¹⁶ See *Sayāhat'nāmah-i Nāşir*, 5, 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, 29, 33, 34, 35. Rahmonqulov, 1, 3, 4, 13, 14, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 39, 46, 47, 48, 49, 56, 60, 67, 71, 74, 76.

¹⁷ Pīr Nosiri Buzurgvor vudat, iāstat, rista valīāt dastgir mashard. Ikid raqami 3 tsa iāoch dam qişşaiānd, iid nixūn ōid wi davomiātat wi huzur, piro wakhtand, mash wakhtand, badi mash. Ikid raqam wev araī muqaddasga nixūn ōididi tar wevi Pīr Nosir mash da'vat tsa chud. Wađen chaī – Khuđoī muta"ol, mash Pađghumbari maħbubat zoti mash buzurg Imūmen. Pīr Nosiri dev araī nihol to abadiāt mash diland neđd, masham dev khu zhivjax qati xaťs ōod, khu ibodat qatiam defard ħavo dakchud, khu ma"rifat qatiam defard ghizo dakchud. Kutoiāe aga turd tsa lum, Pīr Nosiri mashard dakchud rohi najot! Piro az Shūravī mash mardum zulmat zulmatand vud. Ammo Pīr Nosir vud mash mest, muħiqqi nuri ħaq. Shuravi davra bashand vud, ammo dinat mazhab tarafti xabat toriki vudat Pīr Nosir vo red purnur mest mash kalti, muħiqqi nuri ħaq. Khu pundam dijat didund arand di zulmatand nabinešt. Pīr Nosiri mashard taqid chu, ludi iām dunēta īi ruz mis tsa rist, Khuđoī ta dam ruz daroz kixtkhu iōta īu buzurg az aħli baītkhu adolatta qati ta beadolati tar pali kixt. Nur ruzand ruz, khir nextuīd, īu buzurg iat.

Appendix A

Accounts of Shāh Khāmūsh

1. T. D. Forsyth: "There were already at this time Mussulmen in the neighbouring country of Darwaz, A.H.665, and on the arrival of the Shah-i-Khamosh many people flocked thence into Shighnan."¹
2. T. Gordon: "According to the Shighni accounts, the family of the Shah of Shighnan originally came from Persia, and the first arrival from that country (between 500 and 700 years ago) was the Shah-i-Khamosh, who was a Syed and a Fakir. The country was at that time in the hands of the Zardushtis, In about ten years he had converted large numbers of the people, and a religious war commenced, which ended in this leader wresting the kingdom from Kahakah, the ruler of Shighnan and Roshan under the Zardushtis, the seat of whose government was then at Balkh. After this the teaching of the people continued, and in ten years more all had been converted to the Shiah form of the Muḥammadan faith."²
3. I. Minaev (based on Trotter's account): "The family of the Shah of Shighnan originally came from Persia, and the first arrival from that country (between 500 and 700 years ago) was the Shah-i-Khamosh, who was a Syed and a Fakir. The country was at that time in the hands of fire worshippers. At that time (A.H. 665), there were Muslims in Darvaz. In about ten years he had converted large numbers of the people, and a religious war commenced, which ended in this leader wresting the kingdom from Kahakah, the ruler of Shighnan and Roshan under the fore worshipper, the seat of whose government was then at Balkh, After this the teaching of the people continued, and in ten years more all had become Shiites."³
4. V. Minorskiĭ (based on *Ta'rikh-i Shughnān* and that of T.D. Forsyth according to whom Shāh Khāmūsh came to Shughnān in 665/1266).⁴
5. L. Kharyukov: Shāh Khāmūsh (together with others) arrived in the Pamirs from Khurāsān, some time after Nāṣir-i Khusraw and most probably, towards the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th centuries.⁵
6. H. Emadi (On the basis of Sang Muḥammad and Surkh Afsar's *Ta'rikh-i Badakhshān*): several years after Nasir-i Khusraw's death, the two Iranian *dā'īs* Shāh Malang and Shāh Khāmūsh visited Badakhshān via India. Shāh Khāmūsh (was in Shughnān in 490/1098, the year in which he married a daughter of the *mīr* of Shughnān. According to this version, he was about 30 years old then as he was born in 459/1079 in Iṣfahān.⁶

¹ Forsyth, *Report of a Mission*, 282.

² Gordon, *The Roof of the World*, 141.

³ Minaev, *Svedeniia*, 51.

⁴ Forsyth, *Report of a Mission*, 282. Minorskiĭ, V.F. "Shughnan" in *EI*, vol. 4, 390.

⁵ Khariukov, *Anglo-Russkoe Sopernichestvo*, 109-10.

⁶ Emadi's calculations into Gregorian are obviously mistaken. This makes him 19 years old. Emadi, "The End of Taqiyya," 107-08.

Appendix B

Accounts of Rulers of Shughnān

1. B. Kushkakī: (Based on the tradition of Shughnān)⁷ - Nothing about Shāh Khāmūsh – Mīr Shāh Vanjī - Mīr Qubād Khān (son of Mīr Shāh Vanjī) - Mīr ‘Abd al-Raḥīm (son of Mīr Qubād Khān) had two sons: Mīr Shīr Muḥammad Khān and Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh - Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh (killed in Kabul) – ‘Abd Allah Khān - Dārāb Shāh Khān.⁸
2. Petrovskii (1889): Shāh Khāmūsh - Shāh Khudādād - Shāh Jalāl al-Dīn – Shāmur Bīk - Shāh Amur Khān - Shāh Vanjī Khān – Qubāt Khān – ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān.⁹
3. A. Shokhumorov: Shāh Khāmūsh - Shāh Vanjī (1874 to 1887)¹⁰ - Shāh Jalāl al-Dīn (1792 to 1793) – Qubād Khān¹¹ (ruled until 1844) – ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān (1 year) – ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān (ruled until 1869) - Muḥabbat Khān - Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān.
4. Ney Elias: Shāh-i-Khamosh (“... a Darwesh and Sayad of Bokhara, who appears to have first converted the people to Sunni Mohamadanism, in his capacity of Pir and then to have become Mir over them. Long afterwards the people became Shiahs, though the family of the Mirs remained Sunni till the last... When Shah-i-Khamosh lived I have not been able to ascertain, and there are no written histories in the country. Probably it was about the same time as the conversion of the Badakhshis, or some time in the 7th century; this, at all events, is what the Khan Mullah of Badakhshan thinks probable.”) (“The earliest Mir, of who the people of the present day seem to have any distinct knowledge, was on Shah Mir, whose death is estimated to have taken place about 120 years ago. He was the father of Shah Vanjī.”) – Shāh Vanjī (son of Shāh Mīr) (On one of the stone inscriptions at the “bazar” it is recorded that Shāh Vanjī built the canal, mentioned above, in the year of the ḥijra 1204, or 1786, but it is not known how many years he lived after that date.) - Kuliad Khān (son of Shāh Vanjī) – ‘Abd al-Raḥīm (son of Kuliad Khān) – Yūsuf ‘Alī (son of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm) (All three generations since Shāh Vanjī have been slave traders.)¹²
5. B. Iskandarov (Iskandarov claims that his account is based on *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshan* of Shāh’zādah, Shajarah of Shāh Kāshānī *sayyids* and historical notes “Sarā-yi Dilrabā.”):¹³ - Shāh Khāmūsh - Shāh Khudādād (son of Shāh Khāmūsh) – ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān¹⁴ (son of Shāh Khudādād) - Dawlat Shāh (son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān) (Iskandarov simply mentions Dawlat Shāh here and says nothing about him. He mentions that Shāh Vanjī, the son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān takes the throne.) - Shāh Vanjī Khān¹⁵ (son of Shāh Amīr Bīk) whose real

⁷ Kushkakī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, 181.

⁸ These are not related to the *mīrs*’ family. Kushkakī, 186. According to Iskandarov, a certain Dārāb Shāh lived in India and was a representative of Āghā Khān. Dārāb Shāh is said to have claimed that he was not only appointed as the spiritual leader, but also as *mīr* of Shughnān. Iskandarov, *Sotsial’no*, 74.

⁹ Petrovskii’s account is included in A. Semēnov’s comments (Footnote 16), in Semēnov, “Istoriia Shughnana.”

¹⁰ This is a typographical error. See Davlat Khudonazarov’s comment. Shokhumorov, *Razdelenie*, 112.

¹¹ Jalāl al-Dīn is not mentioned in the genealogy of Shughnān’s *shāhs*, which was created later for ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān (and verified by Zamān al-Dīn in 1868), but instead of him there appears the name of Qubād Khān – the father of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān. Shokhumorov argues that Qubād Khān is neither Jalāl al-Dīn’s son nor his brother, but a different person, who may have been put on the Shughnān throne by Badakhshānī Mīr Zamān al-Dīn or may have taken the power himself. It is at this stage, argues Shokhumorov, that the Sunni rulers usurped the throne of the Ismaili rulers of Shughnān. As he writes: “With this the end was put to the rule of the dynasty from the family of Shah Khamush, the last was Shah Jalaledin.” *Ibid.*, 33.

¹² Elias, “Report of a Mission,” 47-48.

¹³ Iskandarov, *Sotsial’no*, 57.

¹⁴ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān gave the throne to his son Shāh Vanjī who claimed it and himself became the spiritual guide of the people of Shughnān and Rūshān. *Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁵ Iskandarov mentions that Shāh Vanjī Khān was the son of Shāh Amīr Bīk. *Ibid.*, 68. This, however, does not agree with what he says about ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān, who, he says was the father of Shāh Vanjī. *Ibid.*, 60. According to the *Ta’rīkh-i*

name was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān had two sons: Qubād Khān and Jalāl al-Dīn Khān) (Qubād Khān was the ruler of Rūshān and Jalāl al-Dīn the ruler of Shughnān)¹⁶ – Qubbād Khān (son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān) had two sons: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān (Qubād Khān kills Jalāl al-Dīn and becomes the ruler of Shughnān)¹⁷ - ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān (son of Qubbād Khān) (‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān and his brother ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān fought for the throne and a son of the *mīr* of Badakhshān, Mīr Shāh (Mīrza Kalān) installs ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān, but takes ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān with him to Fayzābād. Mīr Shāh married their sister La‘l Bīgim. In 1836, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān attacked Ghārān and for this reason was toppled by Mīr Shāh).¹⁸ ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān (son of Qubbād Khān) (He became the ruler of Shughnān after defeating his brother ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān. Iskandarov gives two different dates for the year in which ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān became the ruler of Shughnān and Rūshān (1837 and 1843))¹⁹ had 6 sons: Muḥabbat Khān (Muḥabbat Khān murdered his father ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān and marries his mother-in-law),²⁰ Amīr Bīk (Amīr Bīk rose against his brothers Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh and Muḥabbat Khān and was helped by Darvāz. He was murdered as a result).²¹ Sulaymān Khān, Amīr Khān, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān and Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh - Muḥabbat Khān (Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh becomes the ruler of Rūshān and Muḥabbat Khān the ruler of Shughnān. Prior to Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh, Iskandarov mentions Sulaymān Khān and then his son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān as rulers of Rūshān.)²² Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh (Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh was first as the ruler of Rūshān, but was replaced with Mawjūd Khān (another brother of Muḥabbat Khān) by Muḥabbat Khān. He was sent to Badakhshān. From there, he arranged to have Muḥabbat Khān killed. After Muḥabbat Khān’s death, Yūsuf ‘Alī Shāh became the *mīr* of Shughnān)²³ (made his son Qubād Khān the ruler of Rūshān) - Muḥammad Akbar Khān (came from Ḥiṣār, one of the descendants of the *mīrs* of Shughnān.)²⁴

6. *Ta’rīkh-i mulk-i Shughnān*: Shāh Khāmūsh (came from Shīrāz, ruled 6 years) (Toppled the ruler of Shughnān, Farhād who was a fire worshipper and became the ruler of Shughnān) - Muḥammad ‘Abdū (a disciple of Shāh Malang) (“but I do not know and did not hear from anyone when exactly the reign of this family began, as well as how many years prior to it the rule of the Chinese continued in Shughnān)²⁵ - Shāh Muẓaffar Bīk (son of Muḥammad ‘Abdū) - Shāh Muḥammad Ḥusayn - Shāh Naẓar Bīk (had no son, only one daughter named Bībī Tūmān) (A descendant of Bībī Tūmān and her husband Shāh Palang from Darvāz, named Sulṭān Nāyāb, after unsuccessfully fighting for throne against Shāh Vanjī, was made the *mīr* of Shākh’darah. Sulṭān Nāyāb was succeeded by his son Nādir Shāh after whom his

Badakhshān which Iskandarov published, there were two persons named Shāh Vanjī. Their fathers were Khudādād and Qubād Khān, not Shāh Amīr Bīk. Amīr Bīk’s father is Qubād Khān son of Shāh Vanjī in the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*. Iskandarov also states that according to the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* of Shāh Fiṭūr, Vanjī Khān whose real name was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān had two sons, Qubād Khān and Jalāl al-Dīn Khān. *Ibid.*, 68. The *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, however, does not mention that. According to it, Amīr Bīk is the father of Qubād Khān and Jalāl al-Dīn Khān.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 72.

²² *Ibid.*, 70-71.

²³ *Ibid.*, 58-60, 71. Shokhumorov, *Pamir-strana ariev*, 74-75, 101-02. Pirumshoev, "The Pamirs and Badakhshan," 226.

²⁴ “Muḥammad Akbar Khān deceived the people in his favor by saying he was an Ismā‘īlī and the people began to defend him by giving resistance to the Afghans.” Semēnov, "Istoriia Shugnana," 16. Emadi also mentions Mīr Sayyid Akbar who established his rule in Shughnān in 1888. However, when ‘Abd al-Raḥmān led an expedition to Shughnān, Sayyid Akbar fled to Ḥiṣār. At some point he returns to Shughnān, but the *amīr* of Bukhārā replaces him with a loyal appointee, Ishān Qulī Bīg. Emadi, "The End of Taqiyya," 109. Emadi’s date (1888) is inaccurate, because Mīr Sayyid Akbar Khān according to the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* fled to Ḥiṣār prior to 1885 (the division of Pamir) and returned after that, but this time he was appointed by the *amīr* of Bukhārā. This time, he was more of a representative of the *amīr* of Bukhārā, than a *shāh* of Shughnān. Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 116a-17a.

²⁵ Semēnov, "Istoriia Shugnana," 5.

sons became *mīrs* and ruled until the time of Mīr Muḥammad Khān.) From Muḥammad ‘Abdū to Shāh Naẓar Bīk, ruled until 1193/1779 (It is said that the *mīrs* of Shughnān were people unfair and dishonest people, therefore their subjects did not live peacefully) - Shāh Amīr Bīk (a descendant of Shāh Khāmūsh, ruled for nine years) (“The people of Shughnān, who had suffered tremendously from all the tyranny of their *mīrs*, were very pleased with the appearance of this descendant, who soon became the ruler of Shughnān) - Shāh Vanjī (son of Shāh Amīr Bīk) (They say that when Vanjī Khan banished all those who did not belong to Ismā‘īlism from Shughnān, although Vanjī Khan himself was not an Ismā‘īlī) Came to power in 1202/1787, ruled 12 years.- Qubād Khān (son of Shāh Vanjī) (“It is said that in the reign of Qubād Khān there were many wars and skirmishes; the people were not satisfied with this *mīr*, for he acted contrary to the teachings of Ismā‘īlism and hated it”) - Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn (son of Shāh Vanjī, had no son) (Came to power by toppling his brother Qubād Khān) - Jahāndār Shāh (“After many battles, Jahāndār Shāh conquered Shughnān and began to rule over it. It is said that he was a great tyrant: he forcibly took people and sold them into slavery. He killed some, because he was cruel.”) – ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān (son of Qubād Khān) (With the help of his brother-in-law, the *mīr* of Badakhshan, Jahāndār Shāh. “It is said that ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān had a certain Kalmyk man named Muḥammad Karīm. He served as a *dīvānbīgī*. He was a man of evil intent and a tyrant who committed much violence against people: he even grabbed absolutely innocent people and killed some and sold others into slavery. There is a village on the border of Rūshān, called Khūf, from where, they say, he once brought six hundred men, women and children and sold all of them.”) ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān had three sons: Muḥammad Khān, Shāh Amīr Bīk (Only Shāh Amīr Bīk is described as an Ismā‘īlī (his mother was a Shughnī woman), because of which his father deprived him of the throne) and Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān - Muḥammad Khān (Poisoned his father ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān, but was later poisoned by his brother Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān.) - Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān (his tyranny over the people began and the people turned away from him) – Ḥājī Khān (son of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān, ruled 8 months) (Manẓar Shāh, ruler of Rūshān, 8 months) - Shāh Akbar Khān (in Darvāz).²⁶

7. *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* of Shāh’zādah - Shāh Khāmūsh (Married an orphan from the family of “the kings of this land” (*az naṣl-i shāhān-i in mamlakat*), but not clear if he was the ruler. He is simply referred to as the ancestor of the shahs of Shughnān.)²⁷ Khudādād (Khudādād was approached by the people who said *ḥakīm-i māyān fawt shudah ḥalā bī sarparastīm* (this reference is clearly not to his father) and requested to take the throne. He was called Shāh Khudādād after that. Within three years, all in Rūshān and Shughnān followed him.) - Shāh Vanjī (son of Khudādād) (With the help of his relatives/uncles (*taghāyi-hā*), he subdued the forts in Ghund and Shākh’darah) Qubād Khān (son of Shāh Vanjī) - Shāh Vanjī (son of Qubād Khān) - Qubād Khān (son of Shāh Vanjī) - Amīr Bīk (son of Qubād Khān) (had two sons: Qubād Khān and Jalāl al-Dīn Khān) (Qubād Khān was the *shāh* of Shughnān, Jalāl al-Dīn was the *shāh* of Rūshān. Their father was based in Sūchān. Jalāl al-Dīn murdered his father Amīr Bīk.) Jalāl al-Dīn (He was a weak ruler as during his reign the people of Badakhshān raided in Shughnān) - Qubād Khān (Qubād Khān had his brother Jalāl al-Dīn murdered and became the *shāh* of Shughnān) (had two sons: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān and ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān) (The two brothers fought continuously for the throne of their father after his death. The *mīr* of Badakhshān (the father of Jahāndār Shāh) who married a daughter (La‘l Bīgīm) of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān intervened and reconciled them. After the death of La‘l Bīgīm, the *mīr* of Badakhshān married another daughter (Bībī Jānārā) of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān.) - ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān (The *mīr* of Badakhshān made ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān the ruler of Shughnān and took ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān with him to Fayzābād) - ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān (ruled 24 years, 1206/1791-1229/1813) (After ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān attacked Ghārān, the *mīr*

²⁶ Ibid., 5, 7-9, 11-13.

²⁷ Shāh’zādah, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 88.

of Badakhshān got angry and replaced him with ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān. The latter had his brother murdered. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān was himself murdered by the order of his sons Muḥabbat Khān and Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān (his 8 sons: Muḥabbat Khān (He is made the ruler of Shākh’darah after Amīr Bīk by his father ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān, but he flees to Yārḡand and later with seeks the help of the *mīr* of Badakhshān, Jahāndār Shāh toppled his father ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān), Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān (He was made the ruler of Rūshān by his brother Muḥabbat Khān after his brother Amīr Bīk fled to Darvāz), Amīr Bīk (Amīr Bīk was made the ruler of Shākh’darah and ruled there for 6 years. He later becomes the ruler of Rūshān after toppling Sulaymān Khān and ruled there for four years. Later, he flees from his father to Darvāz and after returning after some time is killed by the order of his brothers, Muḥabbat Khān and Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān), Sulaymān Khān (Sulaymān Khān was made the ruler of Rūshān based in Vamār.) Samīr Khān, Dawlat Shāh (He was killed by his brother Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān.) Abū al-Ghāzī Khān (He and his brother ‘Abd al-Shahīd Khān were killed by the order of his brothers Muḥabbat Khān and Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān) - ‘Abd al-Shahīd Khān - Muḥabbat Khān (Muḥabbat Khān and Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān as rulers of Shughnān and Rūshān had conflicts, and Sulaymān Shāh, their nephew, came to reconcile them taking Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān with him to Fayzābād and making Muḥabbat Khān the ruler of both Rūshān and Shughnān) (ruled for 7 years) - Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān (He becomes the ruler of Shughnān after having his brother Muḥabbat Khān poisoned. He is later taken to Kabul to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān and executed there) (ruled between 15-17 years) (his sons: Qubād Khān, Aslam Khān).²⁸

8. The *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān* of Sang Muḥammad and Surkh Afsar: Shāh Khāmūsh (Ancestor of *mīrs*, *shāhs*, *murshids* and *pīrs* in Shughnān. Born in Iṣfahān in 469/1066 and died at the age of 72 in 531/1136, related to the Prophet through Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, *valī* on his mother’s side, associated with Ṣūfīs like Shaykh Junayd and ‘Abd al-Qādir, comes to Shughnān with four other men through India, cures the fourteen year old daughter of the local ruler and marries her in 490/1056, moves to Kūlāb from Shughnān. Shughnān at this time was invaded by Sa’īd Qāshgharī)²⁹ - Sayyid Shāh Amīr Bīk - Sayyid Shāh Vanjī Khān - Sayyid Shāh Mīr Bīk (This is according to the *Shajarah* that is included in the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, but in the actual text of the *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, Jalāl al-Dīn is the son of Shāh Vanjī and Qubād Khān is the son of Jalāl al-Dīn.)³⁰ - Sayyid Shāh Qubād Khān - Sayyid Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān - Sayyid Shāh Amīr Khān - Sayyid Shāh Akbar Khān (“Presently lives in Ḥiṣār.” Akbar Khān was given the position of *bī* by the Amīr of Bukhārā ‘Abd al-Aḥad Khān.)³¹

²⁸ Ibid., 89-90, 92-95, 105, 07-08, 10-12, 25-26, 31-32.

²⁹ Surkhafsar, *Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*, 118a-26a.

³⁰ Ibid., 87a.

³¹ Ibid., 115a.

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