Islamica
Studies in Memory of Holger Preißler
(1943–2006)
Edited by Andreas Christmann and Jan-Peter Hartung

JOURNAL OF Semitic Studies
Supplement 26
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Introduction

Andreas Christmann and Jan-Peter Hartung

Where the academic achievements of a scholar revolve around only one or two themes, those who pay homage are in a relatively comfortable position. In the case of Holger Preißler, however, this is rather difficult to achieve, at least from a superficial perspective. Preißler’s publications cover a vast span of Muslim history and tackle a diverse range of topics from a multitude of scholarly disciplines. This diversity which, again to the uninformed eye, may appear inconsistent or peculiar, is however a reflection of an exciting life that saw many unexpected twists and turns. Holger Preißler’s biography provides a vivid example of the winding paths that a Semitist-cum-Islamist had to travel under the conditions of ‘real-existing socialism’ in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), as well as in the face of the challenges that emerged with the fall of the ‘Iron Curtain’ and German reunification in 1990.

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Holger Preißler was born on 27 October 1943 in Altmittewlda (Saxony, Germany) as the only child of an army officer, serving with the mountain troops, who was killed in a battle in the Austrian Steiermark days before the end of the Second World War. Holger Preißler was raised by his mother, grandmother and stepfather in Birkenwerder and later Oranienburg (near Berlin), where he went to school until he completed his A-levels in 1962.

From a very early age Holger Preißler was fascinated by foreign languages — and learnt Russian, English, French, Latin, Greek, Italian, Arabic and even Esperanto — and very soon he began to translate anthologies of short stories, poems and novellas from these languages into German — something that he practised all his life and whose regular undertaking he regarded as similar to the ‘daily finger exercises of solo pianists’.1 His great role model at this time was the French philologist Jean-François Champollion (d. 1832), and it was the French polyglot’s influence that made him decide to study Egyptology at the University of Leipzig. However, in the GDR higher education practice at the time meant that students were not allowed to matriculate every year into the more ‘exotic’ disciplines such as Egyptology. Thus, when Holger

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1 Antje Preißler, Erinnerungen an meinen Mann (unpublished), 1.
Obvious and Obscure Contexts: The Leipzig Manuscript of the 
Kitāb al-ẓīna by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934)

Verena Klemm

Abstract

This article takes as its starting point an old manuscript of the Kitāb al-ẓīna (The Book of Ornaments), by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī from Rayy in Northern Iran, an accomplished author who emerged during the rise of the Ismā‘īlī movement. This manuscript, held at the library of the University of Leipzig, was copied only 220 years after the death of the author in the district of Rayy where he was active as head of the Ismā‘īlī da‘wā (mission). Thus one can confidently assume a high degree of authenticity of the text. Abū Ḥātim’s book, an encyclopedia of religious and other terms, contains a heresiographical section that is extremely valuable, since it documents the religious diversity and divergences in the Islamic world during the author’s lifetime. Against the backdrop of Abū Ḥātim’s clandestine activities against the ‘Abbāsid political and religious elites, this article analyses parts of the work whose addressees were ideological opponents of the Ismā‘īlīs. However, allusions and subtexts in the heresiology skilfully reveal Ismā‘īlī religious truths.

The Leipzig University Library is home to one of the most important and largest collections of Oriental manuscripts in Germany.1 The collection dates back to at least the seventeenth century and contains around 3,200 Oriental manuscripts, most of them Islamic (ca. 1,700). Acquisitions continued into the twentieth century. The most recent reference work covering the old holdings is over one hundred years old, the catalogue compiled by Carl Vollers in 1906.2 What this catalogue does not cover are some 200 Islamic manuscripts, predominantly Arabic, acquired after this date. The German Research Foundation has only recently approved a pilot project to be

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Undertaken by the Oriental Institute and the University Library. The aim is a historical and codicological study as well as the electronic presentation of a group of these manuscripts acquired in 1995 in Amman. The acquisition of these manuscripts from a private collector is ultimately thanks to the efforts of Holger Preißler. As an expert of the Leipzig holdings, he was requested by the University Library to assess the manuscripts listed in the purchase offer. He was the first to classify the manuscripts in literary-historical terms and in doing so realized that the fifty-five manuscripts, which comprised the purchase offer, contained unique original documents. Moreover, he was able to determine that the collection represented a valuable cross-section of nearly all the traditional Islamic fields of knowledge. Hence, the foundation for the subsequent manuscript project was established, and just days after his death it was presented to the public at the University of Leipzig with a lecture introducing an exceptionally spectacular piece in the collection. I would like to dedicate this article to that particular manuscript to the memory of Holger Preißler. The manuscript with the call number ms. or. 377 contains a large section of the Kitāb al-zina (The Book of Ornaments) by Abū Ḥātim al-Raḍī, the Ismāʿīlī author from Rayy. The book is an encyclopedia of religious and other terms, with the author providing explanations of and commentary on their etymology and meaning. Furthermore, the work contains a heresiological section with the names and identities of the religious groups and sects active in al-Raḍī’s time. This section of the work is extremely valuable, for it documents the religious diversity and divergence in the Islamic world of the third century. Al-Raḍī was a contemporary of the well-known Shi‘i fiṭraḥ authors al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī (d. after 300/912) and Sa‘d b.

6 These Iranists are the authors of the oldest preserved Ismāʿīlī heresiographies. See Wilfred Madelung, "Heresiography," in Helmut Gatte (ed.), Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie, Band II: Literaturwissenschaft (Wiesbaden 1987), 374–8. See also p. 63 of the present article.


8 The Kitāb al-zina consists of two major parts (see al-Raḍī, Kitāb al-zina, 45f). The first part and the beginning of the second part of the Kitāb al-zina were edited by Husayn al-Handarī (San'a', 1410/1994). The edition of the heresiology (contained in the second part of the Kitāb al-zina) was undertaken by ‘Abdallāh al-Samarrā‘ī as al-Ghulāw wa‘l-furūq al-ghulāwy fī‘l-bad‘ār al-ulūmiyya (Baghdad no date), 225–347. For their editions, both al-Handarī and al-Samarrā‘ī used a manuscript from the Iraqi Museum (al-Mahaf al-Ibrā'ī) in Baghdad (No. 1306) which they cautiously attributed to the sixth century CE, too; however, the manuscript has no colophon: Al-Raḍī, Kitāb al-zina, Introduction, 38f.; al-Samarrā‘ī, al-Ghulāw, Introduction, 244. As al-Handarī writes in his Introduction, the Baghdad manuscript consists of large segments of the two parts of the work, but is incomplete at the beginning and at the end. Thus it begins with al-Raḍī’s comment on al-maḥlūl (al-Raḍī, Kitāb al-zina, 89) after — according to al-Handarī — around 20 lost pages of the first part, and ends with al-‘a‘īf wa‘l-qāṣīf wa‘l-taḍ‘ār towards the end of the second part (and thus not integrated in the editions of al-Handarī and Samarrā‘ī). Al-Handarī still uses several other, far more recent manuscripts. The Library of the Leipzig University Library contains the end of the first part and segments of the second part of the Kitāb al-zina. A list of the topics composed by the author can be found at the beginning of the work (al-Raḍī, Kitāb al-zina, 670). Our manuscript begins exactly where Hamdānī’s ends (i.e. after the entry hāb al-qiyāmah). It incorporates the complete heresiology edited by al-Samarrā‘ī (i.e. from the entries Abū dā‘ūd al-maṭḥūb fī wa‘l-‘a‘īf ‘alī al-maḥlūl ‘alī, followed by the entries al-maḥlūl ‘alī al-qāṣīf ‘alī wa‘l-taḍ‘ār, etc.) (see the entries abū ‘alī al-qāṣīf ‘alī wa‘l-taḍ‘ār, see also al-Raḍī, Kitāb al-zina, 68).

9 In view of its significance and value for Ismāʿīlī Studies, Ismail K. Poenawala’s Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī Literature (Malibu, CA 1977) urgently needs to be updated. For the collection of the Institute of Ismaili Studies that, since its foundation in 1977, has continuously acquired private and public
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In this article I would like to highlight some obvious and obscure contexts of this manuscript and begin by focusing on the author.

The Author of the Kitāb al-zīna

Little is known about Abū ʿḪāṭîm Ibn Ḥamādîn al-Rāzî’s origins. Presumably he was of Persian descent, although possibly he was Arab or North African. He was mainly active in the northern Iranian city of Rayy — to which the nisba al-Rāzî also refers — and, towards the end of his life, the province of Tabrīz, south of the Caspian Sea. The exact year of his birth is unknown, but it would seem that it was around 260/873-4. There is evidence that al-Rāzî was politically active as head of the Ismaʿili mission in Rayy from 300/912-13 until his death in 322/933-4. Prior to and during this political activity he came to prominence as the author of the Kitāb al-zīna and other important religious and philosophical works of early Ismaʿiliyya and as a disputant in various learned circles in Rayy and Baghdad.

The unknowns and uncertainties about al-Rāzî’s life are reflected in the diverse array of affiliations ascribed to him. The Baghdadi bookseller Ibn al-Nadîm (died at the beginning of the fifth century/eleventh century), for instance, characterized him as a former dualist (thanawî) who became a materialist (dahrî), then a heretic (thumma

10 There are several Persian and even Arab nisba attributed to al-Râzî and it has so far proven impossible to establish his descent with any certainty. Most probably he is of Persian descent and he is said to be a native of Bushâbîya (Bashābâyiya), but elsewhere he is also called al-Warsâsînî, in relation to a village in the district of Bushâbîya (Samuel Miklos Stern, ‘The Early Ismaʿili Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurâṣân and Transoxiana’, BSOAS 23 (1960), 56–90, here 61, including note 1; idem, in Encyclopedia of Islam. New Edition, (Leiden 1960–2004), vol. 1, 125, s.v. ‘Abû ʿḪāṭîm al-Râzî’ and al-Râzî, Kitāb al-zīna, Introduction, 29.) Ibn al-Nadîm, Kitâb al-fihrist, ed. Rûdî al-Taṣâdîdî, ed. (Tehran 1330h/1971), calls him — as the fifth leader of the Ismaʿili daʿwa in Rayy — Abû ʿḪāṭîm al-Warsâsî (239), then — as author of the Kitāb al-zīna — Abû ʿḪāṭîm al-Râzî (240).


12 See Ibn al-Nadîm, Kitâb al-fihrist, 239. See also Stern, Early Ismaʿili Missionaries, 83.
13 See also, 25, according to Murtâdî b. al-Dârî b. Ḥâsam al-Râzî et al.
14 See ibid., 32, according to Ibn Ḥājur al-Anṣârî.
15 See Stern, Early Ismaʿili Missionaries, 83, according to ‘Abû al-Qâbir al-Baghdâdî.
16 See Halm, Das Reich des Mahdi, 258, according to Idries Ismaʿîl al-Dîn.
17 See Heinz Halm, Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismaʿîlîya (Wiesbaden 1978); idem, Die islamische Gnosis (Zurich/Munich 1982).
Islamic laws annulled. During al-Rāzī’s lifetime, the Isma'ili movement was able to emerge from its clandestine existence and operate openly on the political stage, in particular in the west and south of the 'Abbāsid Empire. In response to this boldness, 'Abbāsid soldiers and ideological authorities pursued the Isma'ilis, who were not only targeted as heretics but also — and quite correctly — as dangerous enemies of the established Islamic Sunni order. At the turn of the fourth/tenth century, lines of conflict had opened between 'Abbāsids and Isma'ilis in the south and west.

Shortly before this happened, the Isma'ilis had split into two wings: the Qarma'tians and the Fātihimīs. Both independently propagated the dawn of the apocalypse, with each presenting a mahdi. To realize their political goals, the Qarma'tians had won over the Bedouins of Bahrain, whilst the ascending Fātihimīs gained the military support of the Berbers from the High Atlas.

From 310/923 onwards, the Qarma'tians penetrated repeatedly into the heart of the 'Abbāsid Empire from their base in Bahrain. They plundered the cities of Basra and Kufa and advanced towards Baghdad. Bloody assaults took place against caravans of pilgrims along the road to Mecca. In 315/928, the Qarma'tians penetrated into Mecca itself during the pilgrimage season, where they massacred pilgrims, derided the proclamations of the Qur'an and plundered the treasures and votive gifts from the Ka'ba. The black stone was broken out of the Ka'ba and carried off to Qarmanian territory. Further to the west, in North Africa, the establishment and rapid expansion of the Fātihimī dynasty from 297/909 onwards caused the 'Abbāsids enormous problems; only a few decades later in 358/969, this Fātihimī Empire would extend from its centre in Cairo over the Hijāz to the Palestinian and Syrian Levant and its hinterland.18

Whereas Sunnis and Isma'ilis were locked in political and ideological animosity, during al-Rāzī's lifetime affiliations were still in flux within the Shi'i, so that there were no continuous or definitive factions and groupings. But it would seem that al-Rāzī was a Qarma'tian for the longest period in his life,19 and so a representative of the pure Isma'ilī teachings of the original community, which preached — in a rebellious spirit of impending promise — the return of their messiah Muhammad b. Isma'il, the grandson of the Shi'i Imam Ja'far al-Sadīq. Indeed, it is very likely that, in the face of the horrific orgies of violence taking place as part of the uprising instigated by the Qarmanian Bedouins, al-Rāzī, like many other intellectual Qarma'tians, switched allegiance to the first Fātihimī caliphs. While not regarding the Fātihimīs as their religious leaders, they saw in them strong political leaders.

Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī in Rayy

In the context of these events, the old Iranian city of Rayy20 was the centre of the widespread network in which the dā'i al-Rāzī was active. Named Rhaqae in the empire of Alexander the Great, the place was an extremely significant juncture for important long-distance routes linking Iraq and Transoxania, the Caspian Sea and southern Iran. The majority of the population was Persian, but Arabs also lived in the city. Strategically important, Rayy was controlled by caliph-governors for a long period. In al-Rāzī’s lifetime, the fragmenting of the 'Abbāsid Empire resulted in political confrontation. In AH 289 the city was annexed by Sāmānids, a feudal Persian family who had established itself as a dynasty in Bukhara (204–395/819–1005).21 Over the next four decades Rayy was a bone of contention between the 'Abbāsids, Sāmānids, local rulers and Daylamī condottieri, who exploited the break-up of the 'Abbāsids Empire to establish short-lived principalties in northern Iran secured with private armies.22 For decades the city was almost continually the target of sieges, overthrows and conquests.

However, the disputed city was also a place of learning. According to the geographer Istakhrī, it was the most vital centre in the Mashriq after Baghdad. While the majority of the population was obviously drawn towards the Imāmite Shi'īs, Ḥadīth scholars, Shāfī'ī and Ḥanafī jurists and famous scientists were also active in the city.23 Since the early period of the Isma'ilīyya, roughly since the mid-third/ninth century, Rayy was also one of the most important and active centres of their subversive and anti-'Abbāsids propaganda in northern Iran,24 which aimed at converting members of ruling elites in particular.25 Al-Rāzī was the fifth of the successively active Isma'ilī missionaries there, taking office around the year 300/912–

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18 See Halm, Das Reich des Mahdi, 225–36 (Qarmanian uprisings).
19 See ibid., 169.

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24 Stern, Early Isma'ilī Missionsaries; Halim, Das Reich des Mahdi, 30–3.
25 Stern, Early Isma'ilī Missionsaries, 81.
13. From there he advised and guided the clandestine Ismā‘ili communities in the highlands of Daylam, in the coastal plains south of the Caspian Sea (Gilan and Tabaristan) and in the mountains (al-Jibal) down to Isfahan. He also maintained ties with leaders of other Ismā‘ili circles in Iran, Transoxiana and today’s Afghanistan. He entered into debate with one of them, Mūhammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafi, head of the da‘wa in northern Afghanistan and Bukhara, in his book Kītāb al-islāh (Book of the Correction) a response to al-Nasafi’s Kītāb al-mahṣūl (Book of the Yield). Al-Nasafi (his Arab ḥisba relates to the town Nakhsib in Transoxania where he was born) and his colleague Aḥmad b. Hātim al-Rāzī belonged to the first generation of the Ismā‘ili theologian-philosophers who elaborated complex metaphysical systems of thought combined with Neoplatonic emanational cosmology. As a missionary, al-Nasafi would become very successful later in his career, when he converted the Sāmānid governor Naṣr II b. Aḥmad (ruled 301–319/914–43).26

The Neoplatonic concepts and speculations of Ismā‘ili philosophy in Iran were attractive for Sunnī and Shi‘ī (Imāmī) intellectuals who, from the third/ninth century onwards, adapted and discussed the Platonic, Aristotelian, and the thought of Late Antiquity available in Arabic translation. Thus, Aḥmad b. Hātim engaged in philosophical debates with the famous philosopher-physician Aḥmad b. Ṭabarī, known as Rhazes in the Occident. As a linguist, Aḥmad b. Hātim al-Rāzī presumably also travelled to Baghdad for talks with the grammarian and philologist Aḥmad b. Ṭabarī, a journey in the lion’s den for an Ismā‘ili. There are also indications of a stay in North Africa before the establishment of the Fāṭimid Caliphate (297/875).33

As we can see, al-Rāzī’s known political and scholarly activities were diverse and took place in different supra-regional circles and networks. Tājīya, dissimulation, the act of consciously hiding one’s true religious-political affiliations, was a key survival strategy for him in some of these circles. In the process, the boundary

35 See ibid., 66, according to al-Shī‘ī.
36 See ibid., 64.
37 See ibid., 66, according to al-Maqṣūfī.
38 See Halm, Das Reich des Mahdī, 258; Stern, Early Ismā‘ili Missionaries, 67.
39 See Stern, Early Ismā‘ili Missionaries, 80. For more details on al-Nasafī see Halm, Das Reich des ...
the successor of the two perished da’wa leaders, Abū Ya’qūb al-Sijistānī, probably suffered the same fate.40

* The Kitāb al-zīna

Al-Rāzī himself explains his title, Kitāb al-zīna, in his Introduction, stating that knowledge of the included terms is not only essential for jurists (fuqahā’) and literalists (udāhā’) but constitute brilliant ornaments (zīna ‘ażīna) for men of religion who comprise the virtues of manhood and chivalry (murū’at). The book encompasses expressions used by legal scholars (‘ulamā’), linguists, and men of tradition, as well as famous poets who use the unfamiliar terms from the Qur’ān (gharīb al-qur’ān) and from the Hadith (gharib al-hadīth) in their poems. Furthermore, it contains names, duties and rare expressions mentioned in the sharī’a and the Sunna (sunan).41

The work, thus dedicated to a broad range of scholars and literalists, follows in the tradition of the ‘deductive’ or ‘etymological school’ (al-madrasa al-štīqāqiyya) that developed and flourished in Abū Ḥātim’s time and enjoyed a boom with Ibn Fāris’ dictionary Maqābīs al-lughā at the end of the fourth/eleventh century.42 The method of the Arab linguists and lexicographers (such as the famous Abū Bakr b. Durayd, who was a contemporary of Abū Ḥātim and died in 321/933), who were members of the school, consisted in the derivation of a term (or a nomen personalis or locis) from the basic meaning of an Arabic root (e.g. Iblīs from ablaša, ‘he despaired’ and jiimat ‘adān — paradise — from ‘adāna bī’l-makān, ‘he remained, stayed, dwelt in a place’). Terms or names, whether Arabic or non-Arabic, and their various morphemes, and even homonyms (e.g. al-‘ayn ‘eye’ and ‘fountain’) were thus derived from a single, often ancient and forgotten meaning to which they still have an etymological and semantic/essential connection.43

In the Kitāb al-zīna over 400 terms and names from the Qur’ān, the Hadith and Islamic law are explained, covering such topics as: the world, the hereafter, creation, spirit, the soul, fate, angels, demons and the devil. But the book also includes the names of non-Islamic religious groups such as Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and Sabaeans, as well as dealing with political and social organizational forms like city, country, province, people and clan and listing the names of important Arab cities. The book was particularly well-known between the sixth and ninth centuries of the Islamic calendar and was used and quoted as a source by scores of authors, for example by the grammarian Abū Muhammad ‘Abdallāh b. Muhammad al-Batālyūsī (d. 521/1127), by the author of the geographical dictionary Kitāb al-buldān, Yaqūt al-Rūmī al-Hamawī (d. 626/1229), by the versatile religious scholar Jālāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī (d. 911/1505) and others.44

In addition, the Kitāb al-zīna contains, as mentioned before, a heresiology section, which gives the names, origins and teachings of contemporary Islamic ‘sects and religious groups’ of the Sunna, Khārijyya, Shi‘a, and the so-called ghulūt, the Shi‘i ‘exaggerators’, the Shi‘a identity was unknown.

Thus the work is characterized by dissimulation of actual belief coupled with simulation of a seemingly Sunnī affiliation so the book could move inconspicuously in the ‘politically correct’ Sunnī tradition. However, if one reads more closely, then expressions of the author’s veiled religious identity become discernible. Although many of the addressees were ideological opponents of the ‘ulamā’, allusions and subtexts in the heresiology section skillfully reveal Isnā’i religious truths.

The Islamic heresiology is, after all, a genre that grew out of a religious polemic that extended back to the second/eighth century and reached its peak in the third and fourth centuries of the Islamic calendar.45 As is common in the genre, rebuttal and

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40 See Stern, Early Isnā’i Missionaries, 81; Halm, Das Reich des Mahādī, 336f; Daftary, A Short History, 84f; Like Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and al-Nasafi, al-Sijistānī belonged to the Iranian ‘philosophical Isnā’iyya’. He is the author of the Kitāb al-yamīnī’ (Book of the Welfports) and other writings that discuss the Neo-Platonic Isnā’i cosmology.

41 See al-Rāzī, Kitāb al-zīna, 67.

42 See ibid., Introduction, 13.

43 See ibid., 12f, 22–4.

44 See ibid., 28f.

45 See Madelung, Häresiographie, 374; Wilfred Madelung, ‘Das Ismā’īl in der frühen islamischen Lehre’, Der Islam 37 (1961), 43–135, here 80 and Wilfred Madelung, ‘Bemerkungen zur islamischen Fiqh-Literatur’, Der Islam 43 (1967), 37–52, here 37f. The so far oldest known heresiography is the Kiṭeb al-‘išra’īl al-nās fhīl-‘imāma (People’s Dissent in Respect of the Imamate), written by the Kufan Imāmī Mīhīm b. al-Khakān (d. 179/959) in the late second/eighth century. This work has been
apologetics appear to be the goal and purpose of the heresiological section in the Kitāb al-zīna, and thus extreme caution was imperative for the dissimulating Ismā’īlī author. Al-Rāzī thus initially underpins the legitimacy of the Sunna with ample references to the Qur’ān and Ḥadīth, appearing to profess to the Sunna. Nevertheless, the Sunnāš, who he calls pejoratively ‘the devotees of Mu’tawiyah’ at another place in the book,⁴⁶ are presented as those who are genuinely the fallen and entangled in dispute.⁴⁷ In contrast, the Shi’a are presented as one large current, namely the party of ‘Ahl, which he proves for example by employing the term ‘shi’a’ always in the singular and never in the plural.⁴⁸

He proceeds with even greater tactical skill in the section on the ‘Ismā’īlīyya (al Istamal Ilyya), where he discusses the legitimacy of the male successors of Ja’far al-Sādiq.⁴⁹ After the death of this imam, followers gathered around each of his sons, causing a far-reaching schism in the Shi’a, which was the origin for the separation of the Ismā’īlīya from the Imāmite Shi’a. In his commentaries on the various pretenders, al-Rāzī does not shy away from contradicting and criticizing. Only one line, namely that which traces the Ismā’īlī imam succession up to the mādjd Muhammad b. Ismā’īl b. Ja’far, is spared commentary and thus critique by the author. At the end of the section he writes, as if he wants to arouse the fascination and curiosity of his addressees, ‘and they have other arguments, including some which they show and some which they hide … Many people support this teaching and they are becoming more every day.’⁵⁰

Due to the time and place of its origin, the Leipzig manuscript is very close to al-Rāzī, to his life and the events of the age. It is notable that it contains small but not unimportant differences to another old manuscript of the Kitāb al-zīna which, at the time the Leipzig manuscript was acquired, was preserved in the National Museum in Baghdad.⁵¹ In contrast to this manuscript, the Leipzig manuscript includes Shi’ī eulogies to religious authorities. From this we may conclude that the work continued to be passed on in Shi’ī and perhaps even secret Ismā’īlis circles in Rayy after al-Rāzī’s flight and death. What is certain is that it was well hidden, for unlike most of the city’s inhabitants and their possessions, it survived the destruction wreaked by the Mongols in 617/1220.

The Leipzig manuscript can thus be identified as an authentic and fascinating work from the very same sphere of secrecy to which Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī himself belonged two hundred years before.

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⁴⁶ See al-Samarrā’ī, al-Ghawwāh, 262.
⁴⁷ See ibid., 252ff, particularly 255.
⁴⁸ See ibid., 259-62, particularly 262.
⁴⁹ See ibid., 287-9.
⁵⁰ Preserved in the heresiographies of Abū Ḥātim’s ‘Imāmite contemporaries Hasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī (Kitab fiṣq al-Shī‘a - The Religious Groups/Sects of the Shi‘a) and Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qummi (Kitāb al-maqālid wa-l-fīṣq - The Book of the Doctrines and Religious Groups/Sects). According to Madelung’s analysis Qummi’s work is a slightly supplemented and updated version of the Kitab fiṣq al-Shī‘a. Probably this book, that was written before the year 286/899 — the year of the Qarmatian uprising in Bahrain — was one of the sources of the Kitab al-zīna (Taimura Bayhū-Dīn, ‘The Second-Century Shi‘ite Guila: Were they really Gnostic’, JAIS 5 [2003-4], 13-61, here 13, and Madelung, Ḥawariyogic, 375f). However, al-Hamdilīnī maintains, without going into detail, an opposite influence (al-Rāzī, Kitāb al-zīna, Introduction, 260). A source-critical analysis regarding this and other open questions concerning the heresiographical influences in and of the Kitāb al-zīna is left to future research.
⁵¹ Used by ʿIṣnāwī al-Hamdilīnī and ‘Abdallāh al-Samarrā’ī, see note 8 above.