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Correspondance Corbin-Ivanow

Lettres échangées entre Henry Corbin et Vladimir Ivanow de 1947 à 1966

publiées par

Sabine Schmidtke

Préface de Christian Jambet

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PRÉFACE

par Christian JAMBET

Les correspondances nous charment et nous captivent. Nous y trouvons ce qui nous paraît être le secret de ceux qui se sont confiés l'un à l'autre, quelque chose comme l'envers de la création. Lorsque les correspondants sont deux grands savants, nous attendons de leurs lettres qu'elles nous révèlent ce que leurs ouvrages destinés à la publication nous dérobent. Non pas l'anecdote biographique (même si nous y prenons plaisir) mais ce que furent les *sujets* de ce savoir et de cette pensée. Nous imaginons que les échanges privés nous dévoileront le visage qui s'est absenté et retiré loin en arrière du travail scientifique. Nous voulons savoir comment une vie s'est donné cohérence, unité, puissance, dans la multiplicité des jours qui, pour nous, est chaos ou évanouissement. Au fond, ce n'est pas autre chose que la correspondance nous promet: l'unité harmonieuse d'un dessein accompli, ou du moins la courbe pleinement révélée d'un destin.

Ces quelques raisons d'aimer les correspondances, ces occasions qu'elles donnent au rêve, justifieraient la publication que voici. Vingt années de la vie de Henry Corbin et de Wladimir Ivanow s'en trouvent éclairées, comme si l'ésotérique, le *bâtin* venait à la surface du sens illuminer le *zâhir*, l'apparent et promettait l'accès à la *haqîqat,* à la réalité effective de deux âmes. Cet emprunt cavalier au vocabulaire technique de l'ismaélisme, nous le défendrons, s'il est vrai que l'intériorité de la recherche est bien ce que nous espérons de la lecture de cette Correspondance, une intériorité qui peut bien être imaginaire, mais qui constitue cette silhouette un peu tremblante et indécise que nous aimons nommer l'auteur.

Mais il est d'autres raisons encore que le plaisir d'une telle révélation. Les lettres que se sont adressées Henry Corbin et Wladimir Ivanow sont un témoignage d'une époque singulièrement vivante de l'orientalisme et de la philosophie. A ce seul titre déjà elles ont un vif pouvoir d'attraction. Les deux savants qui s'entretiennent ici vivent séparés par des obstacles matériels, géographiques, mais ils sont unis par un commun désir de découverte. Pendant vingt années, ils ne se parlent que d'une seule chose, de ce désir. Les événements contingents de l'existence ne sont évoqués qu'à regret, comme on signale ce qui vous a aidé, ou au contraire entravé, dans votre quête. Le personnage dominant, principal,

envahissant la scène, est le livre, ou plutôt ce qui va bientôt prendre forme de livre, le manuscrit inconnu. Les lettres de Henry Corbin sont presque entièrement occupées de cet unique souci: recevoir le livre rare, ou le manuscrit unique. Si celui-ci n'est pas accessible directement, si l'on ne peut l'acquérir, il faudra le copier, le faire copier plutôt par les mains patientes de copistes médiévaux. On imagine mal aujourd'hui, quand nous disposons de tant de moyens de transmission et de copie mécanique, les impasses qui pouvaient alors entraver une recherche. A cette inlassable curiosité de H. Corbin répondent les envois de W. Ivanow, et, en retour, les quêtes que celui-ci entreprend, ses propres demandes. La science est d'abord découverte du toujours neuf, édition et mise à jour des écritures enfouies: une archéologie des textes.

Ainsi d'autres personnages familiers se mettent en place: l'imprimerie héroïque de l'Institut d'Iranologie, à laquelle répondent les imprimeurs de Bombay, les assistants et les collaborateurs, quand il y en a: W. Ivanow se plaint assez de sa solitude, et il dit la commune destinée des deux chercheurs, cette solitude qui est sagesse et souffrance à la fois. Ces personnages agissent sous le regard d'un témoin privilégié, dont la présence est essentielle: Madame Stella Corbin, à qui bien des lettres de W. Ivanow sont adressées et qui est l'incarnation d'une douce et forte vigilance, indispensable à l'essor de l'œuvre. Il est curieux, parfois amusant, de mesurer combien cette présence *agit* sur la correspondance des deux savants, assure, dirait-on, la scansion du temps retrouvé.

La recherche ne va pas sans errance. Aux desseins fixés, viennent s'ajouter, pour les changer brusquement, les sollicitations du moment, comme la célébration du Millénaire d'Avicenne, qui offre occasion à H. Corbin de rédiger son *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*. La découverte d'un manuscrit engendre une œuvre imprévue, la réception d'un livre nourrit une synthèse sans lui impossible. Le tissu de la nécessité se trame de la contingence radicale de ces événements du savoir. Mais un fil unique sauve la contingence de la dispersion.

Le lecteur découvre aussi les traits récurrents des caractères. Les lettres ont affaire à ce qu'il faut bien nommer la psychologie de leurs auteurs. W. Ivanow manifeste une sorte de mélancolie qui fait se hâter les récits qu'il fait de sa vie sous le fouet d'une anxiété permanente. Les ennuis, les difficultés, les prix exorbitants (à ses yeux) qu'ont toutes choses, les arbres tristes de Bombay, les arbres verts de Paris, les rendez-vous manqués avec l'Agha Khan... rien n'est oublié des tribulations permanentes. De là cette férocité parfois dans le jugement dont il accable ses collègues, et qui est la cause d'un échange piquant avec H. Corbin, à

propos de Nâsir-e Khosraw. Rien n'a grâce à ses yeux. Les lettres de H. Corbin, moins nombreuses, nous révèlent une âme plus paisible, une sorte d'ouverture au monde et d'adhésion enthousiaste: ne dit-il pas qu'il se fait comme ismaélien pour lire un auteur ismaélien? non qu'il soit devenu tel par conversion religieuse, mais qu'il tente de voir comme celui qu'il étudie voyait. Il fond son regard dans le regard qu'il cherche à saisir, car c'est ce regard, plus que les choses contemplées, qui lui importe. A la mélancolie d'Ivanow, qui souffre des transports impossibles comme de la vue des cafés parisiens, répond la clarté apollinienne de H. Corbin. L'amitié est ici dialogue de deux tonalités de l'âme.

L'humour est, sans doute, cette façon de sentir qui leur est commune. L'humour de W. Ivanow répond au non-sens d'un univers qui lui paraît être arrivé à son crépuscule. L'humour de H. Corbin est témoin des vanités de toute forme d'univers sensible. L'un désagrège le monde, l'autre s'éloigne en souriant du monde. L'essentiel est hors du chaos des choses humaines. Il faut songer que cette aptitude à s'évader de la pesanteur des choses est condition d'une extraordinaire intrépidité, d'une endurance dans le savoir. Quant au monde qui s'en défait, c'est le monde de l'immédiat après-guerre, celui qui suscite l'indignation généreuse de L. Massignon, l'univers privé de finalité. Il reste que l'ascèse scientifique n'a pas exactement la même signification chez les deux savants qui correspondent. Les lettres sont dirigées par deux orientations différentes, qui contraignent à deux types de recherche. Pour H. Corbin, la philosophie peut et doit se saisir du fait religieux, pour W. Ivanow, toute philosophie est chimérique en science des religions.

C'est une divergence majeure. Elle s'exprime singulièrement dans les attitudes théoriques respectives prises à l'égard de l'Ismaélisme. C'est, en vérité, bien plus qu'une question de méthode: l'objet même de la recherche est en jeu. Au risque de simplifier les termes de cette contradiction, reprenons à notre compte la présentation qu'en propose H. Corbin: s'adressant à W. Ivanow, il oppose sa propre démarche, celle d'une philosophie du fait religieux à ce qu'il désigne sous le chef d'une «sociologie des religions». Ivanow pratiquerait une telle sociologie, renonçant à toute analyse de la spiritualité ismaélienne en termes de philosophie. Cette opposition simple, d'une philosophie et d'une sociologie a pour mérite d'éclairer l'enjeu du débat. Il ne s'agit de rien moins que de la vérité du *fait* spirituel.

Selon W. Ivanow, la vérité du discours spirituel réside dans l'ensemble de ses conditions historiques déterminées. C'est dire que les textes ismaéliens *nizârîs* qu'il publie entrent en une relation dialectique avec

l'histoire de la communauté qui les a vus naître. D'un bord, le sens des textes s'absorbe entièrement dans la vie de cette communauté, et n'exprime rien d'autre, en dernière instance, que la vision du monde propre à des fidèles historiquement constitués par l'organisation communautaire. C'est pourquoi W. Ivanow dit préférer aux textes à haute teneur métaphysique les œuvres plus populaires, celles qui reflètent la façon de sentir de la communauté comme telle. C'est ainsi qu'il peut écrire à H. Corbin que les *Pandiyât-e javânmardî* n'ont aucun intérêt philosophique. Ce n'est pas à ses yeux, qu'ils soient vides de sens, mais au contraire qu'ils expriment un sens plus riche, parce qu'il s'agit là de recommandations morales et politiques précises (par exemple, le texte insiste sur l'exigence pour le fidèle de payer la taxe rituelle à l'Imam).

Quant aux textes plus directement axés sur les concepts religieux majeurs, tels que *Rawdat al-taslîm* de Nasîr al-Dîn Tûsî, ou les *Haft bâb* de Abû Ishâq Quhistânî, leur intérêt est moins dans la structure de leur problématique, dans l'intention de signification qui les anime, que dans ce qu'ils nous enseignent de l'évolution de la communauté *nizârî* elle-même. Au fond, Ivanow n'est pas loin d'adopter implicitement la thèse de Marx: l'idéologie n'a pas d'histoire. Entendons, pas d'histoire *sui generis*, précisément parce que l'idéologie est le monde réel lui-même dans l'image renversée qu'en offre la *camera obscura* d'un système de représentations renversées d'un monde réel. Le réel, c'est la communauté, entendue au sens d'une structure sociale déterminée. Que W. Ivanow ne soit pas marxiste, la chose va de soi. Mais qu'il adopte les prémisses d'une sociologie des religions dont Marx a fixé au plus haut point la règle, en déterminant le concept d'idéologie, la chose n'est pas moins assurée. De là l'amicale critique de Henry Corbin: la méthode en question manquerait le fait religieux comme tel.

Soyons plus précis. La méthode historienne qui fait du texte spirituel le témoin d'autre chose que soi, l'expression d'un ensemble de conditions matérielles déterminées, traite le texte comme un système de représentations. Or qui dit représentation dit qu'il existe quelque chose, — les conditions matérielles d'existence d'une communauté historique précise — et que cette réalité est la vérité du texte spirituel. En ce sens, Marx est, sans doute, le plus rigoureux penseur de l'histoire, et la science des religions peut sans doute s'éloigner de lui, elle reste encore foncièrement tributaire de son concept de l'idéologie. La fécondité de la recherche s'éprouve alors dans l'aptitude du chercheur à multiplier les témoignages de la représentation religieuse, à cette fin ultime: éclairer le mode de vie d'une communauté. De là l'intérêt d'Ivanow pour les textes les plus

populaires, son insistance à découvrir ce que les textes disent d'une communauté populaire comme telle. De là aussi qu'Ivanow distingue, au sein même des textes, ceux qui ont pour vertu de représenter les représentations populaires, des plus hautes cimes de la spéculation: à ses yeux, l'apogée de la spéculation, dans le domaine ismaélien, se situe dans quelques édifices de la philosophie de l'époque fâtimide (par exemple les œuvres de Kermânî) tandis que la plus grande partie de ce qui suit est compilation, redite, simplification, autant de traces d'une vie populaire qui n'ont de sens qu'au travers de l'examen de cette vie populaire.

C'est ainsi que W. Ivanow peut proposer une lecture du *Livre réunissant les deux sagesses*, de Nâsir-e Khosraw, qui déprécie l'originalité de l'œuvre. Il pourrait sembler, à première vue, que cette dépréciation soit un jugement arbitraire. Tel est bien le reproche que lui fait H. Corbin. Mais celui-ci pousse plus loin la critique: W. Ivanow n'aurait de goût que pour les témoignages d'une représentation populaire, communautaire, manquant ainsi la densité originale d'une visée religieuse *sui generis*.

Bien évidemment, la méthode d'Ivanow comme sa conception du fait religieux, ont leur fécondité propre. Nous leur devons la découverte de plusieurs œuvres de la littérature *nizârî* qui doivent leur résurrection sous forme de publication savante à cette méthode et à elle seule. C'est qu'Ivanow, fidèle à la perspective historienne, cherche à multiplier les *documents*. Il tente de compléter le plus possible la représentation de l'idéologie communautaire. Il reste que, ce faisant, il fait plus encore: il offre au lecteur, ici à H. Corbin, des textes dont il ne soupçonne pas lui-même l'importance pour l'évaluation d'une visée transhistorique. En éditant des textes dont il ne veut pas connaître la teneur éventuelle, en méprisant mystique et spiritualité (il les renvoie à la pure et simple psychiatrie), Ivanow offre paradoxalement à l'analyse des œuvres qui peuvent être mises en rapport, non seulement avec l'histoire de leur communauté, mais, transversalement, avec d'autres champs de la mystique et de la spiritualité. Se dessinent alors des configurations qui ne sont pas celles des représentations, mais celles des expériences. Au fond, entre Henry Corbin et Wladimir Ivanow, le débat est là: les œuvres sont-elles avant tout les éléments d'une généalogie de l'expérience religieuse et morale ou les témoins de représentations idéologiques?

Selon H. Corbin, la véritable histoire des textes s'écrit selon cette relation «transversale» entre champs connexes de l'expérience. C'est pourquoi, renonçant à «l'homme» Nâsir-e Khosraw, renonçant aussi bien à l'histoire sociale dont cet homme est tributaire, il recherche l'historialité de l'ismaélisme, la courbe du sens que l'histoire ismaélienne révèle.

De là son impératif, qu'il exprime clairement dans sa réponse à Ivanow: lisant un philosophe, il faut intensifier au plus haut point la visée de ce philosophe, pousser aux limites la vérité dont celui-ci est porteur, non la vérité du texte hors de lui, mais sa vérité structurale. Telle est la conséquence de la méthode «phénoménologique» qu'il se propose d'adopter. L'œuvre est située en un point significatif de la courbe transhistorique qu'elle révèle. Son sens historique n'est pas derrière elle, mais dans son propre avenir, c'est-à-dire dans son pouvoir d'actualisation au présent.

H. Corbin renverse ainsi la perspective historique: la véritable histoire, l'historialité des œuvres, ne se situe pas dans leur condition matérielle d'existence, comme représentation d'un monde, mais dans leur pouvoir de faire effet de monde, dans leur puissance événementielle propre. De là qu'il soit possible de mettre en corrélation la problématique ismaélienne, la gnose antique, le manichéisme etc. L'anti-historicisme bien connu de H. Corbin ne se veut pas ennemi de l'histoire, mais configuration potentielle de l'historial. En portant l'intention de signification du texte à sa plus haute intensité, H. Corbin veut révéler ce que le texte nous dit de l'histoire réelle d'une figure de l'Esprit. A certains égards, il s'agirait presque d'un hégélianisme de la méta-histoire.

Il ne s'agit pas, faut-il le répéter après bien des attestations que l'on découvre chez H. Corbin, d'un idéalisme anti-historique. Il s'agit plutôt de dégager les véritables enjeux de l'histoire, sans lesquels la vie communautaire serait elle-même inintelligible. Il reste cependant que le fait spirituel prend des sens radicalement opposés, qu'on le prenne comme simple document idéologique, ou qu'on en intensifie la portée au niveau transhistorique où on le situera. Dans cette correspondance, un tel choix s'exprime: H. Corbin ne cesse de réclamer ce qu'il nomme des textes «abstrus», philosophiquement denses. Et W. Ivanow de lui répondre que telle œuvre qu'il édite n'intéressera pas son collègue et ami, parce qu'elle ne possède pas cette densité philosophique requise. En quoi, sans doute, il se trompe: aucun texte n'est purement et simplement un témoin représentatif de l'idéologie. Comme aucun texte abstrus n'est libre des liens qui l'unissent à la vie communautaire.

Le lecteur découvrira, dans cet échange de lettres, cette tension, ces contradictions, un débat d'ensemble qui exprime bien le dilemme qui a travaillé la science des religions: histoire et phénoménologie, histoire matérielle ou historialité. Il faut rendre hommage au travail éditorial rigoureux de Mlle Sabine Schmidtke, qui nous permet aujourd'hui d'en recevoir le témoignage.

INTRODUCTION DE L'ÉDITEUR

Dans ce volume, publié grâce à la bienveillante attention de Madame Stella Corbin, on trouvera l'édition de la correspondance entre d'une part Vladimir Alekseevitch Ivanov (1886-1970, plus connu sous la graphie Wladimir Ivanow), et d'autre part Henry Corbin (1903-1978) et sa femme Stella, entre 1947 et 1966.

Cette correspondance comprend 74 lettres écrites par Ivanow dont 65 adressées à Henry Corbin et neuf à Stella Corbin: sauf pour deux lettres perdues, toutes sont éditées d'après l'original. Par contre l'original des lettres des Corbin à Ivanow est perdu. Seules 13 des lettres adressées à Ivanow, dont Henry Corbin avait gardé le double, ont été conservées; la première, qui ouvre la correspondance, écrite probablement début 1947, précéde celle datée du 3 juillet 1947 par laquelle Corbin explique les raisons de la fondation de son Département d'Iranologie. La dernière lettre de Henry Corbin conservée date du 25 avril 1956. De Stella Corbin, aucune n'a été conservée. On a laissé dans cette édition la copie d'une lettre d'Ivanow à Frédéric Max et une autre (en anglais) de Louis Massignon à Ivanow, dont ce dernier avait envoyé la copie à Henry Corbin. Toutes les lettres sont présentées dans l'ordre chronologique.

Le texte de cette correspondance, entièrement dactylographié, a été reproduit le plus fidèlement possible, avec seulement des retouches minimales pour l'orthographe ou la ponctuation là où cela s'imposait. Une lettre seulement présentait des difficultés en raison de dommages subis par le papier. Les lettres de Corbin dont seule la copie-carbone subsiste, ne comprennent pas les éventuelles corrections manuelles de dernière minute. On a restitué dans la plupart des cas l'adresse de rédaction grâce à l'évidence fournie par le texte. Dans quelques cas les abréviations ont été développées afin de faciliter la lecture, mais les règles de transcription utilisées par chaque auteur ont été respectées.

Afin de ne pas alourdir la lecture, les notes infrapaginales ont été réduites au minimum. On a également ajouté, avec quelques références bibliographiques, un répertoire biographique des personnes évoquées dans la correspondance et dans les notes.

Pour U.

REMERCIEMENTS

Je remercie celles et ceux qui ont contribué par divers moyens à la réalisation de ce livre. Stella Corbin m'a généreusement donné l'accès à cette correspondance et m'a autorisée à en préparer l'édition. Elle m'a communiqué en plus des informations importantes sur le temps qu'elle a passé, en compagnie du regretté Henry Corbin, avec Wladimir Ivanow. À mes questions sur des points particuliers les personnes suivantes ont obligeamment répondu: Louis Amigues, Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, Kamran Amir Arjomand, Jalal H. Badakhchani, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, Farhad Daftary, Daniel Frank, Birgitt Hoffmann, Christian Jambet, Hazel et Malcolm Joynes, Wilferd Madelung, Dominique Mallet, Francis Richard, Yann Richard, et Brian A. Sullivan. Merci à Elizabeth Pond pour son aide dans les documents en russe et à Ruth Walker qui a lu entièrement le texte en me faisant profiter de ses commentaires précieux et de ses suggestions sur le fond et la forme, et à Susanne Lüdke pour la saisie du manuscrit. Pour finir, je suis reconnaissante envers la fondation Alexander von Humboldt qui m'a accordé en 1996 une bourse Feodor Lynen grâce à laquelle j'ai pu préparer la présente édition et envers l'Institut d'études iraniennes de la Sorbonne nouvelle qui l'a accueillie dans sa collection.

S. SCHMIDTKE

1. *Henry Corbin à Ivanow, s.d.*

Département d'Iranologie

[Téhéran, sans date]

[...]

Par deux petits volumes arrivés ici à l'Université, j'ai su que vous aviez fondé l'Ismaili Society[1]. J'applaudis de tout cœur à cette belle initiative et je voudrais vous exprimer le désir d'être membre de votre Société, quitte à résoudre ici avec des amis ayant des relations aux Indes le problème de vous faire parvenir ma cotisation. Les livres arrivent lentement et difficilement. M. Kashin, notre libraire orientaliste, m'annonce depuis pas mal de temps l'arrivée d'un lot de vos publications. Mais nous ne voyons rien venir et je m'en désespère. Il nous faudrait trouver un moyen pratique de faire venir ici *toutes* vos publications, anciennes et nouvelles, au besoin procéder par échanges. Mais la poste marche-t-elle bien?

À l'occasion d'une rencontre récente, j'ai appris du professeur Sa'îd Naficy que peut-être vous passeriez cet automne par Téhéran, en vous rendant au Caire où vous étiez invité à faire des Conférences. C'est une nouvelle qui m'a rendu tout à fait heureux et j'exprime le vœu que vous puissiez réaliser ce beau projet. Je voudrais même vous demander, tant je me réjouirais de pouvoir vous rencontrer, s'il vous est possible de préciser la date éventuelle de votre passage. Je dois en effet me rendre à

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[1] L'IS fut fondée à Bombay, en Inde, le 16 février 1946, à l'initiative de WI et sous le patronage du troisième Agha Khan, Sultân Muhammad Shâh (1294-1376/1877-1959), le 48ème imam des ismaéliens Nizâris. Son premier but était, selon les statuts: «the promotion of independent and critical study of all matters connected with Ismailism», avec comme principe déclaré de s'abstenir de toute activité de propagande religieuse ou politique. L'IS devait remplacer l'IRA, fondée également à l'itiniative de WI à Bombay, le 1er février 1933, déjà sous l'égide de l'Agha Khan III, avec pour objectif «the promotion of research in all branches of Islamic learning, the giving of aid, financial and other, to scholars doing research, and of authoritative information on Islamic subjects to those who desire it». Voir F. Daftary, «Anjoman-e Esmâ'îlî (Isma'ili Society)», *EIR*, vol. 2, p. 84; id., «Isma'ilis and Isma'ili Studies», *Medieval Isma'ili History and Thought*, ed. F. Daftary, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 11; *The Ismaili Society of Bombay. The Tenth Anniversary (16-2-1946 – 16-2-1956)*, ed. W. Ivanow, Bombay: Ismaili Printing Press, 1956. Voir aussi «The Islamic Research Association», *JRAS* (1938), pp. 480-81; Md Hamidullah, «Lettres de l'Inde», *REI* 16 (1948), p. 67; P. Kraus, «La Bibliographie ismaëlienne de W. Ivanow», *REI* 6 (1932), p. 484 n. 1.

Mashhad pour quelques semaines, en septembre-octobre, et je voudrais calculer ce voyage d'après la date de votre venue à Téhéran, tant je serais navré de vous manquer[2]. Nous aurions en effet bien des choses à nous dire et des projets à esquisser. Comme Orientalistes, nous ne sommes certes pas exilés en Orient, mais tout de même, il est important de nous rencontrer parfois pour nos recherches.

J'ai précisément séjourné trois semaines au Caire en décembre dernier, où je devais faire le Catalogue des papiers laissés par notre regretté ami Paul Kraus. J'ai pu à cette occasion avoir de bons entretiens avec notre ami le Dr. Kâmil Hosayn. Il était en plein travail, mais la tâche est vraiment écrasante et l'on se demande si, avec le climat du Caire, une vie humaine peut y suffire! Puissent nos amis ismaéliens comprendre, nonobstant toute la discrétion qui s'impose, cet intérêt si puissant qu'éveille leur pensée chez les philosophes.

J'espère que cette première lettre vous parviendra bien. En vous exprimant encore notre espoir d'une féconde coopération future et celui d'une prochaine rencontre à Téhéran, je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Professeur et Cher Collègue, l'hommage de mes sentiments très sincères et dévoués.

Henry CORBIN
Dir. du Dépt. d'Iranologie

2. *Henry Corbin à Ivanow, 3 juillet 1947*

Département d'Iranologie

[Téhéran,] 3 juillet 1947

Monsieur le Professeur et cher Collègue,

Il y a quelques temps sans doute que j'aurais dû vous écrire pour vous informer d'une nouvelle dont l'en-tête de cette lettre vous dit déjà l'essentiel. Il a été ouvert ce printemps à Téhéran un Institut franco-iranien qui, à côté de son organisation culturelle, comprend un département consacré à la recherche purement scientifique. Nous avons trouvé plus significatif de le désigner par le néologisme qui tend à se répandre de plus en plus ici même et de l'appeler *Département d'Iranologie*[3]. C'est à

[2] Sur la mission de HC à Mashhad, voir ses lettres à Émile Benveniste des 15 mai et 31 octobre 1947, *Henry Corbin*, ed. Ch. Jambet, Paris: L'Herne, 1981 (Cahiers de l'Herne, 39), pp. 314-15 [cité désormais *Cahier de l'Herne HC*].

[3] C'est pendant une conférence donnée sous la présidence de Pur-e Dâvûd (1886-1968), au Musée archéologique de Téhéran, que fut conçue l'idée d'un 'Département d'Iranologie'

moi-même qu'incombe la direction de ce Département, mais naturellement le travail scientifique se poursuivra en liaison avec le nouvel Institut d'études iraniennes de l'Université de Paris dont, vous le savez, M. Massignon est tout particulièrement avec MM. Massé et Benveniste l'inspirateur. Ce petit Département reste distinct de la *Mission archéologique,* et va donc pouvoir se consacrer entièrement aux tâches de l'Orientalisme proprement dit[4]. Personnellement, il y a déjà un an et demi que je suis ici même en Iran et que j'ai poursuivi pas mal de recherches dans les fonds manuscrits des bibliothèques[5]. Ces derniers mois ont été absorbés par la préparation de premières conférences et par l'installation matérielle des différents organes que doit comprendre notre Département.

Je suis donc heureux d'avoir à porter à votre connaissance cette bonne nouvelle. Je le suis à un double titre: à titre de collègue, parce que devant les tâches accablantes que nous réserve encore l'iranologie, j'exprime l'espoir que nous allons pouvoir à l'avenir nous entr'aider. À titre personnel aussi, parce que j'ai suivi avec un intérêt croissant vos passionnants travaux et que mes propres recherches se recroisent souvent avec les vôtres. Mon champ d'exploration à travers la philosophie et le soufisme iranien a été spécialement centré sur les *Ishrâqîyûn*. Je vous ai adressé l'été dernier un petit volume publié ici même à Téhéran (comme t. III de la Société d'Iranologie de M. Pouré Davoud) sur la philosophie de Sohravardî[6]. Mais Dieu sait si avec les communications encore incertaines, ce petit ouvrage vous est jamais parvenu! Je n'avais malheureusement pas pu vous envoyer antérieurement un gros volume publié à Istanbul, qui représente le tome I de l'édition princeps des œuvres arabes

à l'intérieur de l'Institut franco-iranien qui venait d'être créé. Cf. «Repères biographiques», *Cahier de l'Herne HC,* p. 18. Voir également H. Corbin, «Post-Scriptum biographique à un Entretien philosophique», *Cahier de l'Herne HC*, p. 47; B. Hourcade, «Iranian Studies in France», *Iranian Studies* 20 (1987), pp. 9-10; Ch.-H. de Fouchécour, «L'Iran moderne», *JA* 261 (1973), p. 126. Sur les collègues nommés dans la correspondance, orientalistes ou savants iraniens, voir le répertoire biographique en fin de volume.

[4] Sur la Mission archéologique française en Iran, voir de Fouchécour, «L'Iran moderne», p. 127.

[5] HC arriva à Téhéran le 14 septembre 1945; cf. «Repères biographiques», p. 18. Sur les premiers mois de son séjour, voir aussi la lettre de HC à Émile Benveniste du 7 avril 1946, *Cahier de l'Herne HC,* pp. 312-14.

[6] H. Corbin, *Les motifs zoroastriens dans la philosophie de Sohrawardî, Shaykh-ol-Ishrâq (ob. 587/1191).* Préface de M. Pouré Davoud, Téhéran: Editions du Courrier, 1325/1946 (Publications de la Société d'Iranologie, 3). Cf. «Bibliographie générale», *Cahier de l'Herne HC*, n° 74.

de Sohravardî, édition à laquelle j'avais travaillé à Istanbul plusieurs années et dont la suite va venir prochainement[7].

Pour parler encore de notre nouveau Département, son activité va se manifester naturellement par des publications. Nous avons déjà un double programme de publications de textes et d'études originales, et nous avons au surplus la chance de disposer d'une imprimerie en propre! J'ai été amené à donner dans notre prochain programme une part importante aux textes philosophiques et mystiques (mais bien entendu rien n'est exclu, que ce soit en persan, en pehlevi ou en arabe)[8]. L'amitié de M. Taqavî — l'une des personnalités de Téhéran possédant une bonne bibliothèque — m'a permis de travailler directement sur un de ses manuscrits personnels des plus précieux, puisqu'il contient deux *Risâla* d'auteurs ismaéliens[9]. Nous en sommes pauvres en Iran (quoiqu'il y en ait certainement d'autres à trouver) et si intéressants que soient ces deux traités, ce n'est pas énorme à côté des trésors dont vous pouvez disposer aux Indes. Il s'agit de la traduction persane d'un traité de Abû Ya'qûb Sejestânî et d'un traité de Nâsir-e Khosraw[10]. La mise au point du traité d'Abû Ya'qûb sera bientôt terminée; le texte sera accompagné d'une traduction française et de notes pour lesquelles je m'aide d'autres traités d'Abû Ya'qûb en arabe[11]. L'impression de ce premier livre auquel M. Taqavî s'interesse beaucoup et qui viendra ainsi à l'appui de vos propres travaux, pourra

7 Shihâbaddîn Yahyâ Suhrawardî, *Opera metaphysica et mystica* I. Edita et prolegomenis instructa, Istanbul, 1945 (Bibliotheca Islamica, 16a). Voir «Bibliographie générale», n° 73.

8 HC s'est expliqué ailleurs sur la fondation, en 1949, de la Bibliothèque Iranienne: «De la Bibliothèque nationale à la Bibliothèque iranienne», *Humanisme actif — Mélanges d'art et de littérature offerts à Julien Cain*, Paris: Hartmann, 1968, vol. 2, pp. 309-20; voir aussi de Fouchécour, «L'Iran moderne», pp. 130-31.

9 Abû Ya'qûb Sijistânî, *Kashf al-Mahjûb (Le Dévoilement des choses cachées). Traité ismaélien du IV^e siècle de l'Hégire*. Texte persan publié avec une introduction, Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949 (Bibliothèque Iranienne, Série A: Textes. 1), Introduction, pp. 7-8.

10 *Kashf al-mahjûb*, d'Abû Ya'qûb al-Sijistânî (al-Sijzî) (m. après 386/996); *Goshâ'ish va rahâ'ish*, de Nasir-e Khusraw.

11 L'édition de ce texte était le premier volume de la «Bibliothèque Iranienne»: Abû Ya'qûb Sejestânî, *Kashf al-Mahjûb. Traité ismaélien du IV^e siècle de l'Hégire*. Texte persan publié avec une introduction par HC. Téhéran-Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949 (Bibliothèque Iranienne, Série A: Textes. 1). Cf. «Bibliographie générale», n° 80. Dans son introduction, HC annonçait que la traduction serait publiée plus tard dans la même série. Bien qu'il ait achevé la traduction le 20 février 1948, elle ne fut publié que 40 ans plus tard, après sa mort: Abû Ya'qûb Sejestânî, *Le dévoilement des choses cachées. Kashf al-Mahjûb. Recherches de philosophie ismaélienne*. Traduit du persan et introduit par H. Corbin, ed. Ch. Jambet, Paris: Verdier, 1988 (Collection «Islam spirituel»).

donc être terminée d'ici quelques mois. Quant à la *Risâla* de Nâsir-e Khosraw, sur laquelle j'ai déjà travaillé, comme je dispose aussi de deux traités inédits, cela pourrait peut-être être mis ensemble. Nous verrons.

[Henry Corbin]

3. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 30 juillet 1947*

W. Ivanow,
The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5. India

Bombay, 30 July 1947

Cher Monsieur Corbin,

I have reported to the committee your desire to become a member of the *Ismaili Society*, and it will be considered at the next meeting. We welcome all active students of Ismailism and cognate fields as members, and wish to confine the membership to the persons of that class.

With regard to what you write, concerning the *Kashfu'l-mahjûb* by Abû Ya'qûb as-Sijzî and the *Gushâyish wa Rahâyish* by Nâsir-i Khusraw and your intention to edit both, I note that there always were so many people who wanted to do this, even as long back as ten years ago, on my last visit to Tehran. I wish something tangible may come out of these plans and intentions. Anyhow, in case you think fit, the Ismaili Society will always favourably consider the publication of these works, if, of course, submitted to them in a final and complete form. For technical reasons it has been decided to stick as far as possible to the policy of printing the text and the translation separately. As both the *Kashf* and *Gushâyish* are small works, they would easily fit into our smaller series, which you mention. I believe there is not so much need and urgency with the translation as the edition of the text.

Re. the *Kashfu'l-mahjûb:* you write that you have consulted in your work some *Arabic works* by the same author. May I know what such Arabic works were? Out of about ten known and extant works of Abû Ya'qûb I have so far collected six, and I am interested in recovering others.

Re. the *Gushâyish*: there is a set of photostats of it in the Cairo library, and I have a copy of them and intended to edit the text (in the small series). These photostats are apparently prepared from the Tehran copy. Unfortunately, 1) the text is incomplete and 2) the copyist, a Persian,

conceived a brilliant idea of bringing the work of Nâsir up-to-date, badly adulterating the text. For this reason I had to give up the idea of editing it. I hope you may get the unadulterated and complete original, as otherwise the edition will be perfectly useless.

I have completed an edition of the *Rawdatu'-taslîm*, a work by Nasîru'd-dîn Tûsî on the system of Ismailism, of which I have published long ago a preliminary note (see my paper, "An Ismailitic Work by Nasiru'd-din Tusi" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1931, pp. 527-564). I hope to be able to print it in Cairo.[12] It is based on two manuscripts, one from Hunza (dated 1123 A.H.) and the other from Shughnan, not dated, but probably older, and would like to collate it with the Tehran copy, in the possession of our friend S[ayyid] Nasru'l-lâh Taqawî. Is it possible to arrange that a true copy of that manuscript is prepared? He himself is too busy, but, as this is your line, I wonder if you could be so obliging, to arrange that it would be transcribed and posted here. Of course, we shall gratefully refund you all the expenses incurred. I wish it would be possible to settle this matter before long in order not to hold up the publication of the text.

I enclose the list of my publications, and shall post to you those which you require, and of which I have still got copies or reprints. Please simply quote numbers.[13]

We have started a non-periodical magazine, under the title *Ismailitica*, which is expected to be issued from time to time, whenever material accumulates for about 200 pages. The first volume is actually in the press, and may be out in two or three months.[14] Every student is welcome to submit his contributions (we give authors 50 copies of reprint of their articles). The programme is: Ismailism and *cognate subjects*, under which popular Sufism, Shi'ism, etc. are also eligible. The first volume contains:

[12] L'édition et la traduction de cette œuvre par WI ne devaient pas être publiées avant 1950: *The Rawdatu't-Taslim, commonly called Tasawwurat, by Nasîru'd-din Tusi*. Persian Text, ed. and transl. into English, Leiden: Brill, 1950 (ISS A, 4). J.H. Badakhchani a effectué une nouvelle édition de ce texte, sur la base d'un manuscrit dont WI ne disposait pas (*The Paradise of Submission. A Critical Edition and Study of Rawzeh-i Taslim, commonly known as Tasawwurât, by Khwâjeh Nasîr al-Dîn-i Tûsî, 1201-1275*. Oxford, 1989 [1990] (thèse de doctorat). Cette édition a servi de base à la traduction de Ch. Jambet; *Nasiroddin Tusi, La Convocation d'Alamut (Rawdat al-taslim)*, Lagrasse: Verdier, 1996 (Collection «Islam Spirituel»).

[13] Liste des publications de W. Ivanow jusqu'au 1er juillet 1939.

[14] *Collectanea* I. Edited for the «Ismaili Society» by W. Ivanow, Leiden: Brill, 1948 (ISS A, 2). Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 37. Le premier volume fut en fait le seul jamais publié.

my paper on Satpanth (Indian Ismailism); V[ali] M[ahomed] Hooda's translation of specimens of the Satpanth literature; S[yed Dewan] Nur Ali Shah (a Satpanthi pîr of Khandesh), a translation of the *Holy Shikshapatri*; M[uhammad] Kâmil Hussein, an edition of the text of *Kitâbu'r-Rushd wa'l-Hidâyat* by Ibn Hawshab (Mansûru'l-Yaman); my *An Ali-ilahi Fragment*.[15]

Concerning my visit to Tehran: so far the matter has not been finally decided whether I go via Persia or not. It seems that the proposed visit *before* November is hardly practicable. In any case I shall inform you at once as soon as the matter is settled and dates are fixed.

Please apologize to Mr. Kashin on my behalf for not having as yet posted the books which he required. The matter had been continually, for various reasons, postponed, and I am too busy and preoccupied with many things to attend this personally. I shall do, however, my best to speed it up.

As you are engaged in studies, and, certainly, deal with Persian books, would you be able to do a great favour to us by purchasing and dispatching certain editions in Tehran? We shall be very much obliged because Persian bookshops usually are too great institutions to answer inquiries or orders. I need some books for myself, and Prof. M[uhammad] Shafi' of Lahore, and some other people, also want many books. We shall also be glad to reciprocate by doing your commissions here (except for dealing with dirty Parsis, who are, generally, so dishonest and stupid as to make transactions with them a nuisance).

I am much interested in your *Institut Franco-Iranien*, and shall be glad if you let me know what other departments, in addition to that of Iranology, studying mysticism, it contains? I believe the study of mysticism, unless it is merely silly talk, can only be done by qualified psychiatrists, by clinical methods. It is a pity that while the East is changing with such tremendous speed, and many old forms decay and pass away almost uncessantly, no more urgent and important matter is found meriting study than mystic nonsense. Pity to waste time on this.

I shall be glad if the suggested cooperation and collaboration produces useful results. Something must be done as in the world as it is,

[15] W. Ivanow, «Satpanth (Indian Ismailism)», pp. 1-54; Vali Mahomed N. Hooda (transl.), «Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature», pp. 57-137; Peer Syed Dewan M. Noor-Ali Shah, «The Holy Shikshapatri. Translated from Maratthi», pp. 139-45; W. Ivanow, «An Alî-Ilâhî Fragment», pp. 147-84; Muhammad Kâmil Hussein, «Fragments of the Kitâbu 'r-Rushd wa'l-Hidâyat. The Arabic text edited», pp. 185-213.

difficult and slow communications tend to make us all retreat to the mediaeval isolation of past ages.

I wish you all success in your plans and projects, and will be glad to hear from you. I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. Ivanow

4. *Henry Corbin à Ivanow, 10 janvier 1948*

Département d'Iranologie

[Téhéran,] 10 janvier 1948

Cher Monsieur,

Je m'excuse de renouer avec un tel retard notre correspondance commencée cet été. Toute une série de contretemps sont venus s'enchaîner. En août et septembre, deux voyages d'exploration bibliographique à Tabrîz et à Mashhad. Puis il y a eu cette terrible affaire d'épidémie: fermeture des frontières, la poste ne prenant plus le courrier pour l'Égypte et pour les Indes.

J'aurais voulu vous donner immédiatement un témoignage de sympathie ismaélienne active à propos de *Rawdat al-taslîm* de Nasîr Tûsî. Malheureusement, le bon Taqavî était alors à la campagne, loin de sa bibliothèque. Il y a prolongé exceptionnellement son séjour, jusqu'à la fin de novembre. À peine rentré à Téhéran, il a pris un refroidissement et, après quelques semaines de maladie, cet aimable vieillard est mort au milieu de décembre. Son fils[16] devient l'héritier de la précieuse bibliothèque, mais malheureusement n'en possède pas encore la topographie. Je lui ai demandé à son tour de rechercher à votre intention, le manuscrit de Nasîr Tûsî. II a très obligeamment promis de le faire, mais cela peut demander quelque temps. En tout cas, dès qu'il aurait réussi à mettre la main sur ce texte, nous en établirions un microfilm dans le laboratoire du Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut. Je vous enverrai soit le microfilm, soit les agrandissements. Je suis vraiment désolé du retard que cela peut apporter à votre publication d'une importance si essentielle pour les études ismaéliennes.

Où en sont vos projets de passage à Téhéran? Je me demande si, malgré l'épidémie, vous avez pu faire vos conférences au Caire ou bien si vous êtes encore aux Indes et je ne sais pas trop où cette lettre vous rejoindra.

[16] Jamâl al-Dîn Akhawî. Cf. al-Sijistânî, *Kashf*, introduction, p. 8.

Entre temps, je viens de commencer l'impression du texte persan d'Abû Ya'qûb à notre Imprimerie. Je pense que le volume pourra sortir d'ici l'été prochain.

J'ai été naturellement extrêmement interessé d'apprendre la parution prochaine de votre nouveau périodique *Ismaïlitica.* Le programme que vous me communiquez me met dans une impatiente attente et je vous en félicite chaleureusement. Naturellement je vous prie de me considérer moi-même comme abonné en même temps que j'y abonne la bibliothèque de notre Département d'Iranologie. La question reste toujours la même: comment vous régler les abonnements? Aussi j'accueille très favorablement votre proposition d'essayer entre nous un échange de livres. Dites-moi les ouvrages que vous-même ou vos collègues recherchez en Iran et je tâcherai de vous les trouver. Je vous prierai toujours de tenir compte de la majestueuse lenteur du cours des choses en général et des libraires en particulier, dans notre cher Orient.

De mon côté je vous signalerai à l'occasion les ouvrages que je recherche aux Indes. Et puisque vous avez eu l'amabilité de m'envoyer la liste de vos publications, je me permets de vous indiquer ci-joint les numéros de celles qui m'interessent personnellement et qui me manquent. Je fais figurer à la suite celles de vos publications bibliographiques et philologiques que je désirerais voir représenter au moins dans la Bibliothèque du Département d'Iranologie[17]. La masse en est si imposante que je n'ose vraiment vous les demander que sur la base d'un échange. Mais parce que nous en sommes totalement dépourvus ici je vous en formule la requête.

Notre petit Département d'Iranologie a bien commencé son existence. Puissent les années à venir permettre son essor! Naturellement ses recherches ne sont pas limitées à la *mystique*. Cependant votre charge à fond contre la mystique en fin de votre lettre me donne l'impression que nous n'entendons pas exactement la même chose en employant ce mot. Ce sera à mettre au clair lorsque nous aurons le plaisir de nous rencontrer.

J'espère sincèrement que cette rencontre est pour une époque toute proche. En attendant, je vous prie de croire à mes sentiments bien cordialement dévoués.

[Henry Corbin]

[17] Liste perdue.

5. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 31 janvier 1948*

W. Ivanow,
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5. India

31 January 1948

Cher Monsieur,

Just received your letter of the 10 January. Thank you for interesting information. I am so sorry to hear that Mr. Nasru'l-lâh Taqawî has died. I shall be glad indeed to collate your photographs of the Tehran copy of the *Rawdatu't-taslîm*, by Tûsî, with my copies before taking up the publication of the text. Please be so kind as to let me know when your microfilm will be ready. I know well what it means to get a book from the collection of some of the enlightened owners in Persia: years may pass in expectations for a little leisure which they may use for searching for the book.

I have just got through the press a booklet on Nâsir-i Khusraw, and have instructed the publishers to post a copy to you. I have no idea as to when you will get it, because mail arrangements are still irritatingly stupid everywhere.[18] Sea mail to Egypt takes three-and-a-half *months*, although usually steamers do the trip in ten days. All this is so idiotic and so irritating that I try not to think of this. I have instructed the booksellers to post to V. Kashin's bookshop three copies of each of the Ismaili Society's publications. With regard to my earlier works, and reprints from various periodicals, I shall be glad to post to you what I have. This, however, is to be done on my return to India, because in a few days' time I am sailing for Egypt, and all my belongings are already packed in boxes and removed to a godown. If you want to get those published by the Islamic Research Association,[19] you may write to the *Oxford University Press*, Nicol road, Ballard Estate, Bombay.

[18] *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, Bombay: Thacker and Co., 1948 (ISS B, 5). Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 41.

[19] *An Abbreviated Version of the Diwan of Khaki Khorasani*. Persian text, ed. with an introd., Bombay: Baptist Mission Press, 1933 (IRAS, 1); *Two Early Ismaili Treatises: Haft-babi Baba Sayyid-na and Matlubu'l-mu'minîn by Tusi*. Persian text, with an introductory note, Bombay: Baptist Mission Press, 1933 (IRAS, 2); *True Meaning of Religion (Risala dar Haqiqati Din) by Shihabu'd-din Shah al-Husayni*. Persian text and English transl., Bombay: Baptist Mission Press, 1933 (IRAS, 3); *Kalami Pir, A Treatise on Ismaili Doctrine, also (wrongly) called Haft-babi Shah Sayyid Nasir*. Edited in the original Persian and transl. into English, Bombay, 1935 (IRAS, 4); *Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*. [With Arabic texts and translations], Bombay - London - New York: Humphrey Milton - Oxford University Press, 1942 (IRAS Series, 10). Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n^{os} I 10, 11, 12, 13, 32. Voir aussi le compte-rendu de R.A. Nicholson, *JRAS* (1937), pp. 378-83.

With the conditions in the world as they are, I cannot tell you anything as to whether I shall be able to come to Persia on my return journey from Egypt. In any case I shall try my best, because I hate sea voyages, and want to see for myself the facilities that exist for printing in Tehran.

I shall be very much obliged, indeed, if you can help us in the difficult task of getting from Persia books that have been printed there recently. Persian booksellers (just as the Egyptian) are too busy to answer letters. My Russian friends (especially V. Kashin) have nothing to do with Persian books, and thus the position is quite ridiculous. If I come to Tehran, we may discuss all these matters, and come to a certain agreement.

With regard to your *abonnement* in the *Ismaili Society*, I have to repeat that we do *not* expect any subscription to be paid by members. This was done purposely in order to restrict membership to the qualified persons only, *i.e.* the people connected with *active* study in this and cognate fields. For the same reasons we have no *library-subscribers*. Libraries, or learned societies owning such libraries, may simply buy our publications, in the usual way. We send free copies to the principal libraries, or those with whom we exchange publications.

I am sure, you are in contact with the *Société Asiatique* in Paris. I must tell you that I am quite disgusted with this venerable institution. I have posted a letter and a paper *by air* almost eight months ago, and the secretary so far has not found time to write any acknowledgement or reply. It is a real pity that this really admirable institution is allowed to be degraded in the hands of some lazy people to the position of inarticulate ill-manneredness.

Let us hope, that we may, after all, meet in not a distant future, in Tehran, and discuss many things. My address in Cairo will be c/o Thomas Cook and Son, Cairo. Of course, better use air mail. When I know definitely as to my further route, I shall inform you accordingly.

With my best wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. Ivanow

6. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 1er août 1948*

W. Ivanow,
c/o J.A.B. Palmer, Esq.
5, Little Chester Street,
Belgrave square,
London, S.W.1.

Paris, 1 August 1948

Dear Prof. Corbin,

Yesterday the Congress of Orientalists has been closed,[20] and I can now write to you my impressions. You acted rightly by not wasting your time and money for attending it. It was exceptionally ill-organised, or rather not organised at all, and, to speak frankly, was perfectly useless: many, like myself, have found that they had not benefitted themselves by it in any way. There was a huge crowd of people, but very few real orientalists, I mean those who really work. All sorts of old and young people came simply for a *tamasha*, having nothing to do at home. Several people talked of suggesting a resolution to the effect that this type of the Congress should be discontinued, and sectional congresses introduced: Islamology, Archaeology, Sinology, Indology, Semitology, etc. That there should be no reading of useless *papers*, but discussion of general questions, such as methodology, technique, and other matters of principial importance. But all this was dealt with in a dirty way, and *talked out*. The *talking out* of the matter was even entrusted to Prof. Gibb, an Englishman, who, as his compatriots, had an innate talent for such things. Well, have not they *talked out* their empire, remaining hungry laquais of the Wallstreet?

I saw Massignon, but had no talk with him — he invited me to come this afternoon. He did not look to take much interest in the Congress.

Mr. Porcher was on leave when I came to Paris, and I only saw him yesterday. His Russian, alas, is very *miniature*. Unfortunately, the Bibliothèque Nationale is a difficult place to work in. It is a pity that the conservator of the Persian and Arabic manuscripts is that old Persian Parisien, Mazahiry, who seems to be the most surprising person for the post.

The hotels which Mme Corbin and yourself were so kind to recommend to me, had no vacant rooms, and therefore I remained where the

[20] Le XXI[e] Congrès international des Orientalistes, Paris (23-31 juillet 1948). Lors de la séance du 26 juillet, présidée par l'orientaliste britannique H.A.R. Gibb, (Islam – B. Histoire des idées et littérature), WI présenta une communication sur le *Shish Fasl* ou *Rawshanâ'î-Nâma* de Nâsir-i Khusraw; cf. *Actes du XXI[e] Congrès international des Orientalistes (Paris 23-31- Juillet 1948)*, Paris: Société Asiatique de Paris, 1949, p. 295.

Air France has landed me at night, on the arrival, namely the hotel *Palais d'Orsay*, on the Quai d'Orsay, opposite the Louvre. It was a centrally situated place, quiet to a great extent, and very near the place of the meetings of the Congress. Prices in Paris now are simply absurd, as you know, and some, compared with India, make one horrified: to wash a shirt — 72 franks, and plain khaki trousers — 300 franks (*sic*). It is nearly five rupees, for which you buy in Bombay new one. A miserable necktie — 750-800 franks, *i.e.* nearly one pound sterling. Ridiculous. Money goes as water and: the prices still are rising.

Paris is a nice place, but looks worn out and worried. The impression is as if you came to the house in which there is someone seriously ill, or someone has died recently. The people seem not to enjoy themselves very much — nothing of that old *gay* Paris life. What is very pleasant to see here are our Northern trees, clean and delicate, not like the Indian mossy and ugly trees. But what really depresses here is the unbelievable amount of bars — in some localities almost every second house is a bar or restaurant. One is, on rue de Lille, just opposite to my window, and it seems to be non-stop trade from 6-30 in the morning and till 9 in the evening — a stream of customers trotting in, and drinking, drinking, drinking… Surely, the French could have enough bread and food if they would have diverted their money to useful purposes instead of this.

After the heat of Tehran it was such a pleasure to find here cool weather, and sleep with closed windows. I hope now the heat in Persia has come down a little. I am flying to London the day after tomorrow, and thence to Bombay, by air, about the end of August.

Please convey my best compliments and thanks to Mrs. Corbin, and, if you see her, Mme Pakrawan. Tell her that I have delivered her letter, long ago.

With my best wishes and compliments, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W.I.

7. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 12 septembre 1948*

W. Ivanow,
P.o. Box 585,
Bombay, 1.
India.

Bombay, 12 September 1948

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I have returned to Bombay about a week ago, and now gradually start my correspondence, interrupted by my peregrinations. Please convey my

best compliments to Madame Corbin. I always remember with great thanks her kind hospitality and her help with translations in our talks.

I spent in Paris three weeks, and was staying in the hotel *Palais d'Orsay*, on the Quai d'Orsay, in the building of the Gare d'Orsay which your surely know. I arrived in Paris, the terminus of the Air-France, at about 2 after midnight. There was no question, of course, to go round the hotels, and I asked the clerk to arrange for a room for me. He sent me to that hotel, and, when the next day I went to those which you were so kind as to recommend to me, the answer invariably was that they have not got any vacant rooms. Thus I remained in the Gare d'Orsay, paying, with service and tax, 460 francs per day. It was good, central, comfortable (to an extent), and thus it was no use to change it.

I had several talks with Massignon, Benveniste, and some other learned people there. The Congress was a horror, a complete waste of time and everything, and you have not lost much by not attending it. The members wanted to discuss important and urgent matters, but the committee of the organisers have arranged it for a picnic, on the same style as it was done some 70 years ago, or more. The hungry people clamoured for bread, and they gave them chewing gum. For some extraordinary reasons the organising committee expected 300 members, but some 1200 have turned up! There was a huge herd of all kinds of people — in fact all except those who really should come and have serious talk about the important matters and pressing needs. The proceedings took place in the École des Études Sociales, on rue Guillaume,[21] and the hall in which the crowd had to meet was full up, so that it was impossible to move. Apparently the most numerous were the Jews of all possible kinds. The next were Catholic priests — any number of them. After them came all sorts of Italians, Spaniards, and then some Orientals. There were no Soviet Russians, no Chinese, Persians, Amurrrrrricans, of course, Germans, Balkanic peoples, etc. On the whole it was so badly organised that it seems that every one was disgusted. The next show is supposed to be in 1951 in Constantinople. I wish it would not be similarly hopeless. The reading of the papers was an unbearably dull business, and the excursions to the museums complete waste of time. I tried, but gave it up.

So much has been written about Paris that one may easily expect too much from it. Of course, it is more attractive than the dull and monotonous London. I have written to you that the feature which produced a

[21] La Fondation nationale des Sciences politiques — 27, rue Saint-Guillaume; cf. *Actes du XXI^e Congrès*, p. 16.

profound impression upon myself was the innumerable bistros and bars, almost in every second house. They are always full, and you may see many people sitting at the table in the street, with a glass of some drink, *for hours*. I was really astonished to see how many people there have so little to do. What is unbearable in Paris, is the enormous rapacity of the people: everything is so absurdly expensive. To wash a shirt 72 francs. To wash a khaki trousers — 300 francs! So dearly the people value their labour and time!

I have shown to Massignon your edition of the *Kashfu'l-mahjûb*. He was, as usual, feeling tired, and complained of being so busy, having no time etc. Really, he had to prepare even tea personally, there are no servants in Paris, the people do everything personally.

I shall be glad to hear from you. Please write about the progress of your work. I shall send to you some of my publications very soon, when all my boxes are opened. I am so busy now with all kinds of things which have cropped up. God knows when I shall be able to go through all this!

I have a special request to you. Please be so kind as to write to me the name of the firm which makes the microfilm-readers of the system which I saw at your place in Tehran, and how much it costs. We want to buy one, but Kodak's, standing, is too heavy and inconvenient, yours is far better. I shall be grateful for the address of the firm.

With my best wishes to Mrs. Corbin and yourself, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W.I.

8. *Ivanow à Stella Corbin, 26 décembre 1948*

[Bombay,] 26 December 1948

Dear Madame Corbin,

It was very kind indeed of you to send me your kind letter! I thank you very much for the address of the firm dealing in the devices for reading microfilms, and shall write to them at once. I must apologize for my belated greetings and best wishes of all happiness and success in the incoming year. The past one was — it is my impression — a very difficult and unpleasant. I wish things in the world would at least slightly improve! When you see Mme Pakrewan, please convey to her my best regards. I shall write to her. As you know, when you return home after a long outing, you find many things gone wrong which require immediate attention, and these small worries and distractions take such a lot of time and energy.

My life is going very monotonously, one day like the other, I try as far as possible not to go out, concentrating on my work. But things progress very slowly in this world, where every step requires the countering of so many petty complications, difficulties, worries, unpleasant surprises and disappointments. I believe, it is exactly such small worries and *thorns* which, as rust, kill civilisations, preventing people from going ahead, sapping their energies which are diverted to small, quite useless matters, in appearance. These, however, by their immense numbers, overwhelm everyone. I sincerely wish you to get safely through this sad period of our existence. You are still so young, and for you there is still hope to come out of the *wood*, while for the old men like myself such hope does not exist. Really, sometimes I feel so tired of all sorts of nonsense.

My friends in Paris write that winter is rather unpleasant there, with rain, and fogs, etc. They envy me with Bombay's cloudless skies, blue sea, and warmth. In fact, we had this year too much of it, the temperature fell only in the middle of December. In exchange, we had a cyclone which blew off something like 40% of the trees in Bombay. For two days we were without electric light, there was no communication either by bus, or tram, or railways, as the lines were interrupted. Many trees which did not fall down, were left without any leaves. But, as a recompense, we have a *spring Christmas*, because the trees became covered with fresh new foliage — just as May in the North! When I speak of trees, I always remember your Paris beautiful trees. They are like flowers in the windows of florists' shops. What a difference with Indian untidy, ugly trees, overgrown with all sorts of moss, parasites, covered with crows' nests, etc.!

My best wishes to you, of all the best things. I hope this your first letter will not be last, and I shall be favoured with another one in not too distant future. I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

9. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 26 septembre 1948*

P.O. Box 585, Bombay.

Bombay, 26 December 1948

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I was very glad to receive your kind letter. It is a pity that it was lying till now without my knowing that it had come long ago: it came to our President's office, incidentally, together with a book which a friend was returning, and when it was sent to my place, the letter got into the wrapping

where it remained till now, when I found it there on my opening the parcel.

I hope that both of you are feeling now much better. Please accept my best wishes of a lucky, successful and pleasant new year! Since I arrived in September, I was all the time very busy, and it was so irritating that small worries take such a substantial proportion of one's time and energy. In any case, this cannot be helped. Our books, printed in Egypt, have at last arrived a few days ago, and now I am arranging for their being bound and posted to different persons. I do not know when we shall post, but hope to be able to do this in about ten days' time. Everything takes so much time and energy now through quite absurd complications and difficulties.

I have nothing special to tell you. I am working over several things. Numbers 3 and 6 of our small series are in the press.[22] I am preparing a sectarian text of about 230 pages, the edition of my lectures in Cairo,[23] and collect materials for the proposed *Collectanea* vol. II. Have you completed the printing of the translation of Sijistânî's work? I would like to put a note on it in the *Collectanea* — the first volume had no reviews.

No interesting books come from Europe or elsewhere. Dr. Kâmil Hussein is printing the text of the *Râhatu'l-'aql*, but the printing is progressing very slowly. The sweet Arabs are in habit of only rushing to the press with short and simple works, and it is a different matter when big and difficult ones are concerned. I hope to have the text out by the beginning of the next year, but now it seems to be hopeless. The *Dîwân* of al-Mu'ayyad and his *Sîrat* have been printed by the al-Khâtib al-Masrî press,[24] but

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[22] W. Ivanow, *Fasl dar Bayan-i Shinakht-i Imam or On the Recognition of the Imam*. Second Revised Edition. Persian Text edited, Leiden: Brill, 1949 (ISS B, 3); *Six Chapters or Shish Fasl, also called Rawshanai-nama, by Nasir-i Khusraw*. Persian Text, edited and translated into English, Leiden: Brill, 1949 (ISS B, 6); cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n^{os} I 43, 44.

[23] Au Caire, WI travailla à l'édition du *Râhat al-'aql* de Hamîd al-Dîn al-Kirmânî (m. après 411/1020) et du *Shish fasl* de Nâsir-i Khusraw. C'est probablement à ces projets qu'il se réfère ici. Son édition du *Shish fasl* fut publiée en 1949. Pour l'édition du *Râhat al-'aql*, preparée par Md Kâmil Husayn et Md Mustafâ Hilmî (ISS C, 1; Leiden: Brill, 1953), WI rédigea un avant-propos et composa les index; cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 50. Sur le *Râhat al-'aql* d'al-Kirmânî voir aussi l'étude de D. de Smet, *La quiétude du l'intellect. Néoplatonisme et gnose ismaélienne dans l'œuvre de Hamîd ad-Dîn al-Kirmânî (X^{e}/XI^{e} s.)*, Leuven: Peeters, 1995 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 67).

[24] Al-Mu'ayyid fî l-Dîn al-Shîrâzî, *Dîwân al-Mu'ayyid fî l-Dîn*, ed. Md K. Husayn, Le Caire: Dâr al-kâtib al-misrî, 1949; *Sîrat al-Mu'ayyid fî l-Dîn*, ed. Md K. Husayn, Le Caire: Dâr al-kâtib al-misrî, 1949.

delayed till the new year for distribution. But meanwhile their press has been blown up, partly. Fortunately, as K[âmil] H[ussein] informs me, his books are safe. I am very keen to get copies, also to write a review. Of course, I have no idea whatever as to when the vol. II will be ready, printed, and out of the press.

Dr. B[ernard] Lewis sent to me a book which he has recently printed — *Land of Enchanters* containing fairy tales connected with various period in Egypt's lengthy history[25]. Have you seen it? It is a pity that excellent printing and paper is wasted on such books, I think it is too meagre for the purpose and therefore produces no effect. The tales are badly and tastelessly chosen, there is nothing artistic about the book.

I hope your letter will be soon followed by another. Do write and tell me about your progress. I hope your stay in Tehran may be productive and pleasant.

Yours sincerely,
W.I.

10. *Henry Corbin à Ivanow, 16 avril 1949*

Professeur W. Ivanow
P.O.Box 585
Bombay – India

[Téhéran,] 16 Avril 1949

Mon cher Collègue et Ami,

Merci de tour cœur pour l'envoi des deux volumes *Collectanea* et *Studies* transformés dans leur belle reliure[26]. J'ai grand plaisir à relire lentement ces études si neuves que j'avais dû parcourir rapidement cet été lors de votre passage. Vos recherches sur l'Ismaélisme indien, le texte des *Ahl-e Haqq,* etc., tout cela est d'un intérêt bien prenant[27].

Pardonnez-moi d'être resté longtemps sans vous écrire, et même aujourd'hui de ne vous adresser qu'un court billet. Je viens d'être assez gravement malade: une pneumonie stupide. Il y a eu une véritable épidémie à Téhéran. La pénicilline vous en sort sans dommage, mais ensuite on reste en proie à une lourde fatigue pendant de longues semaines. Tout

[25] *Land of Enchanters: Egyptian Short Stories from the earliest day to the present day*, ed. and introd. by B. Lewis, London: Harvill Press, 1948.

[26] W. Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, Leiden: Brill, 1948 (ISS A, 4); cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° i 40.

[27] W. Ivanow, «Satpanth», *Collectanea* I (1948), pp. 1-54; «An Ali-Ilahi Fragment», *Ibid.*, pp. 147-84.

cela a retardé la *sortie* d'Abû Ya'qûb, mais elle est imminente. Finalement, je me suis décidé à en faire deux volumes et à réserver la traduction française et l'étude préliminaire pour un volume séparé. Cette première publication ne contient qu'une courte introduction en français de 25 pages, où les questions soulevées (attribution etc…) sont déjà assez scabreuses. Mais pour que, dans ce domaine si neuf, les réflexions progressent, il ne faut pas craindre d'exposer un peu sa tête. Enfin vous jugerez. Ces courtes pages m'ont donné l'occasion de rappeler le travail de votre Ismaili Society et, si vous y sentiez la venue d'un amical renfort, alors je serais content. D'ici une ou deux semaines, le volume, j'espère, sera prêt. Je vous en enverrai tout de suite trois exemplaires. Mais si vous en désiriez davantage pour nos collègues ismaéliens, ne craignez pas de me le dire.

Je pense que nous partirons en congé pour la France vers la mi-juin, sans doute jusqu'au mois d'octobre ou novembre. Notre adresse à Paris est *19 rue de l'Odéon VI.* Si vous aviez des commissions dont nous pourrions nous charger, profitez-en. De votre côté, s'il devient possible un jour d'avoir quelque copie ou photocopie par exemple de *Kanz al-walad, al-Shumûs al-zâhira* ou même *al-Nukhab* du *dâ'î* Solaymân, bref de ces choses bien abstruses qui réjouissent votre collègue de Téhéran, alors n'omettez pas de penser à lui[28].

Le Dr. al-Khashshâb est ici actuellement, faisant des microfilms de tout ce qu'il peut trouver d'Ibn Sînâ, en vue du millénaire et d'éditions grandioses et problématiques que projette la Ligue Arabe. J'ai appris aussi que le Dr. Ritter allait quitter la Turquie et avait accepté un poste à l'université de Francfort-sur-le-Main.

Bon courage et bon travail, mon cher Collègue et ami. On pense bien à vous, et j'attends avec grande sympathie la réalisation de tous les projets dont vous m'avez parlé. Avec les meilleurs messages de ma femme, veuillez agréer, je vous prie, l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus cordiaux.

[Henry Corbin]

[28] *Kanz al-walad* d'Ibrâhîm b. al-Husayn al-Hâmidî (m. 557/1162). *Al-Shumûs al-zâhira wa'l-anwâr al-zâhira al-mudî'a al-bâhira* de Hâtim b. Ibrâhîm al-Hâmidî (m. 596/1199). *Al-Nukhab al-multaqa wa-l-zubad al-mustanbata* de Sulaymân b. Hasan b. Yûsuf b. Sulaymân (m. 1005/1597).

11. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 26 avril 1949*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5. India

Bombay, 26 April 1949

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you for your kind letter. I am so sorry to see that you were so ill — I hope you have recovered by now. When in Paris, please convey my compliments to Prof. Massignon, Sauvaget and Blachère. I am glad that despite all your text will be out soon.[29] Thank you for your kind intention to post to me three copies, and an offer to post more: if this is not difficult to you, please post me five, as I would like to send a couple to some friends.

I hope to post to you soon two more booklets: the n° 3 of our small series,[30] and n° 6, the text and translation of the *Shish-fasl* of Nâsir-i Khusraw. The text of Nasîru'd-dîn Tûsî's Ismaili work is already in the press, and I am finishing the translation.[31] After this I have to complete my notes to an Ali-Ilahi text, which, I hope, may soon go to the press,[32] and, finally, the edition and translation of the extract from Rashîdu'd-dîn dealing with the history of Alamût.[33] I am working 10 to 12 hours daily, being entirely confined to my room, and going out only once for the necessary business, shopping, etc., for an hour or so. There were plans about my going out of Bombay this summer, but I have cancelled all in order to print as much as possible while conditions everywhere are so bad. Perhaps they improve the next year (although this does not look

[29] L'auteur fait ici allusion à l'édition, par HC, du *Kashf al-mahjûb* d'Abû Ya'qûb al-Sijistânî; voir bibliographie.

[30] W. Ivanow, *Fasl dar Bayan-i Shinakht-i Imam or On the Recognition of the Imam.* Voir bibliographie

[31] Allusion à *Rawdat al-taslim* de Nasîr al-Dîn Tûsî.

[32] L'auteur se réfère ici sans doute à son ouvrage *The Truth-Worshippers of Kurdistan. Ahl-i Haqq Texts*. Edited in the original Persian and analysed, Leiden: Brill, 1953 (ISS A, 7); cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 49.

[33] Le travail préparatoire de WI en vue d'une édition de passages du *Jâmi' al-tawârîkh* de Rashîd al-Dîn (m. 718/1318) traitant de l'histoire de l'État nizârite, servit de base pour l'édition par Md Dabîr Siyâqî, publiée sous le titre *Faslî az jâmi' al-tawârîkh. Târîkh-i firqa-yi rafîqân va Ismâ'îliyân-i Alamût*, Téhéran: Furûghî, 1337/1958. Sur ce travail et d'autres éditions et traductions du chapitre entier consacré par Rashîd al-Dîn's aux Ismaéliens, cf. F. Daftary, *The Ismâ'îlis: their history and doctrine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 670 n. 4.

like being granted), and I may visit some places which I postponed so long.

With regard to *Kanz'ul-walad* and *Shumûs*, I have copies of them, but these copies are very bad. I am searching for older and better ones, and shall let you know when, and if I succeed — the books are very rare. Making photostats in Bombay is extremely expensive, and it is not easy also to make arrangements for microfilming them — as I told you, Bombay is a market and port, not a place for studies.

I never heard from Dr. Khashshâb — he is too busy to write letters, and I do not feel much inspiration to write to him. Yes, the East is full of grand, the grandest plans and projects. This is merely a modern form of the old and well-known feature of Oriental life — flattery. As you French say: the more it changes the more one sees that it is the same thing. Formerly it was absurd flattery of various miserable princes by *specialists*, poets. Now it is by the officials who draw for the temporary princes, the *democratic* rulers, all kinds of wild projects. It is really so important to make fuss over Ibn Sînâ, or any one like him, while their works are never read or studied. The Arab League, as all such leagues, wholely belongs to the sphere of humoristics.

Please convey my best regards and memories to Mme Corbin. I often remember her charming teas and the patience with which she helped our conversation. I hope you both will enjoy your visit to Paris, and store health for further experiences in Tehran. Now that almost a whole year has passed since my visit to Paris, some portions of it begin to become covered by that *patina* of time, and I really with great pleasure remember that particular locality in the old sectors of the city, near rue de Seine, etc. The other side of the river is so uninspiring, the more modern. Notre-Dame in the original does not produce any special impression — just a church. Louvre looks as an old-fashioned railway station. Of course, all this is so incomparably more artistic and attractive than the depressing box-like houses of London. But what I like the best, and envy you that your are going to see them soon, are the trees of Paris — they are so beautiful, especially if you compare with the Indian trees.

I do not know whether the number of the *Journal Asiatique* in which there was a short article by myself has come out.[34] In my Robinson Crusoe's existence I rarely go to libraries, which, besides, are here so hopelessly

[34] «Noms bibliques dans la mythologie ismaélienne», *JA* 237 (1949), pp. 249-55. Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 42.

bad, meagre, and idiotically managed. Prof. Sauvaget especially invited me to send further contributions to *Journal Asiatique*, promising to print them even in English. With my best wishes,

yours sincerely,
W. I.

12. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 20 octobre 1949*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5. India

Bombay, 20 October 1949

Dear Dr. Corbin,

It is a long time since I wrote a letter to you, to your Paris address, informing you that we had received five copies of your valuable edition of the *Kashfu'l-mahjûb*, and asking you where to, and how many copies of our latest publications, B-3 and B-6 we should post to you? So far, however, we received no news from you. I thought that you might have returned to Tehran, and wrote to a friend of mine, asking him to find this out. And I just received his answer, stating that you have not yet returned to Persia. Please kindly let me know, where should we post the copies, and how many you require — we shall post you at once.

I am now finishing the printing of the text and translation of the *Rawdatu't-taslîm* which I, after all, think may really be the work of Nasîr Tûsî. I hope to have the book out by the end of this year. And I have already started printing the text of an Ali-Ilahi book.

Our intention was to publish as soon as we can the next volume of the *Collectanea*. We have so far received a lengthy article by Stern, the young Jew who is now in Oxford, on the last Fatimid caliphs, after Amir, and the reality of at-Tayyib.[35] The article is very bad — when a Jew is stupid, he is more stupid than any fool of any other nation. I have not rejected it outright, and wanted to go through it, but was so far so busy

[35] Abû 'Alî Mansûr (m. 524/1130), le caliphe fatimide connu sous le *laqab* d'al-Âmir bi-Ahkâm Allâh et qui régna en 495-524/1101-1130. Al-Tayyib, fils du caliphe fatimide Abû 'Alî Mansûr al-Âmir. Comme le second volume de *Collectanea* ne parut jamais, les matériaux préparés par Stern en vue de leur publication purent servir pour deux autres de ses articles: «The Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph Al-Âmir (al-Hidâya al-Âmiriyya) – its Date and its Purpose», *JRAS* (1950), pp. 20-31; «The Succession of the Fatimid Imam al-Âmir, the Claims of the Later Fatimids to the Imamate, and the Rise of the Tayyibî Ismailism», *Oriens* 4 (1951), pp. 193-255.

that [I] had no time so far to do this. B[ernard] Lewis (an intelligent Jew, though, unfortunately, with the mentality of a *Wunderkind*) promised an article on the references to Ismailism found in mediaeval European sources — an interesting matter. I have also one or two articles available locally, and two of my own. We also intended to start the section of reviews, and I offered Lewis to review the *Kitâbu'l-Himma,*[36] I myself intended to devote one of the intended articles to the study of the language of your edition of the *Kashfu'l- Mahjûb*, and that of the *Shish-Fasl* attributed to Nâsir-i Khusraw. But I am so busy, that I really do not know, how I shall do all this. As I wrote to you, I was almost on the point of going on another tour — East Africa (Mombassa, etc.) — then by air to Khartum and Cairo — then by air to Constantinople, Tehran, India. But our president[37] had to go to London, as he expected, for two weeks. In reality, however, he was delayed there for more than three months, and just returned. This has upset all our plans. To tell you the truth, I was rather glad, because I hate *tourism*, and do not want this sort of visits for a few days at each place. It is now possible that I may go by about March the next year, if nothing interferes, of course.

Have you ever met Babinger? This is yet another Jew, typical, with all the *bouquet* of his people. He wrote to me asking for our publications for the library of a kind of Institute in Munich. He mentions that he has returned there after 15 years of absence. Well, better after 15 years rather than never. I never met him, but have been favoured by several letters from him, always with requests for this or that, just as from H[ellmut] Ritter, another unpleasant individual.

I hope you are feeling well and fit. Please convey my best regards to Mme Corbin. I always remember her, and her charming tea parties in the heat of Tehran. I hope that when I re-visit the place, I shall find there again both of you, and we shall have another nice talk.

Have you seen the *Dîwân* of Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyid which has come at last out in Cairo? The *Sîrat* of the same man, which is far more interesting, is still delayed. The *Râhatu'l-'aql* is progressing, though slowly, now reaching page 320, I think. It would be useless to speculate as to when it will be out. Y[ahyâ] Khashshâb has left the university, and K[âmil] Hussein plans to go to Pakistan, as he writes. It seems that the atmosphere in Cairo is as tense as it was for the last year.

[36] Al-Qâdî al-Nu'mân (m. 363/974), *Kitâb al-Himma fî âdâb attibâ al-â'imma*, ed. Md K. Husayn, Le Caire: Dâr al-fikr al-'arabî, 1948.

[37] Ali Muhammad Mecklai.

I shall be glad to hear form you. Please let me know as to whether you expect to go to Tehran, and when. I still have to post to you my old linguistic papers[38] — I have delayed these for some silly reasons which had cropped up during my absence from Bombay.

With my best wishes to both of you, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

13. *Henry Corbin à Ivanow, 24 novembre 1949*

[Téhéran,] 24 novembre 1949

Mon cher Collègue et Ami

Je vous remercie bien tard de votre bonne lettre du 10 Octobre. Hélas! j'ai bien peur que la première n'ait perdu son chemin entre Bombay et la rue de l'Odéon. Mais enfin la seconde est arrivée à bon port, elle nous a fait d'autant plus plaisir et je vous en remercie d'autant plus cordialement. Elle nous a trouvés à Paris, pendant les derniers temps de notre séjour, par conséquent au milieu d'une agitation très différente du grand calme de Téhéran. Personnes à voir ou choses à faire, bibliothèques à réexplorer, tout cela dévore prodigieusement le temps. En outre, nous avons beaucoup circulé en France et jusqu'en Suisse[39]. À Paris même, je pensais souvent à vous et, avec humour, à toutes vos impressions de l'an dernier. Mais en retrouvant nos arbres, nous nous disions, ma femme et moi-même, que notre ami Ivanov avait raison de les aimer. Nous avons même passé quelques jours en pleine forêt de Senlis: que n'étiez-vous avec nous!

Bref, tout cela me fera peut-être trouver excuse de ne pas vous avoir récrit plus tôt. Nous sommes revenus à Téhéran au début de ce mois, devant être encore Orientaux pour quelques temps. Il a fallu tout remettre en train et ce n'était pas si simple, l'été et notre absence ayant beaucoup favorisé chez nos collaborateurs, des habitudes contraires à la saine activité.

[38] Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n[os] II 1-22. Voir aussi bibliographie.

[39] En 1949, la conférence d'Eranos eut lieu en Suisse. HC y donna une communication intitulée «Le Récit d'initiation et l'hermétisme en Iran (Recherche angélologique)», publiée dans *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 17 (1949), Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1950, pp. 121-87; cf. «Bibliographie générale», n° 81. HC continua par la suite, jusqu'à sa mort, de fréquenter régulièrement les conférences annuelles d'Eranos; cf. «Repères biographiques», p. 18.

J'ai commencé l'impression d'un nouveau tome de Sohravardî arabe et persan, où il y aura *Hikmat al-Ishrâq*, *Partaw-Nâmeh*, *Hayâkil al-Nûr* etc. Cela *sortira*, j'espère, vers la fin de 1950[40].

Vous avez la gentillesse de me demander combien je désire que vous m'envoyiez d'exemplaires de vos publications B-3 et B-6 (cette dernière doit être le *Shesh Fasl?*). S'il vous est possible de m'envoyer deux exemplaires de chacune, une pour moi-même, l'autre pour la bibliothèque de notre petit Département d'Iranologie, nos vœux seront comblés.

Vous m'avez également demandé de vous indiquer sur votre Bibliographie personnelle, les n[os] 6, 7, 15 à 19, 21, 23 à 28 (et particulièrement les n[os] 6 et 15, et ce qui concerne Rûzbehân Baqlî)[41]. S'il vous restait des

[40] Ce projet fut réalisé par la publication de deux volumes distincts: Shihâbaddîn Yahyâ Sohrawardî, *Opera metaphysica et mystica* II. Prolégomènes en français et édition critique, Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1952 (Bibliothèque iranienne, 2), contenant 1. *Kitâb Hikmat al-ishrâq* (Le Livre de la Théosophie orientale), 2. *Risâla fî i'tiqâd al-hukamâ'* (Le Symbole de foi des philosophes), 3. *Qissat al-ghurba al-gharbiyya* (Le Récit de l'Exil occidental); cf. «Bibliographie générale», n° 85; et Shihâbaddîn Yahyâ Sohrawardî, *Œuvres philosophiques et mystiques II* (*Opera metaphysica et mystica III*). Œuvres en persan éditées avec une introduction par Sayyed Hossein Nasr. Prolégomènes, analyses et commentaires par H. Corbin, Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1970 (Bibliothèque iranienne, 17); cf. «Bibliographie générale», n° 209. HC publia sa traduction ainsi qu'une analyse de longs passages de ce dernier volume dans son Shihâboddîn Yahyâ Sohravardî (Shaykh al-Ishrâq), *L'Archange empourpré*. Quinze traités et récits mystiques traduits du persan et de l'arabe, présentés et annotés, Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1976 (Documents spirituels, 14). Il prévoyait également d'éditer une traduction du *Hikmat al-ishrâq* de Suhrawardî; restée inédite de son vivant, cette traduction établie d'après ses notes de cours bénéficia d'une reconstitution et d'une publication posthumes: Shihâboddîn Yahyâ Sohravardî (Shaykh al-Ishrâq), *Le Livre de la Sagesse Orientale (Kitâb Hikmat al-Ishrâq). Commentaires de Qotbaddîn Shîrâzî et Mollâ Sadrâ Shîrâzî*, trad. H. Corbin, ed. Christian Jambet, Paris: Verdier, 1986 (Collection «Islam spirituel»).

[41] 6 — «An Ismailitic Work by Nasiru'd-din Tusi», *JRAS* (1931), pp. 527-64 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 6); 7 — «An Ismaili Interpretation of the Gulshani Raz», *JBBRAS* NS 8 (1932), pp. 69-78 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 7); 15 — *A Creed of the Fatimids. A Summary of the Tâju'l-'aqâ'id, by Sayyid-nâ 'Alî b. Muhammad b. al-Walîd, ob. 612/1215*, Bombay: Qayyimah Press, 1936 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 16); 16 — «Ummu'l-kitâb. [Edited in the original Persian, with an Introduction and Indices]», *Der Islam* 23 (1936), pp. 1-132 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 14); 17 — «The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat», *JBBRAS* NS 12 (1936), pp. 19-70 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 15); 18 — «A Forgotten Branch of the Ismailis», *JRAS* (1938), pp. 57-79 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 25); 19 — «Tombs of Some Persian Ismâ'îlî Imams», *JBBRAS* NS 14 (1938), pp. 49-62 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 26); 21 — «Some Ismaili Strongholds in Persia», *IC* 12 (1938), pp. 383-96 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 28); 23 — «The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda», *JBBRAS* NS 15 (1939), pp. 1-35 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 29); 24 — «A Biography of Shaykh Ahmad-i Jâm», *JRAS* (1917), pp. 291-365 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° III 1); 25 — «The Sources of Jami's Nafahat», *JASB* NS 18 (1922), pp. 385-402 (=

exemplaires disponibles dans vos réserves de tirages à part, vous feriez certainement un heureux! Quant à vos catalogues de manuscrits, ce sont des monuments massifs, je n'ose en parler[42].

Je vous félicite d'avoir mis à l'impression le *Rawdat al-taslîm*. J'ai revu dernièrement ce bon Mr. Akhawi, mais nous sommes toujours au même point quant au manuscrit que pouvait posséder son père! Ce qui est désolant, c'est la lenteur du *Râhat al-'Aql*. N'y a-t-il aucun moyen d'activer? Ne m'oubliez pas au sujet des manuscrits des traités abstrus dont nous avions parlé (*al-Shumûs al-zâhira wa-Kanz al-walad*). Même si ces copies sont fautives, photostats ou microfilms pourront servir, sinon à une édition, du moins à une étude analytique.

Votre lettre m'apprend que vous avez des perspectives de grand voyage. Si vous vous mettez en route au mois de mars, il est donc possible que vous nous arriviez à Téhéran *avant* l'été. Ce sera très bien, car nous serons là; vous retrouverez notre *home*, notre terrasse et ma femme toujours prête à être votre interprète autant que vous le voudrez.

J'ai beaucoup entendu parler à Paris des manuscrits coptes gnostiques découverts à Louxor il y a trois ans[43]. Cela n'est pas sans un grand intérêt pour nos études. Je tremble que de sordides questions d'argent ne compromettent et l'unité de la collection et l'édition future.

Alors, mon cher Ami, bon travail et bon courage au milieu de tous vos travaux; vous savez avec quelle sympathie nous les suivons. Avec les meilleurs souvenirs de ma femme, je vous prie d'agréer l'assurance de mes bien cordiaux et dévoués sentiments.

[Henry Corbin]

Daftary, «Bibliography», n° III 2); 26 — «More on the Sources of Jâmî's Nafahât», *JASB* NS 19 (1923), pp. 299-303 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° III 4); 27 — «A Biography of Rûzbihân al-Baqlî», *JASB* NS 24 (1928), pp. 353-61 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° III 6); 28 — «More on Biography of Rûzbihân al-Baqlî», *JBBRAS* NS 7 (1931), pp. 1-7 (= Daftary, «Bibliography», n° III 7).

42 Pendant les années 1920, Ivanow fut associé à l'Asiatic Society of Bengal, dont il rédigea un catalogue des manuscrits persans, publié en quatre volumes. En 1928, on lui confia le catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la même société, qui fut publié après la démission de WI en 1930. Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n^{os} IV 3, 4, 5, 6, 8. Voir aussi la bibliographie récapitulative.

43 Des manuscrits gnostiques furent mis au jour en 1945 à Nag-Hammadi, consistant en une collection de 13 codex de textes et de commentaires rédigés au II^{e} ou III^{e} siècle ap. J.-C. Une traduction anglaise fut éditée par J.M. Robinson *et al.*, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, translated and introduced by Members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute of for Antiquity and Christianity, Leiden, 1977.

14. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 12 décembre 1949*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5. India
Or: P.O. Box 585, Bombay

Bombay, 12 December 1949

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Just received your extremely kind letter of the 24th November — many thanks for it. I already knew from Dr. Nafîsî, who is in India, about your having come back to Tehran, and was about to write to you. Please accept *seasons greetings* for Mme Corbin and yourself, and my sincere wishes of good health, prosperity, success and enjoyable time in the New Year for both of you.

I am glad that my letter found you in Paris. Nowadays, with all these stupendous inventions and progress, postal regularity has become the matter of the past, and letters take more time than before.

I shall send in a few days all the books which you require. As to my catalogues, I had only five copies of each (according to the rules of *Bibliotheca Indica*) and all of them are gone.

Concerning the *Shumûs* and *Kanzu'l-walad*, if you like to have copies of bad manuscripts, I am always glad to offer those which I have to be photographed. The difficulty only is that here, in Bombay, nobody has the photostating machine, and ordinary photographers want a rupee *per page*, *i.e.* two tumans for microfilming. A book like the *Shumûs* will therefore cost a fortune. If you like, I shall try to arrange that a copy will be made by hand. It will take longer, but will be much cheaper. I am all the time looking for an opportunity to pick up an old copy of any of these old and *secret* books, but now it seems to be extremely difficult, because the Head Priest issued special orders that in case one dies, his relatives must surrender all the *da'wat* books to religious authorities. Nevertheless, I am trying my best.

The *Râhatu'l-'aql* is progressing very slowly. I do not know what Kâmil Hussein is doing — had no letters from him for a long time. There is some mess in their University — it is an inescapable attribute of Oriental Universities. Some 320 pages have been printed, and the text itself is almost complete. But now begins the work over the commentaries and index. I have no great admiration about their commentaries, but it is not so easy to drop the matter without offending them. They asked me to prepare indexes, but I am so busy with other things.

The text, translation, and introduction of the *Rawdatu't-taslîm* have been printed, and I am now working over the indexes. I hope to have the book out in about two months' time.

Dr. Nafîsî, who came here, brought with him his copy of the *Gushâyish wa Rahâyish* of Nâsir-i Khusraw and we are lithographing it now. I am also editing a collection of Ali-Ilahi texts.[44] All this is now extremely irritating and slow, takes much time, energy and nerves.

We intended to publish the second volume of the *Collectanea*, but matters are also moving slowly with this. Dr. Lewis promised an article on references to Ismailism in European mediaeval historical works. But in connection with his going to Constantinople, he so far sent nothing. I only received an article by Stern, another Jew. It is like the thesis of an Indian student: knows nothing, understands still less, but wants to *correct* everybody, and *discover America* on every page. Normally I would politely reject the nonsense. But, as we are starting a new venture, I was advised to exercise *paternal patience*, and quietly correct what is wrong. As you may understand, this is no easy task.

I intended, as I wrote to you, to publish an article in the *Collectanea* on the comparative analysis of the language in the works of Nâsir-i Khusraw and your edition of the *Kashf*. I have not started it yet, but I hope to do it soon.

Has the *Journal Asiatique* with my note on the Biblical names in Ismaili works come out? Anyhow, it has not been received in Bombay.

I shall be so glad to hear from you. Once more, my best wishes to Mme Corbin. I always remember her charming teas. As to my tour — nothing definite is known as yet. As I wrote to you, it was postponed because our president left for London for two weeks but spent there three and a half months. Thus nothing was finally arranged before he left, and the matter thus remained pending. As soon as anything is decided, I, of course, shall inform you.

Have you got any poems by *Dâ'î* Anjudânî, a Persian poet of the XVI[th] century? He is a crypto-Ismaili, and I have collected a few poems by him. Of course, they give no new information, but, nevertheless, are interesting in some respects. If you have any information, I shall be very much obliged if you send.

Yours sincerely,
W.I.

[44] *The Truth-Worshippers of Kurdistan. Ahl-i Haqq Texts*. Voir bibliographie.

15. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 11 mai 1950*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 11 May 1950

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I cannot tell you how much ashamed I am for the inordinate delay in my writing to you! Please convey my sincerest apologies to Mme Corbin for my not having acknowledged earlier her charming Christmas card. Do not think that I forgot all about it, or was leading lazy and luxurious life. No. The cause of such my deterioration as of a correspondent was complex, and entirely independent of my defects (or virtues). It was continuous drifting, postponement for tomorrow which has long since become a cancerous development of life as it is at present. I had all reasons to expect that my book, the *Rawdatu't-taslîm* of Nasîru'd-dîn Tûsî, would be issued in January. In this belief I was waiting for the moment when I would give instructions to post to you two copies, and would write to you about everything. But delays and postponements for various causes, one more stupid than the other, were continually interfering. Thus the book is ready for being sent only *now*, in May. I have already asked the press to send the copies to you, and I hope, you will receive the books quite all right.

As to my reprints, I shall post them in a few days. You have heard this from me on many occasions, I am afraid, but I hope this time it will be the end of the prolonged failure. I prepared the whole set for you, and wanted to send it to the binder. But Dr. Nafîsî, who was here, and who intended to return to Tehran directly, promised me to take copies for you and also some other friends. Later on things have changed, and he went to Egypt, whence he has never written. There was yet another occasion, with an Armenian friend, but the departure of the boat has been changed, and he sailed in haste, having no time to inform me of the alteration of the date, and thus I have missed it.

I may also add that while Dr. Nafîsî was here, we have lithographed the *Gushâyish wa-Rahâyish,* which you know.[45] I am glad, although the

[45] Nâsir-i Khusraw, *Gushâyish wa-Rahâyish (The Book of Unfettering and Liberation)*, ed. Sa'îd Nafisî, avec un avant-propos de W. Ivanow, Leiden: Brill, 1950 (ISS A, 5); cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 46.

text is not good, being adulterated by the scribe. This was what stopped me long ago in my intentions to print it from the Cairo copy. Anyhow, *something is better than nothing*.

Just at present I am finishing the lithographing of Ali-Ilahi texts, and starting printing the introduction, indexing, etc. It may be a book of about the same size as Tûsî's. And simultaneously I am editing a late Persian Ismaili text, *Pandiyât-i Jawân-mardî*, very dull, — *wa'z*.[46]

I hope you are feeling well in Tehran this year. As to myself, I cannot say anything good. What formerly was a trifle, the thing which could be taken for granted, has now become a problem. Unless you personally see *everything*, every most trivial detail, the printers will make a complete mess, even in the matters in which an error is simply inconceivable. For instance, when printing, they will fix the block at an angle! You may believe me that it is the accumulation of such continuous and persistent pinpricks which can successfully kill every moment in life, have it completely poisoned. The only consolation should be sought in the reflection that however bad all this is, it could be worse if no facilities at all for printing would be available.

Every one seems to be now in approximately a like mood, and letters therefore are scarce. I am living in almost complete isolation, with my worries, very rarely seeing any one, and my life is utterly monotonous: work and work only. It will be soon two years since I returned to Bombay, and all this time, when I look back, appears to me as only one single long day, filled with worries, petty disappointments and irritations. I am trying to get an outing this year, but feel not certain whether I shall succeed. If I go out of India, it will be most probably Persia, but not Tehran this time. Of course, I shall write to you when the matter has been settled.

At last the *patina of time* begins to cover my reminiscences of Paris. So far it has spread only over that locality — the river opposite the Louvre, and those old streets, near Rue de Seine, etc. — I remember them with great pleasure — you see what I mean — that *warm feeling* with which one remembers something or someone whom he likes. So far, however, the rest of the map of Paris remains immune of that patina.

I wish Mme Corbin and yourself pleasant time, no suffering from the heat, and good health. I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
W.I.

[46] Mustansir billâh II b. Imâm Muhammadshâh [m. *circa* 885/1480] (attribué à), *Pandiyât-i Jawânmardî, or «Advices on Manliness»*, éd. et trad. W. Ivanow, Leiden: Brill, 1953 (ISS A, 6); cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 48.

16. *Henry Corbin à Ivanow, 20 juin 1950*

[Téhéran,] 20 juin 1950

Mon cher Collègue et Ami,

Merci bien sincèrement pour votre bonne lettre du 12 mai. Entre temps est bien arrivé le petit paquet contenant deux exemplaires du *Rawdat al-Taslîm*. De cela aussi, merci de tout cœur. À cette nouvelle, le zèle de M. Akhawi s'est réchauffé et il a promis, maintenant qu'il peut connaître le texte, de procéder à de nouvelles recherches. Nous verrons. Si jamais il réussissait et nous trouvait le chapitre manquant (le 28ème) ce ne serait pas inutile et je vous alerterais aussitôt.

Quant à moi, je me suis tout de suite plongé dans votre livre et y ai trouvé bien des choses qui ravissent mon cœur de philosophe chercheur. Les pp. 64-65 sur *hashr* sont bien intéressantes et il y en a tant en tant d'autres (le *Tasawwur* XXVII me semble calqué d'assez près sur un chapitre de Shahrastânî). Aussi je vous félicite d'autant plus d'avoir mené à bien ce gros labeur. Vous avez vraiment frayé la voie dans ce texte difficile et l'on doit vous en avoir une grande reconnaissance. Soyez sûr que j'apprécie *professionnellement* toutes les difficultés que vous avez dû vaincre, et dites-vous bien que votre effort n'est pas en vain, vous avez ici au moins un lecteur des plus attentifs!

Malheureusement, le petit paquet de tirages à part annoncé n'est pas encore arrivé. J'ai aussi quelque autre crainte, car je crois bien que vous m'aviez envoyé en leur temps le texte persan de *Shinâkht-e Imâm* et le *Shish Fasl* (B-3 et B-6). Or rien n'est arrivé et je redoute que cela ne se soit égaré à la poste, ce qui me serait une perte très sensible. Je vois avec admiration que vous avez commencé une série D et je me demande avec une inquiétude grandissante s'il faudra se mettre au gujrati pour devenir un parfait ismaélologue[47]!

Dommage que je n'aie pas été prévenu à temps que Saïd Naficy commençait chez vous l'impression du *Gushâ'ish,* car j'aurais pu vous faire tenir un agrandissement de microfilm du manuscrit Taqavî. Maintenant, j'ai peur qu'il soit trop tard. En tout cas, nous restons dans la bienheureuse attente de tous les textes annoncés: vos *Ahl-e Haqq*,[48] le *Pandiyât,* et tout bientôt, j'espère, le *Rahat al-'Aql.*

Je vous envoie ci-joint quelques pages détachées du dernier numéro (*Khordâd*) de *l'Ittilâ'ât* mensuel. C'est un article du Dr. Falsafî, qui a

[47] Cette série consiste en traductions en gujrati de travaux précédemment édités par l'IS.
[48] *The Truth-Worshippers of Kurdistan. Ahl-i Haqq Texts*. Voir bibliographie.

trouvé dans une *Majmû'a* un échange de lettre entre Malikshâh et Hasan Sabbâh[49]. La lettre de celui-ci est des plus intéressantes, c'est une sorte d'autobiographie spirituelle. C'est un peu humoristique de trouver un tel article dans une revue dont la couverture et le reste du contenu rappellent davantage un magazine de cinéma qu'une revue d'orientalisme; aussi vous ai-je détaché les pages, également pour que cela vous arrive plus vite. Je crains bien en effet que la direction de la Revue n'ait pas pensé à vous l'envoyer et il est d'importance que vous vous formiez une opinion sur l'authenticité de cette lettre. Bernard Lewis vient de passer un mois en Iran et nous en avons beaucoup parlé, sans rien conclure. Évidemment cela *colle* très bien (peut-être trop bien) avec le contenu des récits connus par ailleurs. Cela, vous en jugerez dans un sens ou dans l'autre. Je n'ose, comme philosophe, émettre un avis là-dessus.

Non, mon affaire, vous le savez, ce sont les spéculations bien abstruses. Aussi j'accueille avec grand plaisir la proposition que contenait votre lettre précédente. Puisque le microfilm serait d'un prix prohibitif, le mieux sera de recourir à un bon copiste, bien attentif, pour les deux textes que je convoite: *Kanz al-walad*, et *al-Shumûs al-zâhira.* Commençons par ces deux (je me rappelle que vous m'avez parlé aussi des *Nukhab al-moltaqata* du Sayyed Soleymân, comme convenant à mes goûts spécultatifs!). Seulement, puisqu'il s'agit d'une dépense à engager, le mieux serait sans doute que vous établissiez un petit devis, ou simplement que vous estimiez à l'avance les frais de ces travaux de copie. Cela fait, je trouverai un moyen pour vous en faire tenir le montant à Bombay. Merci d'avance. Vous savez que vous me rendrez heureux.

Malheureusement, je ne pourrai peut-être m'occuper de cela qu'à la fin d'octobre. Nous avons décidé en effet qu'il était beaucoup plus simple, et plus tentant, d'aller passer l'été en France et nous prenons l'avion à la fin de la semaine prochaine (adresse toujours la même: 19 rue de l'Odéon Paris VI). Nous reviendrons à la fin d'*octobre*. Pourvu que vous ne passiez pas à Téhéran cet été! Nous regretterions beaucoup de vous manquer et de ne pouvoir vous offrir quelques moments de fraîcheur dans notre *home*. Mais pourquoi n'y viendriez-vous pas faire un petit tour l'an prochain? Nous aurons, en septembre 1951, la célébration du millénaire d'Ibn Sînâ (cela me donne même un beau surcroît de travail,

[49] Pour une édition de cette correspondance, voir Nasrallâh Falsafî, *Chand maqâla-yi târîkhî wa-adabî*, Tehran, 1342/1963, pp. 403-26 (Intishârât-i Dânishgâh-i Tehran, 903).

pour satisfaire aux travaux que l'on m'a demandés)[50]. Nous pensons qu'il vous faudrait saisir ce petit prétexte ou un autre. C'est absolument nécessaire pour le travail intense, d'avoir un peu de détente. Je comprends très bien, par la fin de votre lettre, que vous éprouviez souvent une solitude et un isolement très lourds, mêlés de mille petits tracas. Le travail vous est une échappée et, comme je vous le disais plus haut, soyez-sûr qu'il n'est pas en vain et que tout ce que vous avez découvert a procuré à quelques-uns beaucoup de joie spirituelle. Donc bon travail, mais n'hésitez pas à vous remettre en route pour reprendre les contacts. C'est un conseil que ma femme, qui vous envoie ses amicaux messages, vous donnerait elle-même.

À bientôt de bonnes nouvelles. Croyez-moi bien fidèlement et cordialement vôtre

[Henry Corbin]

17. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 3 juillet 1950*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 3 July 1950

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Just received your extremely kind letter of 20th June, and am writing at once. I hope it will reach you when you arrive in Paris. By the way: perhaps you remember that you expressed doubts in one of your letters about the trustworthiness of my statement concerning my having sent to you a letter to Paris; now I can see why it had not reached you. I distinctly remember that I have wrongly addressed it to 19 rue de l'Opera. It was an oversight, of course, and this happens, although not so often with me. Please convey my sincere and best wishes to Mme Corbin. I

[50] Le millénaire d'Avicenne fut en fait célébré à Téhéran du 21 au 30 avril 1954; cf. G.C. Anawati, «L'Œuvre scientifique du Congrès d'Avicenne de Téhéran (21-30 avril 1954)», *MIDEO* 2 (1955), pp. 351-56; E. Rossi, «Il millenario di Avicenna a Teheran e Hamadan (21-30 aprile 1954)», *OM* 34 (1954), pp. 214-24; A. M. Goichon, «Le millénaire d'Avicenne à Téhéran», *Semaines des hôpitaux* 30, II, 77-81 (1954), pp. 4444-45; I. Madkour, «Le millénaire d'Avicenne à Téhéran et à Paris», *Mardis de Dar el-Salam* MCMLIV (1954), pp. 85-93.

wish her to enjoy your rest in Paris. I believe it will be very pleasant for you.

Now about our publications. We have posted about two weeks ago two copies of Dr. Nafîsî's text.[51] Strictly confidentially: I was very sorry to see that much nonsense was made about it. He insists on reproducing it as it is, with all mistakes, etc. despite my insistent demonstrations that this is senseless. If he wants to edit a *specimen* of the text of that time, he should take a *dated* copy, and reproduce it by photography.

I shall post to you the Ismaili Society's editions which you have not received. The *Râhatu'l-'aql* is ready, and it is intended to issue it, the *matn*, as it is, now, and leave the intended *study* by the editors (I am sure it will be nonsense) for a second volume. It is extremely difficult to correspond with Egypt now, and get any sense from there. Otherwise the book would be already available. I have the printed copy, but this was sent through *diplomatic* channels. The *Ahl-i Haqq Texts*, the text, has been printed, and now I am progressing with the English matter. Lithographying of the *Pandiyyât* will be finished this month, I hope. It is a book of about 100 pages, and the matter will be very *un*interesting to you. It is singularly dull, monotonous and silly, being a summary of the orations of the Imam exhorting his followers to pay him the tithes.

Do not start studying Gujrati: our texts are merely translations of the corresponding numbers in English.[52] *Many thanks* for the cutting with the letter of Hasan-i Sabbâh. I have not yet read it, as it has just arrived, but I shall read it later. It will be all the more useful as I hope to take up now the preparation of an edition of the portion of the *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh* containing the story of the saint. I hope also to publish a volume of short Nizârî Ismaili texts and fragments.

I am sure that my treatment of Ismaili and other texts may often offend your philosophical approach of the matter. But, with age, I feel myself more and more being drifted to a purely scientific viewpoint. If Mr. Akhawi finds the *lost* copy,[53] and a photograph is sent to me, I shall be very glad indeed. Please, if you see him, tell him that the Ismaili Society will pay all the expenses connected with the book.

About your desire to have a copy of the *Kanzu'walad* and *Shumûs*. You will be badly disappointed, I am sure. But if you wish so, I shall try

[51] Le *Gushâyish wa-Rahâyish* de Nâsir-i Khusraw, dans l'édition de S. Nafîsî; voir bibliographie.

[52] Il est ici question de la série D des publications de l'IS.

[53] Du *Rawdat al-taslîm* de Nasîr al-Dîn Tûsî.

at once to have a copy transcribed for you. It will be not much, in terms of money, but it will take time. Preparing a microfilm or photostats is absurdly expensive in India. I shall let you know as soon as I see what can I do.

I am extremely ashamed, not only before you, but also other friends, for my having failed so far to send you my old reprints. But it is not due to laziness or unwillingness. In the hustle of everyday work the matter is postponed till the *next Sunday*, and when Sunday comes, there is always some urgent work, and the reprints are postponed till the *next Sunday*, and when Sunday comes, there is always some urgent work, and the reprints are postponed till the *next Sunday*, again. I shall do all this as soon as I can.

I do not know anything so far about my going to Persia. Anyhow, I do not think I shall visit soon Tehran. In any case, as your are in touch with those who are in charge with the preparations for Ibn Sînâ celebrations, please ask them to send an invitation to me. I shall show it to the committee of the Ismaili Society, and they will decide whether to let me go there, or not. It is always better if the initiative comes from outside, because I have to use my own *initiative* on various other occasions. I am planing a tour to Chitrâl for three months, beginning with August, but nothing is clear as yet. In addition, the political situation, with this bestial hysterics of the black-market scoundrels' government of Amurrrrrica make the matters very uncertain. No use to get there only to be marooned for a long time. If the facilities of the tour to Chitrâl are dim, I shall try perhaps to go to East Persia, i.e. Bîrjand and Qâ'in, for a special purpose, in addition to simply rest: I want to make an experiment which, as far as I know, has never been made before. I want to revisit those localities in which 40 years ago I was collecting specimen of popular poetry, and get some samples now, in order to see how much the language has changed. I am sure, the results of the inquiry may interest specialists.

I received a few days ago a letter from Prof. Gibb, Oxford, who says that probably not many Britishers are going to join the next year's Congress of Orientalists in Constantinople, but he most probably will go, and wishes that I would also come.[54] If the Congress of Orientalists in Paris, 1948, was a kind of a silly farce, and was very badly organized, I imagine what it will be in Constantinople. To come all the way simply to listen someone's mumbling on a dull and worthless subject is simply

[54] Le XXII[e] Congrès des Orientalistes (Istanbul, 15-22 septembre 1951). Cf. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Congress of Orientalists held in Istanbul September 15th to 22nd, 1951*, ed. Z.V. Togan, Leiden: Brill, 1957.

nonsense. I am writing to some people to elicit their opinion whether we, Islamologists, should come, but not for the purpose of attending the congress, but to form our own conference to discuss the plan, or programme, for further research and fix priorities. I am writing in this sense to Prof. Massignon. Do you plan coming to Constantinople?

May I burden you with a commission? If it is not convenient to you, do nothing, this will be quite all right. With that accursed Egyptian censorship, I have lost contact with my friends: Frederick Max (was in Bombay, Cairo, Alexandria, etc.), G[eorges] Zawadowski (was in Cairo), Dr. Lescot (was in Cairo).

I shall be very much obliged if you refer to your Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and let me know, where they are at present. I do not write directly for obvious reasons, and to write to Cairo is useless. My friends there avoid the mention of others in their letters, apparently because there were cases of harassment. I have a friend of mine who is the Indian Ambassador in Cairo, but he is an idiot, whom it is useless to ask to do anything. Just the man to be an ambassador.

I shall be very much obliged if you, while reading the *Tasawwurât*,[55] and noticing any mistakes and inaccuracies, will kindly let me know. As you surely know quite well, when one reads the text again and again, in proofs, etc., his attention weakens, and he may unconsciously skip errors. I want to introduce a special section in our *Collectanea* in which corrections would be printed to our earlier publications. I have already collected some materials for the next volume, but do not know when it will appear, as it is not so easy to publish several works simultaneously.

Lewis wrote to me several times, and even was as kind as to send some photographs from a work of Tûsî in one of the Constantinople libraries. I did not know that he was going to Tehran — his *service* apparently requires secrecy. He intended to send me an article for the *Collectanea*, but there were so many changes that I have really lost the count, and do not know which it will ultimately be.

In my *Ahl-i Haqq Texts* you will find something of interest to you. I am sorry, however, I have no idea as to when the book will be ready. There are so many difficulties in everything, and the press is simply exasperating. I cannot all the time stand by their side and see that every correction and alteration has been introduced. But if you trust them even very little — be sure that you will regret it.

[55] L'édition et traduction du *Rawdat al-taslîm* de Nasîr al-Dîn Tûsî; voir bibliographie.

To conclude this long letter, I have again to confirm my *determination* to post to you the reprints as soon as possible. Please forgive me my laziness (which is not laziness), and delay.

Once more my best compliments to Mme Corbin.

Yours sincerely,
W.I.

I think I have already written to you that the *Dîwân* and the autobiography, *Sîrat*, of Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyid Shîrâzî have come out. Kâmil Hussein has also published a book on the Fatimid literature: *Fî adab misr al-fâtima* (381 pages!).[56]

18. *Henry Corbin à Ivanow, 20 janvier 1951*

[Téhéran,] 20 janvier 1951

Mon cher Collègue et Ami,

Je suis terriblement en retard avec vous. Votre bonne et longue lettre du 22 novembre est fort bien arrivée et nous l'avons lue, ma femme et moi-même, avec grand interêt et sympathie[57]. Notre séjour d'été en Europe s'est fort bien passé, avec beaucoup d'allées et venues, et nous faisons cette expérience que la vie en Orient devient possible, pour la santé physique et morale, si l'on a chaque année quelques mois d'été pour reprendre la vie européenne. Seulement c'est un petit tour de force dont on ne sait jamais jusqu'à quand on pourra le répéter. Nous nous sommes arrêtés une semaine à Damas au retour, que nous ne connaissions pas du tout et où nous avons vu un tas de choses intéressantes. J'ai manqué à 24 heures de près les deux frères Tamer, les émirs ismaéliens de Salamîya.

Tous vos petits envois sont bien arrivés. J'ai *beaucoup* aimé les *Tasawwurât,* tant il y a de choses dans ce petit livre. Je compte avoir l'occasion d'en parler amplement, et je vous félicite d'avoir mené à bien un tel travail. Plus récemment sont arrivés B-3 et B-6. Bravo pour le prélude vengeur qui paie les orientalistes de leur démêlé avec les imprimeurs orientaux. Il m'a été très précieux de lire le texte persan de *Shanâkht-e-Imâm* et celui des *6 fasl*. Quant au *Gushâ'ish*, M. Naficy a des procédés tout à fait extraordinaires d'affirmation et de raisonnement. D'autre part, le cher homme se met dans des situations inextricables en tenant de côté

[56] Md K. Husayn, *Fî adab misr al-fâtima*, Le Caire: Dâr al-fikr al-'arabî, 1950.
[57] L'éditeur n'a pas eu accès à cette lettre.

et d'autre des propos inconsidérés. Aussi je préfère ne pas trop parler de ce cas étrange.

Pour la succession de Sauvaget au Collège de France, il y avait compétition entre Wiet et Brunschwig. Je viens d'apprendre que Wiet a été élu tout récemment, et je m'en réjouis. C'est vraiment là un de ces signes extraordinaires du destin, devant lesquels on médite avec fruit. La façon dont Sauvaget avait naguère été élu contre son vieux maître Wiet avait étonné quelques-uns. Aujourd'hui, nous en sommes là. Mon cher Ami, vous êtes bien solitaire à Bombay, c'est entendu et c'est lourd. Mais vous êtes un Sage. Et pour la *Qiyâmat al-qiyâmât* vous êtes en bien meilleure position que perché sur quelque trône académique.

Je n'ai entendu que très vaguement parler du projet de l'UNESCO auquel vous faites allusion. En revanche, je viens de recevoir une circulaire très précise de *l'Encyclopédie de l'Islam* et on se sent un peu débordé par ces projets grandioses.

Autre nouvelle: la célébration du Millénaire d'Avicenne aura lieu non pas en octobre 51, mais en mai 52. La raison de ce délai est, non pas tant l'inachèvement du monument, que l'inachèvement de l'hôtel où doivent être logés les éminents orientalistes. Sans doute cette information vous sera-t-elle utile pour vos projets de voyage.

J'ai reçu la circulaire pour le Congrès d'Istanbul[58]. Vraiment la date (8-15 septembre) tombe bien mal, car nous n'avons guère envie d'abréger notre séjour en Europe pour revenir si tôt en Orient. En tout cas, si vous deviez passer à Téhéran avant le début de juillet, nous serons presque sûrement là. Plus sûrement encore si vous y venez pour le Millénaire d'Avicenne.

Je suis très intéressé par tous les travaux que vous avez en cours. Surtout les textes des Ahl-e Haqq et les fragments Nizâr. Je crois bien avoir maintenant à peu près toutes les publications de Kâmil Hosayn,[59] mais on soupire toujours après le *Râhat al-'Aql.*

[58] Le XXII[e] Congrès des Orientalistes (Istanbul, 15-22 septembre 1951).

[59] En 1951, Kâmil Husayn avait edité les *Majâlis al-mustansiriyya* d'Abû l-Qâsim 'Abd al-Hakîm b. Wahb al-Mâlîjî (Le Caire, 1947; cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 46-47, n° 163; Daftary, *Ismâ'îlîs*, pp. 218-19, 595 n. 12, 641 n. 160), le *Kitâb al-himma fî âdâb attibâ' al-a'imma* d'al-Qâdî al-Nu'mân (Le Caire, 1948), des passages du *Kitâb al-Rushd wa-l-hidâya* attribué à b. Hawshab (Le Caire, 1948), le *Dîwân* d'al-Mu'ayyid fî l-dîn (Le Caire, 1949) et le *Sîrat* d'al-Mu'ayyid fî l-dîn (Le Caire, 1949). Sur les éditions par Kâmil Husayn d'ouvrages ismaéliens, jusqu'à 1956, cf. *The Ismaili Society of Bombay. The Tenth Anniversary (16-2-1946 – 16-2-1956).* ed. W. Ivanow, Bombay: Ismaili Printing Press, 1956, pp. 7-9.

Je reviens encore avec une douce insistance sur vos propositions concernant le *Kanz, Zâhira.* Puisque c'est le seul moyen pratique, n'hésitez pas à mettre un copiste au travail sur les manuscrits que vous possédez, quitte à jeter naturellement un petit coup d'œil par-dessus son épaule. Comme cela, bien entendu, demandera une mise de fond pour les honoraires du copiste, je vous prie de me dire très simplement le montant de la somme à prévoir et je vous l'adresserai par le moyen dont nous disposons ici.

Vous avez peut-être reçu une lettre de Max, dont votre lettre me demandait des nouvelles et qui est maintenant précisément secrétaire à l'Ambassade de Téhéran. Quant à Roger Lescot, il est secrétaire oriental à l'Ambassade de France au Caire.

Donc bon travail et bon courage! Dites-vous que nous pensons à vous et que nous vous attendons ici un de ces jours et croyez, je vous prie, à mes bien cordiaux et dévoués sentiments.

[Henry Corbin]

19. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin 5 févier 1951*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba or P. Box 585
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 5 February 1951

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Just returned to my lair from a trip to Hydarabad, and found your charming letter awaiting me. Many thanks for the information which you so kindly let me have. With these technical wonders and supersonic speeds we have now so little contact with the outside world — many simply write only when they need something, and never reply letters if one has to ask them even for the most trivial obligation.

Everybody seems to be unanimous in finding the date of the proposed session of the Congress of Orientalists to be extremely unsuitable. If the present dirty political game continues unabated, with no relief in the situation, I doubt whether many will attend the session generally. Personally I feel as if it would be perfectly useless to go there. With regard to Avicenna, this seemed more interesting to me, but let it be finalized, the date and all.

I am glad that you like our publications. With regard to the *Tasawwurât*, I must tell you that I do not like the way in which it has been issued:

it has caused to me an immense amount of worries in the process of publication. I hope my next books will be better produced.

I have not received any circulars either from the Congress, nor concering the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

With regard to the copies of the *Kanzu'l Walad* and *Shumûs*, the situation is as follows: a full set of photostats, or of microfilms will cost here an immensely large sum of money. On the contrary, copying is cheap. I came in contact with a man who can do it, about four months ago. He offered to me to copy some books, but he had no access at the time to good copies of both those works, while he had a good copy of the *Jâmi'u'l-haqâ'iq*, which is a summary of the points in the eight *Mi'ât* of the lectures of al-Mu'ayyid — an interesting work.[60] I told him to get on with that work, and he promised to complete it by the middle of December, when he intended to come again to Bombay. But so far he has not come, and I am writing to him today to find out what has happened. If he has finished the work, I shall at once ask him to proceed with the *Kanz*. I never could understand why these people are so reluctant simply to sell the original. They had their longstanding prejudice against selling their books, but surely they are not so stupid as to not to understand that the original, or the copy from it prepared for me, are just the same as regards the contents. If he has an assistant, I shall ask him to start copying both works simultaneously. But please note that the copying is going in about 1000 kilometres from here, and it is not so easy to make these people to state in what position the work is. They do the copying only in their spare time, and therefore it moves very slowly, indeed. I shall let you know the exact cost, but trust that it will be something reasonable. Of course, you must not expect the copy to be faultless. In prewar days when I was more in touch with them, I asked one of their *specialists* to check the copy, collating it with the original, of course, paying him properly. But from the corrections of the learned specialist I concluded that it would be better not to bother him.

Many thanks for the news of Max and Lescot. So far I have not received any letter from the former, but will be glad to get one, of course.

Of course, if my visit to Persia begins to materialize, I shall at once inform you. But if the Avicenna celebrations are postponed, I may try to

[60] Le *Jâmi' al-haqâ'iq* de Hâtim b. Ibrâhîm al-Hâmidî (m. 596/1199), dans lequel l'auteur remanie systématiquement le contenu des *Majâlis al-Mu'ayyidiyya* d'al-Mu'ayyid fî l-Dîn al-Shîrâzî (m. 470/1077). Ces *Majâlis* sont habituellement désignés sous le nom de «centaines» (*Mi'ât*) et répartis en huit volumes de cent chacun.

make a tour in the Ismaili-inhabited territories in the North, postponing the tour to Persia to the next year. All this depends on many factors, and I cannot tell you at present even the extent of probabilities. Yes, returning for a few months to a cultural centre is always refreshing and stimulating. Unfortunately, I cannot go to Russia, where Oriental studies are progressing. London etc., would be of no use at all as everything is stable there.

I have met Wiet several times, but it was not easy to converse much with him. Is he leaving Cairo for Paris? Would not it be better to put him in charge of the Louvre? His Cairo Museum (Muslim) is incomparably better arranged than the Louvre, which is irritating.

I hope that you are feeling well and fit. Please convey the enclosed letter to Mme Corbin, together with my best compliments and wishes.

Yours very sincerely,
W.I.

I shall write to you as soon as I hear anything of interest concerning the copying.

20. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 28 avril 1951*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 28 April 1951

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I just received a letter from Mr. Max, in which he mentions you, and says that he intends to leave for France on the 5th of May. As I doubt very much that my letter may still get him in Tehran, I am writing this to you. In case he will be still there, and you see him, please convey to him my best wishes, and tell him that I shall write to him to his address in France.

Meanwhile, I hope that both of you are feeling well and fit. Please convey my best compliments to Mme Corbin, I always remember her very kind hospitality and her translatorship in our conversations.

I just wanted to write to you anyhow to tell about further news concerning the manuscripts which you wanted to get from here. I asked a friend of mine about the possibility of copying the *Shumûs*, *Kanz*, etc.,

and he said to me that he is quite willing to get these for being copied for me (I cannot mention your name, of course). In order to test the accuracy of the scribe, I asked him first to make him copy a small treatise. This took him over six months, and I just recieved it about a fortnight ago. The handwriting was very bad, and the man seems to be hopelessly inaccurate. I therefore wrote to him my impressions, and suggested to sell to me the originals, offering a good price. He replied that he will tell me everything personally on his arrival in Bombay, and I saw him yesterday. The answer is: "No. It is a sin to *sell* our books to outsiders." "But is not the copying for any one also a sin?" — "No. He pays *for work*." Therefore the conversation was about providing a reliable scribe, and this was duly promised. I shall see him soon, and try to make arrangements, but how fast the matters are going to move — this I cannot tell you. The costs will be small. They have some silly notions concerning this also, and apparently have *conscientious objections* to this, too, despite the present great depreciation of the money. Anyhow, we cannot change all that. If there will be any opportunity to speed up the matter by purchasing ready books, I shall do this, of course.

Please let me know as to when you intend to go on a leave, and please repeat the correct form of your address in France.

My programme is not yet settled, but it seems definite that I am not going to Constantinople for the congress session — here everybody regards it as a farce on which there is no use to waste money and time.

Sad news: I[gnatij] Kratchkovsky has died about a month or more ago. In his last letter which I received in January, he complained on suffering from asthma. He was no genius, of course, but a good scholar of that real *ackademiker* style, always up-to-date of full bibliographical information, very polite and delicate in his opinions of others, the man liked by all, and not hated except by a few. He surely has left no lasting trace in orientalism. But what was precious in him was his being a really man of great culture, a rare thing in our advanced days. I feel very sorry, although, of course, there hardly could be two men so different as he and myself.

It is also sad that all sorts of troubles are developing now in Persia. I had a strong desire to go on a tour there this summer, but this has to be given up. Well, with the American help and benefactions we are bound to expect more and more troubles everywhere — we need not make any illusions: they want to make money.

My publications are going ahead. My Cairo friends promise that the *Râhatu'l-'aql*, the text, will be out within a month. I do not know how easy it will be to get copies from there, with their super-idiotic censorship.

In any case, I hope to get a few, and to send a copy to you, with the help of the *diplomatic channels* (which, however, are not always reliable, and always very slow).

Once more please accept my best wishes for both of you, of good health, peace of mind, and success in everything.

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

21. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 1er mai 1951*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 1 May 1951

To: Dr. H. Corbin,
Institut Franco-Iranien, Tehran.

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I have written to you only a few days ago, and you may be surprised that I am writing again. It is a request to you, and I shall be very much obliged if you may find it possible to do what you can. In his letter, Mr. Max mentioned the articles which appeared in the Persian press during the visit of H[is] H[oliness] the Aghâ Khân — all, including the alleged *human sacrifice*.[61] As Mr. Max has already gone, I am unable to request him to let me have, if possible, the cuttings which contain such articles. In case it is not difficult for you, or if you can collect them through someone, I shall be very much obliged if you send them to me. In case there are any expenses connected with this, we shall gratefully refund it to you. We have many *monstrosities* in our files, connected with H[is] H[oliness] Aghâ Khân as he appears in the press in different countries. Really, it is possible to make up a fascinating and very amusing book. Of course, the Ismaili Society is not going to print it, but we would like to keep it for record. Please excuse me for such a commission. I hope it will not present to you much difficulty.

I am going on with my work. The matter with copying the *Shumûs* has been settled, and the copying will be done in Bombay, so that it will be easier to speed it up. I have not seen the original from which the

[61] Sur cette visite en Iran, en 1951, de l'Aghâ Khân III, cf. Daftary, *Ismâ'îlîs*, p. 539.

scribe is going to copy it, but I have reasons to think that it will be fairly good. If you remain in Tehran during the summer, it will be possible to send you the copy gradually, by installments. Please convey my best compliments to Mme Corbin. I shall be awaiting news from you as to whether you are going on a leave to Europe.

It is a pity that Persia has entered a new period of troubles. We all have had quite enough of troubles of all kinds, and every one wants some rest. But what to do — we are living through a mad time, and it looks as if the matters are bound to go worse, not better, everywhere.

With my best compliments, and sincere apologies for giving you a commission, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

22. *Henry Corbin à Ivanow, 24 juin 1951*

[Téhéran,] 24 juin 1951

Mon cher Collègue et Ami,

Ne croyez pas surtout que j'ai oublié vos deux si intéressantes lettres, dont je vous remercie bien tardivement, mais de tout cœur. Je me suis occupé de tout ce que vous me demandiez et j'ai réuni pour vous un bon nombre d'articles intéressants et très piquants. Permettez-moi cependant de ne vous écrire aujourd'hui qu'une courte missive et, comme nous prenons l'avion dans huit jours pour la France, je vous écrirai alors plus longuement et delà je vous enverrai les notes que j'ai à vous envoyer. Vous comprendrez alors les raisons de ce petit délai.

Merci de tout cœur aussi pour cette excellente nouvelle que vous aviez pu enfin mettre un copiste au travail pour établir une copie des *Shumûs*, *Kanz* etc. Je vois que vous avez eu beaucoup de peine pour y arriver. Comme je vais être absent de Téhéran jusqu'à l'automne, le mieux est que vous conserviez jusqu'à ce moment-là la copie et m'envoyiez alors le tout ensemble. Surtout, prévenez-moi dès qu'il serait opportun de couvrir les frais de copiste. Je me réjouis tellement de pouvoir étudier ces textes bien abstrus!

Un brave homme a promis de nous apporter ces jours-ci un manuscrit dans lequel il y aurait des poèmes ismaéliens d'un certain *Gharîbî* ([*Dîwân*])[62]? Connaissez-vous? J'aurais à peine le temps de voir le manuscrit avant

[62] Muhammad Ridâ b. Sultân Husayn Ghûriyânî ou Khayrkhâh-i Harâtî (m. après 960/1553), qui écrivait sous le nom de plume (*takhallus*) de Gharîbî. WI devait plus tard identifier cet auteur grâce à un manuscrit fourni par HC (voir *infra* lettres n° 29, 38).

mon départ. En tout cas nous ferons un microfilm et je vous donnerai plus ample information dans ma prochaine lettre.

Le seconde circulaire confirme que le Congrès des Orientalistes doit avoir lieu à Istanbul le 15 septembre, mais nous nous demandons comment il leur sera possible de sortir des difficultés de logement. En principe, je devrais y aller. En fait, ce n'est pas du tout sûr. Je fuis l'Orient pendant l'été, afin de retrouver nos bibliothèques et nos arbres (comme vous!). Istanbul, où j'ai passé six ans, ne m'offre plus un tel attribut de nouveauté que j'aie envie de renoncer à tout cela[63].

Max est à Paris depuis deux mois. Il doit rentrer à Téhéran au début de septembre. Le petit dossier que je vous ai préparé comprend exactement les coupures qu'il avait réunies. Finalement, j'ai l'impression que vous ne [v]ous mettrez pas en voyage cet été. Le millénaire d'Avicenne reste fixé à mai 1952, mais en ce moment on n'en parle pas beaucoup, les esprits étant accaparés et obsédés par une situation tumultueuse.

J'avais eu le plaisir de m'entretenir deux fois avec l'Agâ Khân pendant mon séjour (rencontres, il est vrai, purement mondaines). Là-dessus aussi dans ma prochaine lettre.

Enfin bon travail. Quand le *Râhat al-'Aql* sera sorti, prévenez-moi pour que l'on tâche de débloquer quelques exemplaires.

Avec les meilleurs souvenirs de ma femme, je vous prie d'agréer, Mon cher Collègue et Ami, l'assurance de mes cordiaux et dévoués sentiments.

[Henry Corbin]

Mon adresse à Paris à partir du début de juillet: 19 rue de l'Odéon, Paris VI

23. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 5 juillet 1951*

[Bombay,] 5 July 1951

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you very much for your very kind letter and the promise to send to us those cuttings. I hope you will enjoy well your summer in France. Please convey my best regards to Mme Corbin.

Your *Kanzu'l-Walad* is being copied, but I do not know how long it will take to complete the whole. The paper is not handmade. I bought

[63] HC y participa avec une communication intitulée «Le 'Kitâb Jâmi' al-Hikmatain' de Nâsir-e Khosraw»; cf. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Congress of Orientalists held in Istanbul September 15th to 22nd, 1951*, ed. Z.V. Togan, Leiden: Brill, 1957, vol. 2, pp. 241-42.

handmade paper, but the scribe, who uses steel pen, and cannot write by a *qalam*, said that he was unable to write, and asked me to give him machine made paper. His handwriting is not good, but he was specially instructed to copy slavishly everything which he finds in the original. All my requests to sell the original were rejected.

I enclose here a review of a new book, one of those productions of learning which grow quick and in plenty as poisonous mushrooms, while important books cannot be published owing to high cost of paper and printing. The local Ismailis were infuriated by this unprovoked and undeserved abuse, and published an editorial in their weekly, *Ismaili*. The author is an unbalanced man, and, as a scholar, complete nullity. But for some reason he *appeals* to the present *leading circles* in British Orientalism (or rather decayed remnants of it), who always pick up either a humbug and charlatan as the late Denison Ross, or a real madman for their admiration.

I shall be glad for a letter from you from Paris. I received a letter from Max, and wrote to him again. He is leaving on the 14th July for the South of France. I am sure you will see him there — convey my compliments to him, and also to Mr. Lescot. Also, if you happen to see him, to L. Massignon.

I have sent some suggestions to the president of the Constantinople Congress of Orientalists, whom I used to know some 35 years ago.[64] If they agree, we shall print it here, and sent for the distribution to members — a programme for discussions concerning the coordination of studies. I do not think I shall go personally there, although I would have no objection to having a look at Constantinople, and having a chance to make also a hurried tour to Greece.

With my best compliments, and best wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

24. ***Henry Corbin à Ivanow, s.d.***

19 rue de l'Odéon
Paris VI

Paris, [non datée]

Mon cher Collègue et Ami,

Nous voici depuis quelques semaines à Paris et l'on est happé et sollicité par tant de choses que le recueillement pour écrire de vraies lettres

[64] Zeki Velidi Togan (1890-1970).

fait défaut. Il y a les travaux et les recherches que l'on poursuit bien entendu; mais il y a aussi les concerts, les allées et venues d'amis, quelques excursions. Il a plu énormément cette année et les arbres des forêts sont incroyablement verts et touffus. Mais c'est peut-être cruel de vous y faire penser pendant que vous êtes à Bombay!

Nous partirons cette semaine pour une dizaine de jours en Suisse où je dois donner deux conférences. Pas beaucoup de nouvelles à vous donner des orientalistes. Massignon va bien, toujours très amical, mais surmené et sa production en souffre. Il ira au Congrès d'Istanbul. Grousset est malade, Massé aussi. Finalement, nous n'irons pas à Istanbul; la date offre trop de difficultés et d'ailleurs je n'entends plus parler de rien depuis mon séjour ici. Ont-ils accepté vos suggestions? La situation est très nette: il y a ceux qui veulent maintenir la fiction de l'unité de l'orientalisme comme au siècle dernier; c'est sans doute très édifiant, mais terriblement peu pratique. On pourrait peut-être maintenir autrement l'unité toute *nominale*. Et il y a les audacieux qui osent dire qu'un tas de choses ne les concernent pas. Pour ma part je sais bien que nous pourrions parler ensemble nuit et jour de choses ismaéliennes (avec le secours de ma femme!), ou encore qu'un philosophe émergeant de méditations bouddhiques me dira des choses passionnantes. Je suis moins sûr d'être passionné par les vicissitudes phonétiques du chinois, ou par les tarifs douaniers à l'époque mamlûk. Et je sais bien qu'en entraînant certains collègues dans les subtilités du *zamân motlaq* et du *zamân mahsûr*, je vais les faire mourir d'ennui! Notre orientalisme ne fait que réfléter une crise générale de l'organisation du savoir.

Merci beaucoup pour le petit extrait de l'hebdomadaire *ismaeli* que vous aviez joint à votre dernière lettre. Le pauvre Tritton avait dû laisser tomber ses fiches par terre et les ramasser en complet désordre. Mais à propos, ce petit hebdomadaire semble bien intéressant. On serait heureux, même, de le voir plus souvent. Est-ce possible?

Ci-joint enfin le petit dossier de coupures de presse persane réunis à votre intention. Je ne sais si vos amis Ismaéliens en riront ou se fâcheront. Vous ai-je raconté l'histoire des *sacrifices humains?* Le molla Falsafî a fait un terrible sermon: «Oui, mes frères, même si toute l'eau de la mer Caspienne était changé en vin et que vous buviez de cette eau (ou de ce vin), votre péché serait moins grand que ce qu'ont voulu commettre ces Ismaéliens etc...» Tout le monde pleurait. C'est stupide et inepte, mais pendant les mois suivants nous avons entendu tant d'autres inepties que l'on était finalement blasé. Les choses n'ont pas l'air d'aller mieux et je suis quelque peu inquiet pour l'hiver prochain.

Merci encore pour le *Kanz* et les *Shumûs*. Que votre brave copiste s'en sorte, c'est l'essentiel. Nous serons, *insh'Allâh,* à Téhéran fin octobre. Mieux vaut attendre sans doute pour faire alors l'envoi. Mais n'omettez pas de nous dire les crédits engagés dans ce gros travail de copie.

Je n'ai eu que le temps de feuilleter avant mon départ le manuscrit dont je vous parlais. Il contient en effet des poésies nettement ismaéliennes d'un certain Gharîbî[65]. Connaissez-vous? Comme nous avons fait un microfilm, je l'étudierai plus à loisir à la rentrée.

Autre chose dont je voulais vous parler. Vous vous rappelez les photographies de *Jâmi' al-Hikmatain* attribué à Nâsir-e Khosraw[66]. Après étude approfondie du texte, avec Mo'în, je crois qu'il n'y a plus à douter de l'authenticité du texte. Nâsir s'y cite lui-même (son *Dîwân*, le *Zâd*[67]). La date de 422 H. en fin de la *Risâla* (publiée à la suite du *Dîwân*[68]) avait à juste titre provoqué votre scepticisme. Cette *Risâla* n'est qu'un pauvre ramassis de paragraphes glanés dans notre traité, à la fin duquel en tout cas la date de 422 ne paraît pas. D'autre part un de nos amis nous a rapporté d'Istanbul un autre commentaire ismaélien de la *qasîda* que commente Nâsir[69]. Tout cela est devenu tellement excitant les dernières semaines que nous nous sommes résolus à nous lancer dans l'impression de l'ensemble (concurrement avec l'impression de *Hikmat al-Ishrâq* de Sohravardî, qui touche à sa fin). Peut-être aurais-je pu vous les proposer, mais le travail nous est tellement plus facile à Téhéran, avec notre petite imprimerie sous la main. Et vous savez que pour vous-même et pour vos amis Ismaéliens, il y aura toujours autant d'exemplaires que vous désirez.

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65 Voir lettre 22 et la note 62.

66 Le *Jâmi' al-hikmatayn* de Nâsir-i Khusraw, consistant en réponses à une série de 91 questions en vers, sous forme de *qasîda*, d'un certain Abû l-Haytham al-Jurjânî, dont nous ne savons rien. Cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 159-63 (n° 751); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 111-25 (n° 9).

67 Le *Zâd al-musâfirîn*; cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 159-63 (n° 749).

68 Nâsir-i Khusraw, *Dîwân-e ash'âr-e hakîm Abû Mu'în Hamîd al-Dîn Nâsir b. Khusraw Qubâdiyânî*, ed. N.A. Taqawî, contient aussi le *Rushnâ'înâma*, le *Sa'âdatnâma* et la *Risâla* du même auteur; introduction de H. Taqîzâda, Tehran: Kitâbkhâna-yi Tehrân, 1307/1928.

69 Le *Sharh-i qasîda* de Muhammad b. Surkh al-Nîshâpûrî (IV^{e}/X^{e} siècle). Selon ses propres termes, cet auteur avait été pendant neuf ans l'élève d'Abu 'l-Haytham al-Jurjânî. Le manuscrit que mentione ici HC est un *unicum* de la bibliothèque de Murâd Mullâh, à Istanbul, édité plus tard par HC lui-même et Md Mo'in: *Commentaire de la Qasîda ismaélienne d'Abu l'-Haitham Jorjani attribué à Mohammad ibn Sorkh de Nishapour (IV^{e}/X^{e}-V^{e}/XI^{e} siècle).* Texte persan éd. avec introd. et esquisse comparative en fr. par H. Corbin et Md Mo'in, Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1955 (Bibliothèque Iranienne, 6). Voir «Bibliographie générale», n° 95. Sur cette édition, voir aussi le compte rendu de S.M. Stern, *BSOAS* 22 (1959), pp. 585-88.

Nous avons vu notre ami Max. Il s'en allait faire une cure dans je ne sais plus quelle station thermale. Il repartira en septembre pour Téhéran où sa présence me fait plaisir, car il nous arrive de philosopher ensemble en bonne harmonie.

Et vous, toujours en plein travail? Pas de moment de détente en vue? En tout cas, tâchez de ne pas passer à Téhéran avant la fin d'octobre. À moins de catastrophe, nous y serons de retour à ce moment là.

Où que vous soyez, je vous souhaite bon travail, Mon cher Collègue et Ami. On ne vous oublie pas. Avec les meilleurs messages de ma femme, je vous redis mes sentiments bien cordiaux.

[Henry Corbin]

25. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 27 août 1951*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 27 August 1951

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you very much for your very kind letter of the 17th inst. and the cuttings. Our president is still travelling, and is expected in the first week of September when I shall submit them to him. Please convey my best and sincerest compliments to Mme Corbin, thanking her for kind memory.

The copying of the *Kanz* is approaching completion. It is comparatively not expensive, although the handwriting is not calligraphical. Do not worry about the payment. I am paying the copyist from the I[smaili] S[ociety] funds, and when the book is ready to be sent to you, I shall ask the president whether we have to ask you to pay, or it may go as a friendly present, in case, of course, it is intended for yourself personally. I am trying my best to secure a reliable copy of the *Shumûs*, which you want, to be taken next. As perhaps you know well, it is not easy to stick to a certain programme when dealing with the pious sectarians. They always have their caprices and moods, usually unpredictable and often appearing as childish. The only way to get some success is to exercise patience in dealing with them — which is often not an easy thing to do.

As regard the *Ismaili* weekly of Bombay, it is in Gujrati, except the first *two* pages in English. You must not imagine it as a learned, or even

a popular historical, etc. periodical devoted to the study of Ismailism. No, their articles are rarely devoted to such matters, and chiefly, or entirely centre around purely social and political interests of their community, glorification of some important members, glorification of the Aghâ Khân, and, above all, Indian politics — a subject which is the least inspiring for a foreigner. If there are any articles of interest to you, they only appear in the annual *birthday* number, usually published in January (although the Aghâ Khân was born on the 2nd of November). When you return to Tehran, I shall post to you the last year number, and, if you like, some ordinary week numbers, as specimens. I may add, that the *Ismaili* is not the only publication — there are many more in the community, but they are printed in Gujrati only. Usually their literary value is equal to = 0. Can you read Urdu? If you like, I can send to you a copy of the Urdu version of a *complete history* of Ismailism, *Nûrum Mubîn*, written by some of their pious scholars[70]. It contains many interesting illustrations, although badly printed.

I am not going to Constantinople, and so far have not received any answer from them concerning my proposals — well, this is what I really expected. All is a farce, and if there are any moneys to be spent on such tours, it would be better to go to Persia, if and when the situation eases there.

As to your most interesting news of the *Dîwân* of Gharîbî, I do not remember his name. I shall be very much obliged if you let me know the approximate period to which he belongs. Perhaps it would be possible to make enlargements from a few pages which you consider the most interesting or typical and send them to me. If he really was an Ismaili, I shall suggest to the I[smaili] S[ociety] to ask you, if you have no objections, to order for us a complete set of enlargements from your microfilm. Please also look for the *Dîwân* or *mathnawîs* of Amrî Shîrâzî (executed in Shîrâz in 999 Hijrî).[71] I have two of his lengthy and dull *mathnawîs*.

As to the *Jâmi'u'l-Hikmatayn* of Nâsir-i Khusraw it would be, of course, very interesting to publish it. Taqizadeh told me in 1948 that the book is a genuine work of Nâsir, but the date in the published fragment is wrong — quite possibly. I cannot tell you anything definite at the moment, whether the I[smaili] S[ociety] may or may not finance its edition. It

[70] *Nûr al-mubîn* (ou *Noorum Mobin*) de Alimahomed J. Chunara, une histoire semi-officielle de l'ismaélisme publiée en gujrati et en urdu dans les années 1930.

[71] Abû l-Qâsim Muhammad Kûhpâ'î (Amrî Shîzâzî) (m. 999/1590-1). Cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 144-45; Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 277-78.

would be too long to explain here the most complex procedure and strategic situation with every proposed publication. Just now, the Persian text of the rare *Pandiyât-i Jawân-mardî*, which has been litographed by me more than a year ago, is lying in expectation of their decision as to a complete translation of it, to accompany the text, should be published, or a mere summary and comments. You will never guess correctly the nature of the hitch — it is quite extraordinary in the experience of learned publications. Anyhow, the rules of the I[smaili] S[ociety] are that the authors, or the editors of the texts, have to submit the whole work ready to go to the press, complete, and the committee will make a decision. This point is the most important, and is insisted upon, in order to paralyse the attempts of all sorts of cheeky people who think that once they have conceived a good intention to write this or that, this is quite sufficient to ask the I[smaili] S[ociety] to pour money. Your case is, surely, quite different, but the I[smaili] S[ociety] do not want to create a precedent. And there is another point: in view of the present high cost of printing, why not to use lithography, which is about 4 times cheaper? Such texts are only intended for the advanced students who will not be inconvenienced by its being not printed. Have you seen the *ar-Risâlatu'l-Jâmi'a*, printed in Damascus?[72] It takes 728 large pages, a huge volume. But if lithographed, and copied in clear and comfortable writing, it would take not more than about 120-150 pp. I shall be also very much obliged if you let me know the approximate size of the work, so that I may try to inquire as to the general attitude.

What seems to be a really important matter in connection with Nâsir-i Khusraw — the production of a new, and a really critical edition of his *Dîwân*. The Tehran edition of 1929 is out of print, and, in addition, it is based only on manuscripts in Tehran, and, perhaps Persia, while those in Europe were not consulted. It is not bad, but not the type one can entirely depend. It is necessary to give up the idea that it may give us any information about Ismailism, and the stress should be put on its literary and linguistic side, which were so far neglected. My own ideas have been summed up in my booklet on the question,[73] and I have nothing new to add.

Yes, I am working hard over various matters. I have to tell you, that unexpectedly for myself, I have during the last three years passed through a serious evolution which has brought me much nearer to the viewpoint

[72] Ikhwân al-Safâ', *al-Risâla al-jâmi'a*, ed. Jamîl Salîba, Damas: al-Taraqqî, 1948-1951.

[73] *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*; voir bibliographie.

expressed by yourself in your works, namely gradual liberation from that relic of European mediaevalism, the hypnosis of everything ultimately coming from the Greeks, and tracing many ideas to the ancient Iranian, Central-Asian culture. I was immensely impressed by the discoveries of my compatriot, S[ergey] P[avlovich] Tolstov, who unearthed the ancient Khwarazmian civilization.[74] And although many points appear to me rather not so easily acceptable, on the whole the question of pre-Zoroastrian Mazdaism, and cognate matters, it seems, must claim our serious consideration. This particularly applies to the religious and philosophical sphere of ancient activities. Of course, all this is so immensely obscure, a veritable mire in which there is no reliable point to support oneself. And yet the most important impression is that the way by which we were so far going, is definitely wrong, and must be given up. I hope to print what I have written in a few months, and hope you may find something of interest in it.

It is a pity, of course, that unrest is continuing in Persia. I wish I could go and settle there for a year or two in a remote, unfrequented small town in the desert, still not much affected by the *progress of civilization*. Just to have some rest for my tired nerves, continually tortured by all this noise and endless worries of the *civilized life*. But it is almost impossible now, with my British passport to go there and to be left in peace. Knowing Persia since 1910, *i.e.* for over forty years, I would sincerely wish for the Persians one thing. Excuse me my paradoxical outspokenness — to come as soon as possible under the domination of the Soviet Russia. The Bolsheviks will at once ruthlessly stamp out opium smoking, they will arrange that the Persians will be cured from their syphilis, their abject poverty and endless sufferings will be reduced, the classes of parasites wiped out, and, I am sure absolutely and unshakeably, within 20-30 years the Persians would really become the most advanced nation of Asia. The Persian is undoubtedly an extremely talented man, capable to attain extraordinary things when he has an opportunity. But he is depressed to full despair by poverty and inability of getting out of the age-long

[74] Sur l'expédition de Tolstov au Khârazm en 1946 et 1947, voir son article «L'expédition archéologique et ethnographique de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S. au Khorezm», *Izvestia de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S.*, série Histoire et philosophie, Moscou - Leningrad 4 II (1947), pp. 177-82 and 5 II (1948), pp. 182-92; *Sur les traces de la civilisation de l'Ancient Khorezm*, Moscou - Leningrad, 1948 (Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S., Série scientifico-populaire); *L'Ancien Khorezm, essai d'une étude historico-archéologique*, Moscou: Université Lomonosoff de Moscou, 1948. Voir également la notice de Nikita Elisséeff dans *REI* 18 (1950), p. 67.

chaos, he cannot do this without the help from outside. The sooner this happens, the more may be still saved. If Persia remains an object of colonial exploitation much longer it will be surely too late to do anything.

I hope, I have answered all your points in the letter. Please excuse me for my long epistle. If you see Mr. Max, please convey to him my best compliments. I do not lose a hope to come again to Persia, and have a quiet talk with you, with the kind help of Mme Corbin, at your charming place. Here in Bombay there are no such *quiet conversations* — Orientals, but not Orientalists, and this is a great difference. If there are foreigners in Bombay, they are only the *businessmen* of the lowest quality, the people whose society I cannot stand.

Wishing you all success, and thanking you for your kind memory, for the cuttings, and above all a very interesting letter, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
W. I.

26. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 29 décembre 1951*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 29 December 1951

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I was not sure whether you have come back to Tehran, and in the letter which I have received not so long ago from Mr. Max there was no mention of your return. Only just today I again received a letter from him, in which he expresses his regret for not having mentioned in his preceding letter that you are again in the capital. Please receive my best wishes of Happy New Year for both of you, Mme Corbin and yourself. I earnestly wish that it would bring good to all, and to you may give new interesting finds and publications. Really, we had quite enough of worries, expectations, everything of the kind, and now we really deserve a respite!

I wanted to write to you a long time ago, but thought that as you were travelling, it may be lost. We have nearly finished the book which was being copied, the *Kanzu'l-Walad*. The copyist every time tells me that he is going to deliver the balance in *ten days*. But months are passing, and there are still *ten days* more left. I hope, however, that anyhow he will

complete it very soon, and I shall post it to you at once. I have already written to you that I have got the sanction of our president for the *deal* such as this: if you may be so kind as to send to me a page or two from that *Dîwân* of the Ismaili poet[75] whom you mentioned in your preceding letter, so that on the basis of it I could make a final report to the committee. And if the poet is really Ismaili, they want me to request you to arrange that a set of enlargements may be made of your copy, in exchange for the copy of the *Kanzu'l-walad* prepared for you. In case the cost of the photographs is bigger, we shall pay the difference. The sooner this is done, the better, in case you agree to this.

Dîwâns of various Ismaili poets never contain any *revelations* of doctrinal importance because everything is thickly whitewashed by Sufic verbiage. But what is of positive interest to me are occasional allusions of historical and other similar nature.

With the hopeless scarcity of historical information, every slight *crumb* which can be found in poetical effusions is valuable, as sometimes it may give a new meaning to those which have already been collected. This is why I have published the *Dîwân* of Khâkî Khurâsânî[76] — I shall still have to make use of it, I hope, in one of my nearest publications.

Now that we are at the end of the year 1951, I may sum up its results. We have added to our collection of Ismaili manuscripts. Amongst the Arabic, Bohora works there is nothing sensational, but we succeeded to get an extremely interesting volume of Persian Nizârî works. By a chance, I have got also another copy of that, formerly unique, work which I have in 1922 edited in Calcutta, in my *Ismailitica.*[77] It is not a very good or old copy but what there is permits us to introduce many emendations. It proves that my deductions as to its date were quite correct: the work was composed about 959 A.H. I am planning to bring out a complete edition of the Nizârî works which I have so far collected, and include the *Haft bâb* of Abû Ishâq, the *Ismailitica* text, and some other works.[78] I have not printed any books during the past year, although two ought to have

[75] Le *Dîwân* de Gharîbî.

[76] W. Ivanow, *An Abbreviated Version of the Diwan of Khaki Khorasani*. Persian text, edited with an introduction, Bombay: Baptist Mission Press, 1933 (IRAS, 1). Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 10 et le compte-rendu par R.A. Nicholson, *JRAS* (1937), pp. 379-83.

[77] W. Ivanow, «Ismailitica I. Book on the Recognition of the Imam [Fasl dar Bayân Shinâkht-i Imâm]. Edited with an Introduction, Explanatory Notes and Indices», *MASB* 8 (1922), pp. 1-49.

[78] Quelques-uns de ces titres devaient faire l'objet d'éditions séparées par WI, tel le *Haft bâb* d'Abû Ishâq Quhistânî (IX^e^/XV^e^ siècle). Voir bibliographie.

been issued. Both texts have been lithographed long time ago, and the delay is entirely caused by *technical* matters. I think I have written to you already that the question is of purchasing a linotype machine for our press. The deal seems to be always expected to be completed in the course of *this week*, and months have been thus wasted. It is said that it would be no use to start setting the book in type because it would be undesirable, in case the printing has been started, to change the types and what is lost in time over the expectations will be easily regained when the linotype is installed. And so I am waiting and waiting — how long it still will go on, this I do not know.

It is sad to see that in Europe, it seems, Oriental studies are passing through a serious crisis, and nothing of interest is being published. In any case, I shall be awaiting news from you. Once more I wish you a successful and easy year, and much of useful work done in the course of it. Please convey my best regards to Mme Corbin, and my hope that her residence in Persia may be particularly enjoyable during this year.

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

27. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 30 mars 1952*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 30 March 1952

Dear Dr. Corbin,

It is a long time since I had a letter from you, but from a letter of our friend Mr. Max I could see that everything is all right with you. I hope you enjoy Tehran winter. Please convey my best compliments to Mrs. Corbin.

A copy of the *Kanzu'l-walad* has been ready for some time, but the matter was delayed by my temporary absence from Bombay. Now it is bound, and ready to be posted to you. It is a volume of 583 pages. The handwriting is very poor, but, I hope, quite legible, and the scribe assured me that he made special efforts to check errors. Well, I am afraid that every scribe utters similar assurance and nothing can be said until you personally examine the copy. All my attempts at persuading him to sell the original copy, from which this was transcribed, failed because the copy was not his, and the owner refused to sell it. Our expenses in

connection with it were R[upee]s 80. If you make use of the copy, and refer to it, please do not mention the name of the scribe, because he may get into serious troubles from his religious authorities. It would be better simply to black out his name. More experienced scribes usually omit their names in Ismaili books. As was discussed in our previous correspondence, I suggested the arrangement that you may be so kind as to send to me a set of photo enlargements from the microfilm of the *Dîwân* of Ja'far in your possession who, as you wrote, was an Ismaili poet.[79] In case the cost will be more than R[upee]s 80, we can either remit money, or send books which you may require to complete the value. Of course, we require a copy of the *Dîwân* only in case the author was really an Ismaili. I need it for reference for the proposed second edition of my *Guide to Ismaili literature* over which I am now working.[80] In case you are planning any work over it, please be assured that I will not do anything before your work is out, beyond a mere reference, fully guaranteeing the recognition of your priority. In case the author is not really an Ismaili, we can later on make another arrangement.

I hope to arrange for the posting of the copy in a few days, and then will inform you, stating the number, etc. of the parcel so that you may make inquiries in the postoffice in Tehran if the book is overdue.

Last year, as I wrote to you, I tried my best to revisit Persia, but could not succeed owing to a multitude of causes. I hope I may be more successful this year, although with the economic crisis deepening it is not easy to be sure of anything. My work here is going on. I prepare several publications, delayed by the rearrangements of our press, but the matter is still not over — still there are many things pending. This is really exasperating, but what to do?

Are you planning to leave Tehran this summer? I quite understand your being so keen to get out. Forty years or so ago Tehran was full of trees, gardens, flowers, and although summer was hot, it was not so bad. But now it is a piece of parched desert, with its cement and bricks, a horrible place to live in. I had a serious invitation to come in summer to

[79] Le *Dîwân* de Gharîbî.

[80] W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1933 (Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publication Fund, 13). Voir aussi les additions au *Guide* de WI par Paul Kraus, «La Bibliographie ismaëlienne de W. Ivanow», *REI* 6 (1932), pp. 483-90. L'édition revue et corrigée du *Guide* ne parut qu'en 1963: W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliographical Survey. A second amplified version of «A Guide to Ismaili Literature», London, 1933*, Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1963 (ISS A, 15).

East Africa (where it will be winter then), to spend three months or so. But I am not much interested in this. The matter is, however, not yet finally decided. What have you heard about the Avicenna celebrations? There was so much talk, but it seems the anniversary has been split into so numerous local celebrations that there will be no interest left by the time the turn of Persia at last comes.

Please convey my best regards to Mme Corbin. I wish I may once again come and have a talk on your charming veranda, with tree tops all around. I have written two days ago to Mr. Max, and hope still that once we may all have that pleasant experience if the stars permit me to have a chance to come to Persia again.

With my best wishes and compliments, I remain

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

28. *Henry Corbin à Ivanow, 10 juin 1952*

[Téhéran,] 10 juin 1952

Cher Collègue et Ami,

Voici bien longtemps que je veux vous écrire des choses importantes et qu'un amoncellement de besognes quotidiennes me retardent sans cesse. Heureusement, vous avez été averti déjà par Stella que je ne vous oubliais pas; en retour, votre dernière lettre, avec bonnes nouvelles, a été accueillie avec joie.

Tout d'abord soyez vraiment remercié de tout cœur pour cette copie du *Kanz al-walad*. Elle est très bien arrivée et en très bon état; l'exemplaire a même fière allure avec sa reliure écarlate. Vous avez grandement fait les choses! Vous devinerez sans peine la joie avec laquelle j'ai reçu ce volume. Je l'ai déjà parcouru d'un bout à l'autre. Évidemment il y a plus d'un passage où la lecture *accroche*, il faut corriger quelque chose et, pour une édition intégrale du texte, il y aurait quelque péril. Mais, telle quelle, la copie permet très bien de suivre la pensée de l'auteur; on peut ainsi l'exposer en français, quitte à donner des citations étendues là où le texte le permet. Je vois que les citations abondent, notamment celles de Hamîd Kermânî, qui aura peut-être bien été l'apogée de cette philosophie ismaélienne.

Toute cette année a été très occupée. Nous n'avons pas été sans subir les contre-coups d'une situation générale qui va plutôt s'agir avant chaque jour et dont nul ne peut encore prévoir l'issue. C'est ainsi qu'au mois de mars, il fut question de fermer tous les Instituts étrangers. Il est probable que mon département d'Orientalisme aurait pu survivre, mais

enfin cela faisait une atmosphère désagréable. Actuellement, il semble que le péril soit écarté. Au total, la production de l'année est assez satisfaisante. Mon tome II des *Œuvres philosophiques* de Sohravardî (suite de mon volume d'Istanbul dans la *Bibliotheca Islamica*) est terminé. Quelque 450 pages, dont une centaine en français. Il manque encore une trentaine de pages de l'index que l'on imprimera pendant que je serai à Paris. C'est pourquoi je ne crois pas que le volume puisse être distribué avant le mois d'octobre. D'autre part, mon *Avicenne et le Récit visionnaire* est assez avancé. Version et paraphrase persanes de *Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, avec la traduction française, sont imprimées, et j'aurais voulu que l'ouvrage ne fût publié qu'au complet (il y en aura un tirage limité dans ma *Bibliothèque Iranienne*). Mais ici encore, il y a l'incertitude des projets officiels. M. Hekmat annonce que le millénaire sera célébré à l'automne, mais c'est un optimisme qu'il est à peu près seul à professer. Chaque jour qui passe sans que les invitations aient pu être lancées rend la chose plus problématique. En tout cas, on a tellement insisté pour que je livre mon Avicenne en deux fascicules, que j'ai dû m'y résigner. Quant au millénaire, je crois plutôt à Now Rûz prochain, si tout se passe bien. J'espère avoir terminé d'ici là la fin de mon étude sur le *Cycle des Récits avicenniens*.

Enfin, il y a le *Jâmi' al-Hikmatain* de Nâsir-e Khosraw[81]. Les difficultés énormes d'impression que vous rencontrez, et que vous m'exposiez tout au long l'an dernier, n'étaient hélas! que trop compréhensibles et nous arrivions ensemble à la même conclusion. Puisque nous avons ici sur place un petit outillage qui nous permet d'aboutir dans les meilleures conditions mieux vaut en profiter; l'essentiel est que vous-même et nous travaillions en parfait accord. Nous avons activement travaillé cette année, le Dr. Mo'în et moi-même, à l'édition de l'*unicum* d'Aya Sophia. L'impression est à peu près terminée. Il y a 316 pages. Reste à faire les index et l'introduction où vous serez fréquemment nommé, vous le devinez. Je ne crois pas que le volume puisse *sortir* avant le courant de l'hiver prochain. À ce moment-là, vous n'aurez qu'à me dire combien vous-même et l'Ismaili Society désirez d'exemplaires et nous pourrons ainsi continuer nos échanges confraternels.

J'en viens à la question du manuscrit *Amûzgâr* (nom de son propriétaire), c'est-à-dire du petit *majmû'a* ismaélien dont je vous parlais l'an

[81] Nâsir-i Khusraw, *Le Livre réunissant les deux sagesses (Kitab-e Jami' al-Hikmatain) ou Harmonie de la philosophie grecque et de la théosophie ismaélienne*. Texte persan édité avec une double étude préliminaire en français et en persan par H. Corbin et Md Mo'in, Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1953 (Bibliothèque iranienne, 3).

dernier. Tout est très compliqué. Depuis un an, je n'ai pas pu remettre la main sur son propriétaire, qui avait mis un tas de conditions à la communication de son manuscrit (il dirigeait une revue, s'était réfugié au Parlement dont il ne sortait plus, etc.). Pour le moment, je ne puis considérer que l'intérêt de nos recherches scientifiques, d'autant plus que vous préparez une nouvelle édition de votre *Guide* et qu'il faudrait que vous connaissiez ces textes. Le manuscrit a 91 folios (182 p.); je demande à mon assistant d'en préparer pour vous un jeu d'agrandissements pendant mon absence en France cet été. Mais hélas! je connais ses lenteurs, surtout lorsque nous ne sommes pas là. Je demanderai à notre ami Max de le relancer; mais il peut se faire que vous ayez à attendre jusqu'en octobre!

Je crois qu'il n'y a aucun inconvénient que vous en parliez dans la prochaine édition de votre bibliographie. Quant à l'ensemble du texte, proses et poésies, notre intention est d'en donner l'édition avec traduction dans un volume de la *Bibliothèque Iranienne*, cela surtout parce qu'entre autres conditions, le propriétaire avait stipulé que, si l'on en donnait l'édition, il fallait que cette édition se fasse en Iran! J'annexe à cette lettre une petite notice, très brève puisque vous aurez à votre disposition les photographies. L'intéressant est que le premier *fasl* en prose, n'est que le *Fasl dar Bayân-i Shinâkht-i Imâm* que vous avez publié[82]. Seulement il y a des variantes, et, comme il manque en tête un ou plusieurs folios, le texte commence au beau milieu d'une phrase. Quant aux poèmes de Gharîbî, ils ont, comme vous vous y attendez, un fort parfum soufî et, n'était l'ensemble de la *majmû'a*, on ne soupçonnerait d'abord rien.

J'espère qu'avec les photographies et les exemplaires de Nâsir nous compenseront en tout cas les frais engagés pour la copie des manuscrits. L'annonce que tout se passera bien pour les *Shumûs al-Zâhira* a été accueillie avec enthousiasme. Merci encore de tout cœur pour tout cela.

Nous allons, comme chaque été, nous envoler pour l'Europe. (Notre adresse à Paris: 19 rue de l'Odéon, Paris VI[e]). Nous quitterons Téhéran le 21 juin et ne comptons pas revenir avant la seconde quinzaine d'octobre. C'est pourquoi si d'aventure le Millénaire avait lieu en septembre, il est probable que nous ne serons pas là. En tout cas, nous avons dit un mot à M. Hekmat, sur l'opportunité d'adresser une invitation à la Ismaili Society.

[82] Première édition en 1922; seconde édition en 1947. Voir bibliographie. La notice mentionée ici par HC est perdue.

Il commence à faire très chaud; ce n'est probablement rien à côté de Bombay, il paraît que vous travaillez tout de même; admirable. Nous attendons vos textes des *Ahl-e Haqq*[83] (et le *Râhat*, de Kâmil Hosain!) sans compter les autres textes que vous tenez en réserve.

Bon courage donc et bon travail, Mon cher Collègue et Ami. Vous avez des amis qui vous suivent dans vos travaux; que cette pensée vous encourage.

Nous vous envoyons, ma femme et moi-même, nos pensées bien amicales.

[Henry Corbin]

29. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 24 juin 1952*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 24 June 1952

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you very much for your very kind letter of the 10th of June, which I received on the 21st. I am glad for you that you are by now in Paris, resting after Persian heat. Please convey my best regards to Mme Corbin.

I am grateful for your interesting account of your publications, and anticipate the pleasure of profiting myself by your researches. I am personally not working on Ibn Sînâ's questions for the simple reason that you cannot get any literature in Bombay, or, I suppose, in India generally. As to the proposed celebrations,[84] I wish they will be able to arrange these in the autumn. Spring does not suit me at all. Anyhow, it is too early to discuss the matter. It would be, of course, an excellent thing if you edit Nâsir-i Khusraw's *Jâmi'u'l-Hikmatayn*, although, from all that has been so far printed of Nâsir's works, I do not expect that it may expand much our knowledge of Ismailism of his time. As regards to the *Râhatu'l-'aql*, its printing has been completed long ago, but we have no communications with Egypt, and neither we, nor Fyzee with his *Da'â'imu'l-Islâm*[85], can get not only copies of the book, but even ordinary

[83] *The Truth-Worshippers of Kurdistan. Ahl-i Haqq Texts*. Voir bibliographie.
[84] Le millénaire d'Avicenne.
[85] L'édition par A.A.A. Fyzee du volume I des *Da'â'im al-islâm* d'al-Qâdî al-Nu'mân (m. 363/974) (Le Caire: Dâr al-ma'ârif, 1951).

information as to what has happened. My *Ahl-i Haqq texts*, I hope, may be out in a few months.

Now about the most important matters: I am very much obliged for the details of the *majmû'a* in the possession of Amûzgâr.[86] I have to inform you that recently we have got a large manuscript volume, originating from Central Asia, in which, to my surprise, a complete copy of the *Fasl dar bayân-i shinâkht-i Imâm* is included! It fills up some lacunas of the Leningrad copy (brought by I.I. Zarubin from Goron or Khuf in 1914) from which my original edition in the *Ismailitica* was made.[87] As you know, not long ago I issued the *second edition*, in the *B* series of the Ismaili Society's publication,[88] unfortunately before we got the new manuscript. And now your *majmû'a* brings in the third copy. But this is not yet all: the major part of our new manuscript, which is also a *majmû'a*, in which the *Fasl* is included, contains different works of *one and the same author* (middle tenth/sixteenth century). Thus it is quite possible that the opportunity offers itself to ascertain the author's name.

The Committee of the Ismaili Society not long ago has sanctioned my plan to bring out a volume which would include *all Persian Nizârî* works which are available to us, except those already edited. In view of the importance of that opuscule, the *Fasl*, I intended to give the *third* (!) edition of it in that volume, introducing the emendations made possible by the new copy.[89] Your news of the third copy come therefore as a still greater chance of improving the text. I therefore am very keen to get a photograph of the portion.

With regard to your plans of editing the *majmû'a* I would say that, personally, I do not see any point of reproducing the thing as it is — the connection of these fragments is beyond any doubt quite incidental, and the inclusion of various unknown or doubtful works does not carry the slightest guarantee of their belonging to Ismailism. In your list of the contents the first item, the *Pandiyât-i jawânmardî*, has been edited by me, lithographed, 102 pages, and I hope by October to be able to send you a complete copy.

[86] Un manuscrit contenant notamment le *Dîwân* Gharîbî; *supra* n. 62.
[87] Allusion à l'édition de 1922; voir bibliographie. Le manuscrit faisait partie d'une collection de manuscrits ismaéliens rassemblée par I.I. Zarubin dans le Shughnân et acquise par le Musée asiatique de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie à Saint-Pétersbourg. C'est en examinant la collection Zarubin en 1916 que WI avait eu son premier contact majeur avec l'authentique littérature ismaélienne (cf. F. Daftary, «W. Ivanow: A Biographical Notice», *MES* 8 (1972), pp. 241-42.
[88] Allusion à l'édition de 1947;voir bibliographie.
[89] Ce projet fut réalisé en 1960; voir bibliographie.

It will be excellent if you, with the assistance of a really poetry-understanding educated Persian edit the *Dîwân* of Gharîbî,[90] whether it is Ismaili or not.

As regards other fragments in your list, if they do not form in reality parts of the *Fasl*, mentioned above, being wrongly bound (this happens very often in such *majmû'as*), it is difficult to see what they are.

With the approval of the President of the Ismaili Society, I would like therefore to ask you, if there are no technical impediments, to ask your assistant to make for us a complete set of enlargement-photostats from your microfilm, without postponing the matter till October. We shall at once remit the cost as soon as the set has been posted to us. Please write to me whether this can be done.

In case the *majmû'a* contains any items which it would be desirable to include into the proposed volume of Nizârî Texts, the matter may be negotiated later on. It, surely, cannot be raised before the originals are available. I may add that the practical idea underlying the intention to bring out the volume is the desire to combat scattering the materials which badly affects the study, and which we, working far from big libraries, are painfully feeling. A comprehensive collection, with a detailed index, will be extremely useful to everyone working in this field.

I have written to you, in answering Mme Corbin's kind letter, that we have got a copy of the *Shumûs* and that I was trying to purchase the copy itself, instead of transcribing it. Now I have to inform you that the owner has finally refused to sell it, and thus we have to start copying it, which may mean that it may be ready by the time you return to Tehran. It seems to be of about the same level of reliability as the *Kanz*, with many mistakes, etc. but, of course, may give a general idea, as you write in your letter, of the trend of the author's thoughts. It is a volume of 434 pages, closely written, in small handwriting, 19 lines to a page, each line 8 cm long. If copied in a looser way, as the scribe will, undoubtedly, do, in the same way as the preceding work, it may take anything up to 700-800 pages, and would cost something like R[upee]s 110, *i.e.* about 8 pound sterling. I mention this only for your information — we may be able to square our accounts later, perhaps by the exchange of books, this not affecting the accounts with the photostats. I am telling the scribe to proceed with the work.

[90] WI en édita par la suite un choix de poèmes, *Tasnifât-i Khayr-khwâh-i Herâti, Some Works of Khayr-khwâh of Herat*, Tehran: IS, 1961 (ISS A, 13); le volume contient: 1) *Risâla dar haqîqat-i Pir*, 2) *Qit'ât*, 3) *Ash'âr*.

I think, I have answered all points of your letter. I was very glad to get a letter also from Mr. Max, together with yours.

With my best wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

Is Prof. R[udolf] Strothmann dead? I heard something to this effect.

30. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 1er octobre 1952*

[Bombay,] 1 October 1952

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I have an urgent matter, and, not being sure that you have already arrived in Tehran, I am asking our friend, Mr. F. Max to be so kind to hand this note to you. I hope your are back again, refreshed by your rest in Europe. Please convey my best *selams* to Mme Corbin.

The matter is as follows: I received your kind letter of the 21 June, which I replied, to your Paris address, on 24 June — have you received my letter? In your letter you wrote about a Persian manuscript containing some Ismaili works, amongst which, fols 75b to 77b, there is a fragment from the *Pandiyât* of Shâh 'Abdu's-Salâm. This small fragment interests me very much, and I shall be very much obliged if you could send to me *urgently* a photostat of this, or even a transcript by one of your Persian assistants.

The reason is this: In spring 1950 I have lithographed the whole of the *Pandiyât* (102 pages, demy 8°, of rather bold and loose writing). I intended to publish it together with a translation and comments. But when I wanted to start printing the translation, a big question arose. It came to light that this work, which is regarded as *sacred*, has been translated into Sindi, and later in Gujrati, and this was first lithographed some 100 years ago, and later printed. Such translation was always issued in the form of parallel versions: original Persian, in Sindi, or Gujrati, transcription, and corresponding translation being given *en regard*. But when the original version and the version of the transcription were compared, it was found that the transcribed text is a crude and drastic abbreviation, made apparently by a man with poor knowledge of colloquial Persian.

Thus a problem arose amongst the pious — should the Ismaili Society publish a translation which may rise undesirable religious disputes, or should they publish only the Persian text, or even scrap the edition? And it took them *over two years* to discuss this matter. I have long since lost

any hope, and wanted to suggest that in the case the edition should be scrapped, a good number of copies should be given to me for distributing amongst foreign libraries. Then suddenly, after a silence of many months, I was informed that the matter was discussed at a high religious conference and they have decided that they have *no objections* against the original Persian text being published both in Persian and in a complete translation. Our president receiving such news, at once asked me to take up the work, and rush it through before any possible changing of mind takes place. Therefore the translation is already in the press, and being set. I am finishing an introduction, preparing the index etc.

As you can see for yourself, your fragment would therefore well deserve being mentioned, especially in view of this controversy. It would be very important for me to find out whether it is a portion of the *full* text, or whether there really was in existence an abbreviated Persian version, from which the Sindi and Gujrati translation was made. My edition is based on a single copy, and although the book is considered very sacred, copies of it seem to be rare. My copy is a transcript of an *ancient* copy in Sarikol (Chinese Turkestan).

If you have no objection, in case your fragment really forms a part of the *shorter* version, I shall be very much obliged if you agree to my printing it, of course, with full acknowledgment. Only please be so kind to send it to me *urgently* by air, before the book is printed.

Please also let me have your answer to my letter of 24 June 1952, in which I offered suggestions concerning your copy. In case you have not received my letter, I can send you a carbon copy of it.

In a week or so I hope to have out a booklet by myself: *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism.*[91] It is a lengthy title of a small booklet, of 80 pages — I hope you will not find it useless, and shall be very much interested in your criticism. As soon as it is ready I shall post you several copies.

The *Shumûs* is being transcribed, although an account of *Muharram* and all sorts of holidays the work is not going as fast as it should. I shall be awaiting with impatience news from you so that it would be possible to include the matter into the introduction. I have to go on a tour in November, to Gujarat, to see some collections of manuscripts, and may be absent from Bombay for two or three weeks.

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

[91] W. Ivanow, *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism*, Leiden: Brill, 1952 (ISS B, 7); cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 47.

31. ***Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 21 octobre 1952***

[Bombay,] 21 October 1952

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you for your kind letter and the promise to send to me the enlargements of the text of the *Pandiyât*. We shall be also very much obliged for the full set of the photostats of the whole manuscript, and will be glad to refund to you the expenses connected with its preparation.

I have just finished the printing fo a booklet, of only 80 pages, *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism*, and shall post a copy to you in a few days, when it is bound. I am sending now a copy of it to Mr. Max with a request to undertake its translation, as the Ismaili Society wish to publish it also in French and Arabic.[92] It was very kind of Mr. Max to forward my letter to you. I am now printing the translation of the *Pandiyât*, and hope to complete the whole thing before the end of this year, and then complete the *Ahl-i Haqq texts.* I shall be very glad to have your criticisms of my booklet. I belong to the authors who are never satisfied with their works when they are published, and only after some time may find that they were not as bad. I really prefer to introduce some alterations before the booklet is translated, but my friends object, on the basis of your French proverb: *le mieux est*... I do not know, perhaps they are right.

Please convey my best regards to Mme Corbin. I shall be very glad to see all of you again, and have a quiet talk on many and many matters and projects. These unfortunate events in Persia most probably will not permit me for a long time to re-visit the country, despite my great desire. I have still much to do there, both with regard to sectarian and philological studies. Your *Shumûs* is being copied, and the scribe says that over 200 pages are ready but I have not yet taken delivery. He was, however, distracted by *Muharram* and connected ceremonies, and now, I hope, may complete the work soon.

With my best regards, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

[92] Apparemment, aucun de ces deux projets de traductions n'a jamais été publié.

32. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 9 décembre 1952*

[Bombay,] 9 December 1952

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I hope you are already in Tehran installed in your charming house, looking on the snows over the mountains. Please accept and convey my *season greetings* and best wishes of happiness and success in the New Year, for Mme Corbin and yourself.

Have you received my latest booklet, *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism* (B-7) which is supposed to have been sent a long time ago to you? I shall be glad to have your criticisms. It was written at insistent requests of some people who wanted me to write a *popular* book on Ismailism — the thing which I can never do. Therefore, trying to find a way out, I produced this, but, after all, I hope it may have some utility. My friends were rather enthusiastic about it, and even decided to publish a French translation of it. I have already sent a copy to Mr Max, asking him whether he is willing to undertake its translation — for a honorarium, of course, — but so far have not heard from him. I hope he is quite all-right, please convey to him my compliments.

Your *Shumûs* is moving, and already 320 pages, or even, by now more, are ready. What about the photostats of the manuscript of Mr Amûzgâr?[93] I am at present finishing the publication of the *Pandiyât-i Jawânmardî*, and only the index remains to be set — I hope to have it out before the end of this month.

Many thanks, once more, for the photographs of the fragment which you have so kindly posted. As you will see from the book, it is yet another abbreviated version, also probably of Indian origin. I hope to print later on the Sindi-Gujrati transcribed text, retranscribed into Persian alphabet, and then, if the owner has no objection, we may also print his fragments as an appendix. But this may take time because the Sindi version is unintelligible in some places, and tremendously incorrect in language. It was found tactless to print it along with the present, full Persian text.

We have not as yet received any news of the *Râhatu'l-'aql* being shipped to us. The corrupt Egyptian government makes an absurd amount of difficulties for exportation of books, etc. However, it is already on sale in Baghdad! Obviously nothing can be done without bribing, and we cannot do it from here.

[93] Manuscrit contenant, entre autres, le *Dîwân* de Gharîbî; *supra* n. 62.

I hope, as soon as we finish the *Pandiyât*, to start setting the book on the Ali-Ilahis (the text has already been lithographed long ago).[94] But there are some other plans also. Most probably while the book is going through the press, I shall prepare an edition and translation of the portion of the history of Rashîdu'd-dîn, dealing with Alamût. I have the photostats from the Bibliothèque Nationale copy, and another one in Lahore. It is an interesting subject.

I am very keen to hear from you about what is going to Paris, and in Europe generally. Is there anything of more life coming in Oriental studies? People nowadays have become quite paralytics in correspondence — it is of no use to write to them because they will not answer, as the worthy Massignon. Paris booksellers send no catalogues, Brill is for all practical purposes finished. *Journal Asiatique*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, etc., have become emaciated to the limit, and so forth. And the worst is that there are no prospects in the near future of any change. So, please accept my best wishes. I shall be glad to have news from you. If possible, please speed up the photostats of the Amûzgâr manuscript, and I shall here speed up the *Shumûs*. It is more necessary than ever in our beautiful times *to smite the iron while it is hot*, and remember that very often *postponed may mean lost*.

With my best regards for Mme Corbin and yourself, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

33. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 18 décembre 1952*

[Bombay,] 18 December 1952

Dear Dr. Corbin,

You will be surprized that, having written to you with the last mail (12 December 1952), I am writing again. I received a letter from Mr Max, and read the disturbing news that the booklet,[95] which we sent to him by the air mail leaving Bombay on the 24th *October*, has not been delivered to him. I at once posted to you another copy, by *ordinary* mail, registered, and hope that you may receive it about the end of this month. Please be so kind, if you find it possible, to lend your copy to Mr. Max, temporarily, until the arrival of the substitute, so that he may start his

[94] *The Truth-Worshippers of Kurdistan. Ahl-i Haqq Texts*; voir bibliographie.
[95] Voir la lettre précédente.

work over its translation. I am so glad that he consented to undertake this work. Please tell me whether you require more copies — we shall gladly post to you.

The non-delivery of the booklet to him is extremely irritating. In order not to repeat what I wrote to him, I enclose a copy of my letter to him, for your information.

He writes that you were as kind as to suggest that the translation of the booklet may be published in the series of your Institute. I personally, would like this very much. Your *Kashf* is printed excellently. There are, however, several questions which are beyond my competence as concerned with the financial side. Besides, you use that *French* large octavo size which is good for a big book, but not so well suits a small booklet which would become too thin. I shall be much obliged if you may kindly let me know whether your press may take printing of this booklet as what is called *job-work*, not in your series, and what are the charges (per thousand copies), of small size, as in the original. Has your press enough type to keep the work in galleys for a fortnight? This is important if proofreading is done here.

I hope to have out the *Pandiyât* by the end of this month, and shall at once send a copy to you. It has nothing philosophical in it. Your *Shumûs* is progressing, but the copyist demands doubling his fees. I shall be much obliged if you send me those photostats of the *Majmû'a*.[96]

Please accept my best wishes of Happy New year, and best luck in it, for Mme Corbin and yourself. I wish it really may bring some relief to all of us. I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

34. *Ivanow à Max, 18 décembre 1952*

[Bombay,] 18 December 1952

Dear Mr. Max,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 8th inst, which I received on the 13th. I am immensely grateful to you for the intention to take up the translation of the booklet[97] — this will relieve me from much anxiety, because the work will be in reliable and able hands. Please be so

96 Le recueil manuscrit contenant, notamment, le *Dîwân* de Gharîbî; *supra* n. 62.
97 Voir les deux lettres précédentes.

kind to start as soon as you find it possible. I am writing to Dr. Corbin to be so kind as to make his copy available to you until he receives another copy instead.

It is really irritating that the copy which we specially sent to you by air mail, 24 October, by the same aeroplane as the letter, never reached you. I have found the postal receipt, and am taking up the matter with the Postmaster General.

I hope your indisposition, which is inevitable in cold seasons in these warm countries, will end soon. When you start working over the translation, please be so kind to make *four* copies, sending to me gradually, chapter by chapter, *one* copy only, and keeping the rest with you. Please send it by *registered ordinary* mail, not by air, in plain envelope, not official, as the matter, surely, has nothing to do with the Embassy.

As to the publication and financial questions, I cannot write to you anything at present because our president is still touring in Europe. When he returns, I shall try to have everything settled as soon as possible.

There are certain emendations and additions which I would request you to introduce while translating the booklet, they are enclosed on a separate leaf. In case you come across something difficult, or have some suggestions, please let me know.

I hope you may find necessary time, and the work will not be burdensome to you. Once more please accept my sincere gratitude for your having volunteered for the task.

With my best wishes of good health and success in everything in the New Year, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

[Appendix:]

Alterations to be introduced in the *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism.*

P. 4, line3, top; add:

> This was probably how the affairs of the Ismaili community were managed in the Fatimid empire, by the council of the hujjats and high-ranking dâ'îs, whose decisions received the force of law by the sanction of the Imam.

P. 7, line 4, bottom; strike off footnote mark after the words "Maymûn al-Qaddâh", and add:

> The whole story, as has been proved, is a myth, composed of misunderstandings and deliberate perversion of historical facts.[1]

P. 8, line 8, bottom; after "... Imam Ja'far," insert:

Many principles which may be regarded as typical of Shiism have already become widely accepted. (After this run on, there should be no division into paragraphs till line 8 on p.9.)

P. 17, the last paragraph and the footnote, and p. 18 lines 1-5, to be replaced with:

The genuineness of the Nizârî Imams of Alamût was repeatedly challenged and refuted by numerous mediaeval Muslim writers, as *improbable*. A critical examination of the matter cannot leave any doubt as to the fact that there *cannot be* any documental evidence in the case, and the question is for ever doomed to remain an insoluble problem. All that critical study can do is the correct estimation of the degree of probability, or otherwise, of the sectarian tradition, in the light of the information which is at our disposal. And this rules out the contention of *improbability*, making the tradition fairly probable.

Prince Nizâr at the time of the death of his father was over fifty years of age, and really had a son, or sons, who could be over thirty years of age. Ismaili tradition mentions that the grandson of Prince Nizâr was smuggled into Persia in 488/1095, most probably when it had become obvious that the half-hearted support of the Egyptians was not promising a victory. We may be perfectly sure that his family did not await being summarily executed, and was in hiding. Knowing how immense importance the Ismaili doctrine attaches to the uninterrupted succession of the Imams, we may be sure that the family took all precautions of getting the potential Imam away from the danger of being seized by the dictator, and smuggling him out of Egypt. The great devotion of the Persian Nizârî Ismailis surely made Persia the most probable asylum.

Cheating in such cases is not as easy as it appears in imagination. When the Mongol invaders demanded Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh to surrender his son and potential successor as a condition to peace, and substitutes were repeatedly sent, they easily detected the fraud. In the case of the grandson of Nizâr it is difficult to believe either that his devout supporters were fools who could be easily deceived, or that it was in the interest of their leaders to import a substitute. Surely, they would prefer the fictitious Imam to remain as far away as possible, to have their hands free in their alleged action on his behalf.

The unparalleled struggle of the Ismaili community against far overwhelming forces could only be explained if we admit the possibility

of a real Imam being the centre around which they formed a *ring of steel* in defending him.

P. 18, lower part; spelling: Dakkanî (not Dakkânî)

P. 32; between the last two paragraphs, after the words "activities of the dâ'î.[2]," add:

In any case, it would be very important for the correct idea of the Fatimid exoteric doctrine to study the question of such alleged Ithna-'ashari elements in the Da'â'im with the help of experts in the Twelvers' tradition.

P. 44, line 9 from top, the last word should be: authors

35. *Henry Corbin à Ivanow, 2 janvier 1953*

[Téhéran,] 2 janvier 1953

Cher Collègue et Ami,

Vos deux dernières lettres du 9 et 18 décembre sont bien arrivées. Nous vous remercions cordialement, ma femme et moi-même, de vos aimables vœux. De notre côté, nous vous adressons aussi nos souhaits les plus sincères pour la nouvelle année: bonne santé, bon travail, le plus de publications possibles.

Je suis très en retard envers vous et je vous prie de m'en excuser. Je traverse actuellement une période de surmenage affreuse. Mon gros volume de Sohravardî vient de sortir[98]. Je vous en ai adressé deux exemplaires, l'un pour vous-même, l'autre pour The Ismaïli Society. J'ai l'impression que cette philosophie de l'*Ishrâq* ne sera pas sans rencontrer quelque intérêt parmi nos amis ismaéliens. Ces temps-ci je termine l'étude en français préliminaire à l'édition du [*Jâmi' al-Hikmatain*] de Nâsir-e Khosraw dont l'impression du texte persan est maintenant terminée[99]. J'espère en finir dans le courant de janvier; après cela il faut que

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98 Shihâbaddîn Suhrawardî, *Opera metaphysica et mystica II*, voir bibliographie.

99 Nâsir-e Khosraw, *Le Livre réunissant les deux sagesses (Kitâb-e Jâmi' al-Hikmatain) ou Harmonie de la philosophie et de la théosophie ismaélienne*, H. Corbin et Md Mo'in, eds., Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1953 (Bibliothèque iranienne, 3); Nâsir-e Khosraw, *Étude préliminaire pour le «Livre réunissant les deux sagesses»*. Tirage spécial de la partie française de l'ouvrage, Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1953 (Bibliothèque iranienne, 3a). Il y a quelques années, Isabelle de Gastines a publié une traduction française du texte, sur la base de l'édition par HC et Mo'in et de son étude par HC: Nâsir-e Khosraw, *Le Livre réunissant les deux sagesses (Kitâb-i Jâmi' al-Hikmatayn)*, trad. du persan, intr. et notes par I. de Gastines, Paris: Fayard, 1990 (L'Espace intérieur, 40).

je termine mon Avicenne pour le mois d'avril[100]; ce qui interdit tout moment de détente.

L'exemplaire de *Brief Survey*... que vous m'aviez adressé est bien arrivé. Merci de tout cœur. Malheureusement, comme M. Max vous l'a écrit, son exemplaire à lui s'est perdu pour des raisons qui sans doute ne seront jamais expliquées. Je lui prêterais volontiers mon exemplaire, mais malheureusement pas avant une quinzaine de jours, car j'aime mieux l'avoir sous la main jusqu'à ce que j'aie terminé mon introduction à Nâsir-e Khosraw.

Ce surmenage m'empêche de vous écrire la longue épître que mériterait votre *Brief Survey*. En tout cas, je vous félicite de vous être laissé persuader par vos amis que ce petit livre répondait à un besoin urgent. L'histoire ismaélienne est si peu connue que nous sommes condamnés à toujours en parler par des allusions que seules quelques personnes saisissent. Nous aurons maintenant, grâce à vous une référence précieuse. J'ai relevé également un point qui m'a fait plaisir, lorsque vous soulignez l'importance de connaître le langage de la patristique grecque pour apprécier le langage ismaélien. Les islamisants oublient eux aussi, trop volontiers, que le monde religieux n'a pas commencé avec l'Islam. Déjà dans vos notes sur *Omm al-Kitâb* vous aviez référé à des contextes religieux pré-islamiques qu'il est si intéressant de voir réapparaître[101]. Mais me trompé-je si, en tant que philosophe, je cède à l'impression que votre conception générale ressortit à la sociologie religieuse, plutôt qu'à la philosophie religieuse proprement dit. Bon, voilà un fameux dialogue amorcé.

C'est en parlant avec M. Max de votre proposition de traduction que l'idée m'était venue spontanément qu'elle pourrait figurer dans la *Bibliothèque Iranienne*. Cela d'une part, parce que je connais les difficultés actuelles de l'édition française et, d'autre part, parce que dans la *Bibliothèque Iranienne* votre petit livre se trouverait encadré par d'autres choses ismaéliennes. Il y a eu, en effet, Abû Ya'qûb Sejestânî[102], il va y avoir un Nâsir-e Khosraw, d'ici deux ou trois mois[103], et il y aura l'an prochain

[100] *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*, publié à l'occasion du millénaire d'Avicenne; voir bibliographie.

[101] «Notes sur l'«Ummu'l-kitab» des Ismaëliens de l'Asie Centrale», *REI* 6 (1932), pp. 419-81; cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 8. WI publia aussi, plus tard, une édition du texte persan: «Ummu'l-Kitâb», *Der Islam* 23 (1936), pp. 1-132; cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 14. Sur la découverte de cette œuvre et un survol des études plus récentes qui lui sont consacrées, voir H. Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis. Die extreme Schia und die 'Alawiten*, Zürich - München: Artemis, 1982, pp. 113 ss.

[102] Allusion à son édition de *Kashf al-mahjûb* de Abû Ya'qûb Sijistânî; voir bibliographie.

[103] *Le Livre réunissant les deux sagesses (Kitâb-e Jâmi' al-Hikmatain) ou Harmonie de la philosophie et de la théosophie ismaélienne*; voir bibliographie.

un supplément à ce dernier, à savoir, un commentaire à la même *qasîda* d'Abu'l-Haytham par un de ses élèves, retrouvé l'an dernier à Istanbul par le docteur Sadighi[104]. À son tour, votre petit livre appuyerait ces publications, autant qu'il serait encadré par elles, et échapperait ainsi aux hasards des livres publiés hors collection. Évidemment, cela pose certaines questions. Il n'est pas possible de modifier le format de la *Bibliothèque Iranienne*; mais nos interlignes sont plus espacés que les vôtres. Vous pourrez en juger d'après le Sohravardî. Je crois qu'en augmentant de peu les marges et en réservant de plus grand espaces pour les divisions des chapitres, la traduction de votre livre dépassera certainement 100 pages de notre format. À ce moment là, l'aspect extérieur du livre devient tout à fait acceptable. Certes, nous n'avons qu'un petit nombre de caractères (peut-être augmenteront-ils cette année); et il nous est impossible de garder les *marbres* bien longtemps. Mais dès lors que vous auriez revu la traduction en manuscrit, M. Max pourrait très bien assurer sur place la correction des épreuves.

Je suis content que vous ayez bien reçu les photographies du *Pandiyât*. Nous vous envoyons cette semaine les photographies du manuscrit *en entier*[105]. Vous pourrez ainsi l'utiliser à loisir pour votre nouvelle édition du *Guide*. Vous constaterez que [le premier] chapitre en prose appartient à la *risâlat* de < ... > publiée par vous-même[106]. La volonté du propriétaire était que, si le manuscrit était publié, il le fût en Iran et tel qu'il se présente. Évidemment, il s'agit d'un recueil factice; pas si *factice* que cela pourtant, puisque sa composition a répondu à un moment donné à une intention ismaélienne. On peut, certes, concevoir comme séparables les parties en prose et les parties poétiques. Mais arbitraire pour arbitraire, il semble que l'intention qui a présidé à la composition du recueil en présente un minimum. Nous avons si peu d'œuvres de cet ismaélisme persan, que l'intégralité d'un recueil, même dans son apparence arbitraire, semble devoir être préservée. En tout cas cela n'est pas très urgent, nous aurons le temps d'en reparler. D'ici là, je serais curieux d'avoir votre avis sur l'énigmatique Gharîbî.

Nous sommes revenus d'Europe à la fin d'octobre. Mais tout ce que nous aurions pu vous raconter alors se trouve déjà périmé. Ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est que les conditions matérielles y sont difficiles, peu proprices

[104] *Sharh-e qasida* de Muhammad b. Surkh al-Nishâpurî; voir bibliographie.

[105] Le manuscrit contenant le *Dîwân* de Gharîbî; *supra* n. 62.

[106] Il est ici probablement question de l'édition par WI du *Fasl dar Bayân-e Shenâkht-e Imâm*; voir bibliographie.

aux productions scientifiques. Quant au Millénaire d'Avicenne à Téhéran, on parle maintenant du 21 juin prochain. Mais il est prudent de ne pas se réjouir trop tôt.

À bientôt de vos nouvelles. Avec les meilleurs souvenirs de ma femme, veuillez recevoir, cher Collègue et Ami, l'assurance de mes biens cordiaux et dévoués sentiments.

[Henry Corbin]

36. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 14 janvier 1953*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 14 January 1953

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I just received two copies of your valuable book,[107] one for the Ismaili Society, and another for myself. Thank you very much for it. I shall read it with great interest, and, if we settle things with the publishing of the second volume of our *Collectanea*, I shall try to review it there. So little of substantial work been done on Sufism that every serious work is a great contribution, indeed.

In a few days I shall post to you two copies of the *Pandiyât* which is now in binding, one for yourself, and another for your Institut. We shall always send you two copies in the future, of every our new publication.

In my last letter, of the 18 December 1952, I added copies of my letter to Mr. Max, so that in case my letter to him is again lost, you may be so kind to let him have the copies. We are living in a mad time when things become more and more abnormal. I am awaiting news from him and from you: my purpose is to do everything that the translation which he was so extremely kind to undertake, should be completed before his transfer in the spring. When it comes he surely will have little leisure to go on with literary work, and in our times *postponed* always, inevitably, means *lost*. I much regret the necessity to bother you with all this, but I hope that you will excuse me this.

[107] Shihâbaddîn Suhrawardî, *Opera metaphysica et mystica II*; voir bibliographie.

Prof. L. Massignon went to Delhi on some of his political errands, and passed through Bombay. Unfortunately, this chance of meeting him here was again wasted. He telephoned to our president, who, however, was not in Bombay, but did not ask about me, and wrote to me a letter which he sent by post. How nice it would have been if he could only conceive the idea of asking the number of my telephone — I am living not far from his hotel, and could have come within ten minutes.

I have nearly finished my *Ahl-i Haqq* book, and hope that it may be out by May. And now I want to take up the revision of the *Guide to Ismaili Literature* — again in accordance with the principle of avoiding postponements. I have so much material, but so little time is available.

Please convey my best wishes to Mme Corbin. I hope she, and you, feel well and fit, despite the winter. I do not like winter in Tehran, when it is raining or snowing, and the temperature in the houses is lower than outside. But, in any case, spring is near, and you will again have enough warmth to enjoy.

Yes — nearly forgot to mention. When posting the *Pandiyât*, I shall enclose a copy of the first of my publications. In case you need any of those of which I still have copies, I shall be glad to post them to you, if you let me know.

With my best wishes and compliments, I remain

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

37. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 22 janvier 1953*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 22 January 1953

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 2nd January 1953, and for the copies of your book,[108] which I have started to read. I hope

[108] Shihâbaddîn Suhrawardî, *Opera metaphysica et mystica II*; voir bibliographie.

you have already received the copy of the *Brief Survey*... which I have posted to you on the 13 December and passed it to Mr. Max. I have just posted to you two copies of the *Pandiyât* (for you and the Institut) and one more copy of the *Brief Survey* which you may, if you like, keep in the library of the Institut, or do what better use you can find. Have you got my booklet, *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*?[109] Perhaps it may be of some use while you prepare your introduction to his work. You may find it in all Tehran libraries: Melli,[110] Mejlis,[111] University.[112]

Now about the important question of the publication of the proposed translation. I have submitted the matter to our president, Mr. Ali Mahomed Mecklai (who sends you his best thanks for your book), and he, highly appreciating your kind offer to publish the translation in your series, has empowered me to clarify various technical details. According to what Mr. Max wrote to me, he expects being transferred to Paris by the spring. If he goes there, he will be unable to read the proofs for the same reason as mentioned above, *i.e.* the difficulty to keep the galleys (marbres) waiting. Therefore our question is: would it be possible to ask you to do proof-reading in case he is gone?

The second question — the financial side. Who bears the cost of composition, printing, paper etc., your Institute, or we? In case the publisher is your Institute, how many copies you propose to give us? Free or on payment? What we have to consider is the difficulty of remitting money from India, and also, in case the edition is entirely ours, the immense complications which arise from *repatriating* the edition to India — we had an endless amount of difficulties with the book printed by us in Egypt. *Personally*, I think, the best will be if this becomes entirely the publication of the Institute, and we receive something like two hundred copies *not for sale*. Please kindly consider all this and let me know. Of course, as has been arranged, the remuneration of the translator is paid by us. I shall be much obliged if you let me know what would be fair fees per page of that size, according to French standards. The question of re-arrangement of the text per page, spacing, etc., may be settled when all has been decided in principle. I shall also make the index which may require only slight re-arrangement when the English terms are translated into French, and page figures changed.

[109] Bombay, 1948 (ISS B, 5).
[110] Bibliothèque Nationale de l'Iran, Téhéran.
[111] Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale, Téhéran.
[112] Bibliothèque Centrale de l'Université de Téhéran.

I am very much obliged to you for your kind arrangements with regard to Amûzgâr's manuscript.[113] I shall be awaiting it with great interest. Please kindly let me know the whole cost of the enlargements, postage, etc., so that, in case the copying of the *Shumûs* is less, we should refund to you the difference. The *Shumûs* is advancing in copying, and is at present about 500 pages. I shall try to speed up the work, if possible.

We have not yet received our copies of the *Râhat* and I have no idea as to when at last we shall get them. You may rest assured that I shall post to you two copies as soon as we get them. I propose to compile and print here an index — not in Arabic letters but in my usual style.

As to my treatment of the Ismaili evolution,[114] I have to tell you that it would have been impossible to take up the philosophical subjects in the way as they deserve simply on account of the brevity of the work. Besides, I do not believe into any philosophy in religion (just as in religion in philosophy). Perhaps this matter may be later on taken up by those who are better qualified. My purpose only is to systematise, however preliminarily, the material.

Please convey my best regards to Mme Corbin and Mr. Max. As you may understand, I do not want to bother him much with my letters. I wish he could proceed with the translation to complete it before he becomes too busy with his transfer to Europe.

With my best wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

38. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 28 janvier 1953*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 28 January 1953

Dear Dr. Corbin,

We have just received your photostats.[115] Thank you very much for your kind collaboration and friendly assistance. I was very glad to see these

[113] *Supra* n. 62.
[114] Allusion de l'auteur à son *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism*; voir bibliographie.
[115] Du manuscrit contenant le *Dîwân* de Gharîbî; *supra* n. 62.

interesting matters, especially because I am just at present very much interested in the author: it seems that this Gharîbî is the same man as the one who calls himself Khayrkhwâh,[116] whom I mention in the introduction to the *Pandiyât*. He is the author of that opuscule *Fasl dar bayân-i shinâkht-i Imâm*, whose real, or original title was *Risâla dar hudûd-i dîn*, as we can see now. We have not so long acquired a large volume (663 pp.) of his prose works, including that opuscule, his memoirs, and many other things, but no poetry. Now your manuscript supplements that omission. The bulk of the *Dîwân*, which I could only glance through, as I want to post this letter to-day, in order not to delay it till the next week's mail, seems to contain nothing in the way of Ismailism — just platitudinous *nasîhat*, and poetry of rather *'âmm* class. (Of course, as it appears to me, and I am not an authority on the quality of Persian poetry). It is only in the poetical paraphrases of the *Risâla dar hudûd* that his Ismailism becomes apparent. The dates which he mentions, and such a reference (pl. 74 — *dar hamâm-i Ghûriyân gufta shud* — 960), all this tallies excellently with the dates and details of biography of Khayrkhwâh (my note on him in the *Guide* must be entirely altered now). I must tell you that I have some reasons to suspect that it was this man who falsified the *Kalâm-i Pîr*, turning it into the work of Nâsir-i Khusraw[117]. But what still appears to me an insoluble problem is the chronology. In his memoirs he tells how at the age of 19, after his father, the *pîr*, was incidentally killed, he travelled to the Imam, and the latter appointed him the *pîr* instead of his father, to the indignation of others, his rivals. The Imam in the case was Mustansir bi'l-lâh II (of Anjudân, or really III, if the Fatimid caliph is to be counted).[118] The *takhallus* Gharîbî could be taken as a sign of special devotion to him, because he was generally known as Shâh Gharîb, and figures in the official list of the Nizârî Imams

[116] Muhammad Ridâ b. Sultân Husayn Ghûriyânî, ou Khayrkhâh (m. probablement après 960/1533); voir *supra* n. 62.

[117] Le *Kalâm-i Pîr* est généralement attribué à Nâsir-i Khusraw. WI, qui l'édita en premier comme œuvre anonyme, en 1934 (cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 13), l'a plus tard identifié comme plagiat, par Khayrkhâh-i Harâtî, du *Haft bâb* d'Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm Quhistânî (m. *ca.* 904/1499). Voir Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 142-43 (n° 704); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 276 (n° 1).

[118] 'Abbâs Shâh, Mustansir billâh III (m. 904/1498), trente-quatrième des imams nizâris Qâsim-Shâhî, était connu sous le nom de Gharîb Mîrzâ et il est encore appelé Shâh Gharîb par les gens d'Anjudân. Si l'on prend en compte le caliphe fatimide et imam nizarite b. al-Mustansir billâh (m. 488/1095) et son grand-père Mustansir billâh II (m. 885/1480), 'Abbâs Shâh était en fait le troisième imam ismaélien à porter le titre de Mustansir billâh. Voir sur lui Daftary, *Ismâ'îlîs*, pp. 459-60.

under the name of Gharb-Mîrzâ. But, according to the inscription on his tomb, he died in 903 A.H. Then how to reconcile this with the dates of the author's literary activities in 951, 960, etc.? Why should he burst in writing when nearly 80 of age? Of course, there is abolutely nothing improbable in this, but, anyhow, it is strange.

I hope to take up the matter soon, perhaps in connection with the publication of the *Haft-bâb-i* Abû Ishâq,[119] which, I hope, may be sanctioned. But, just for the moment, I think, the publication of Amûzgâr's volume as it is would be hardly useful. As you know, I have edited the *Fasl* twice. Now, with that new manuscript, and also with a large piece of it in the Amûzgâr's manuscript, I have to prepare yet another edition — I hope a final one.[120] And it would be obviously the best to print the poetical paraphrases together with it. The small prose fragments in A[mûzgâr's] manuscript are obviously parts of his larger works — I had no time to compare with our manuscript, but shall do it and let you know. A small fragment of the *Pandiyât* is hardly of more use than a contribution to the question of the text of that work. The story of Nâsir-i Khusraw and Sayyid-nâ is a fairy tale, and the opuscule attributed to Tûsî may be edited separately. The *Dîwân* may be studied, and, if no references to Ismailism are found, I, personally, believe, would hardly deserve publication: there are scores of inferior poets of that period whose art was much higher. Of course, it would do no harm to any one if it is published.

As I wrote to you in my preceeding letter we have posted to you two copies of the *Pandiyât*, and an additional copy of the *Brief Survey*... I also posted a copy of the latter to Mr. Max, and am writing to him with this mail.

Your *Shumûs* is progressing, and I am trying to make the scribe finish it soon — it is now about 500 pages.

Please convey my best regards to Mme Corbin. With my best thanks for your kind assistance, I remain

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

[119] L'édition et la traduction par WI furent publiées en 1959 (ISS A, 10); cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 58.

[120] Ce fut chose faite en 1960. À propos des éditions antérieures par WI de cette œuvre (1922 et 1949), voir bibliographie.

39. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 7 mai 1953*

[Bombay,] 7 May 1953

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I have just sent to you a copy of the latest publication of ours, the *Râha-tu'l-'aql*, by Hamîdu'd-dîn al-Kirmânî, through M[uhammad] H[ussayn] Asadî, the Tehrani bookseller, who has just left for Tehran, by sea. I hope you will get the book within two weeks since this date.

Are you going to Europe this summer? Life in Paris, as it is said, has become more expensive than ever — I just had a letter from a friend of mine who visited it.

I have no news from Mr. Max. He intended to leave for Paris on the 12th February — have you heard anything from him? Was his six weeks' leave enjoyable?

I am sorry to say that the *Shumûs* which I tried my best also to send by Asadi, is not yet completed. The scribe has very little time, and about a quarter of the book is still to be transcribed.

What are you publishing now? Have you completed that work by Nâsir-i Khusraw?[121]

I am trying to arrange something for a visit to Persia this summer, preferably in August. I am growing old, and to travel on a donkey may become out of the question for me very soon — to my great regret. Perhaps, if you do not go to Europe, we may meet in Tehran. I have to go there, I hope for only a short time.

Please convey my best compliments to Mme Corbin. I hope that your charming house and garden are now still better than before.

I am trying to complete the work over the *Ahl-Haqq texts* by the autumn, starting printing soon. Of course, these are only hopes. There is otherwise nothing special to tell you. I had no interesting letters or books from Europe or elsewhere — every one seems to be preoccupied with his own worries now, and publishing has become exceedingly difficult. I hope you keep good health. My experience of Tehran five years ago at this time of the year was rather unpleasant because heat and especially continuous overheating wear out even strong constitution.

With my best wishes and compliments, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

[121] Allusion à l'édition et à l'étude, par HC, du *Jâmi' al-hikmatayn* de Nâsir-i Khusraw; voir bibliographie.

40. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 29 juillet 1953*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 29 July 1953

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you for your kind letter of 20 June 1953, which came together with that of Mr. Max. Your book arrived the next day.[122] I immediately wrote to Mr. Max, and delayed writing to you, firstly, because you wrote about your leaving for Paris, and, secondly, to have a glance through the book. I hope that you have already come back to the normal in Paris, and feel well and fit. Please convey my best compliments and wishes to Madame Corbin.

The Book. I was, naturally, glad to see that you have made much use of our publications and, still more, that you find their statements predominantly acceptable. My impression of the crudity of Nâsir-i Khusraw's writings was entirely based on their comparison with the Fatimid classic literature contemporary with him, especially Hamîdu'd-dîn al-Kirmânî. The *Jâmi'* does not alter it. He invariably appears to me as a kind of autodidact, and, besides, there is an aspect in his writings which have by now assumed quite well founded form: there is always suspicion that his works, especially those preserved in Sunnite libraries, have been *expurged* from Ismaili elements. The case of the *Gushâyish* is the clearest. In his other works such *censoring* may have been made more silently and imperceptibly. I therefore would trust only those copies which come directly from Badakhshân. By the way, it seems to be a good idea to re-edit the *Wajh-i dîn*, because the Berlin edition is now out of print, and generally was very bad, being based on a new and bad copy.[123] I have a copy, from Badakhshân, dated 1155, and in the India Office Library there is one dated 929. It is always easy to get a photostat.

[122] L'édition et l'étude, par HC, du *Jâmi' al-hikmatayn* de Nâsir-i Khusraw; voir bibliographie.

[123] Le *Wajh al-dîn* de Nâsir-i Khusraw (cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 159-63 (n° 744); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 111-25 (n° 6). Éd. M. Ghanîzâda et M. Qazwînî, Berlin: Kaviani, 1343/1924. WI devait préparer plus tard, avec A. Afshâr Shîrâzî, une nouvelle édition de ce texte, qui fut prête à sa mort; cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 69. Une édition par Gholam-Reza Aawani fut publiée en 1356/1977. (Téhéran: Anjuman-i Shâhanshâhî-i Falsafa-yi Irân; cf. *Abstracta Iranica* 1 (1978), n° 159).

I admired your philosophical commentary. It is a kind of art, for which I have no talent. It seems to me that phenomenology of religion as a subject of serious and scientific study has any sense only in its sociological aspect, against the background of historical, social, economical, etc. conditions. Only then it presents something real. Phenomenology of individual religious experience belongs to the field of neuropathology, psychology, etc. more concerned with medicine — if it has a sense. In my works I am only concerned with the facts (however dim and fluid they may at first appear), and an analysis of their real substance. My ideal in such studies would be chemistry — to be able to give the results of research in compact and well-tested formulas and equations, admitting of no fooling and whims. Much in my works may appear as guess work, not sufficiently *documented*. But this is not because I am fond of fantastic constructions, but because such statements partly rest on the results of studies which have not yet been recorded in writing. This work is a sort of making a mosaic picture, in which one has some stones, and other stones may be still missing or not yet laid into their proper position. You surely need no proof that a book of an author never exhausts all that he can say on the subject. I came to the study of Ismailism *via* Sufism, and when I got the access to the hitherto hidden literature, only then could I appreciate the immense importance which it *invisibly* played in the history of Persia and of Islam generally. The *Ahl-i Haqq texts* which I hope will be soon out, were a real eye-opener, because they permitted to probe into subsoil of the Fatimid and post-Fatimid mentality of the masses which joined Ismailism. In such questions as religion — socially — the *development* or evolution of ideas matters little outside the question of how the people masses understood it, and how it fitted their needs in the conditions in which they lived.

Well, one may be glad that anyhow, apparently all the works of Nâsir-i Khusraw have been made accessible and it would be a befitting subject for a grand monograph on him. Perhaps only it would be necessary to edit the *Haft Bâb-i* Abû Ishâq, the original version of the *Kalâm-i Pîr*. I have found some information of the author (beginning Xth/XVIth century) and of the plagiator, Khayrkhwâh, so that now everything is clear. As *Kalâm-i Pîr* is now out of print,[124] the Ismaili Society may consider it desirable to print the text and a translation of the *Haft-Bâb*.

[124] *Kalam-i Pir, A Treatise on Ismaili Doctrine, also (wrongly) called Haft-Babi Shah Sayyid Nasir*. Ed. in the original Persian and transl. into Engl. by W. Ivanow, Bombay 1935 (IRAS, 4). Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 13; voir aussi le compte rendu de R.A. Nicholson, *JRAS* (1937), pp. 379-83.

I shall look forward to read the promised edition of the *qasîda* of Abû'l-Haytham.[125] As to the Persian version of the *Asâsu't-ta'wîl*,[126] it is extremely rare — some 20 years ago I had for a few days a copy of it with me, but it was utterly disappointing: it was either a modern Indian translation, or, perhaps an old one, thoroughly *corrected* by an Indian — the language was bastard, and had nothing to do with the XIth century. I asked for a loan of a copy no less a person than His Holiness the rascally head of the Bohras, and he kindly promised, but, of course, cheated us. Anyhow, although so far I could not get another copy, I do not still lose a hope. But I must remind you that getting Bohra books is at present even more difficult than it was before — His Holiness has taken steps to stop leaking, and the old prejudices are still in force.

Your *Shumûs* is nearing completion, although copying is going irritatingly slowly. I shall do everything possible to get good copies of it and of the *Kanzu'l-walad*, and photograph the tables which they may contain. The difficulty, however, is that the majority of copies of various books which contain such tables usually leave blank pages to fill in, but ultimately never do this.

I shall gladly post to you reprints of my notes on Rûzbihân al-Baqlî — the *shîkh* (shaykh), as he is still called in Shiraz.[127] In 1928 I traced his grave, which was covered with rubbish, washed it, and made some estampages from its inscription. My notes on his biography form part of a series of studies of Jâmî's *Nafahâtu'l-uns*.[128] In my young days, while still in Russia, I was much interested in Sufism (in a classic way), and while I was purchasing manuscripts for the Russian Academy of Sciences in Bukhara, in 1915, I found a very old copy of the *Nafahât*. It was slightly incomplete at the end, and the date was lost, but it was quite possible that the copy was made still in Jâmî's time, before 900 judging from marginal notes. The late C[arl] Salemann, then the director of the Asiatic Museum, then suggested that I should edit it, with the help of other old copies in St. Petersburg libraries. So, I started working, tracing Jâmî's

[125] L'édition par HC et Mo'in du commentaire par Muhammad b. Surkh al-Nishâpûrî de la *qasîda* d'Abû l-Haytham al-Jurjânî; voir bibliographie.

[126] *Asâs al-ta'wîl* d'al-Qâdî al-Nu'mân (m. 363/974); sur l'œuvre et son auteur, voir Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 32-37 (n° 75); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 48-68 (n° 38). Une édition de la version arabe fut effectuée plus tard par 'Ârif Tâmir (Beyrouth: Dâr al-thaqâfa, 1960).

[127] «A Biography of Rûzbihân al-Baqlî», *JASB* NS 24 (1928), pp. 353-61; «More on Biography of Rûzbihân al-Baqlî», *JBBRAS* NS 7 (1931), pp. 1-7. Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», nos III 6, 7.

[128] «The Sources of Jami's Nafahat», *JASB* NS 18 (1922), pp. 385-402; «More on the Sources of Jâmî's Nafahât», *JASB* NS 19 (1923), pp. 299-303. Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», nos III 2, 4.

sources. Gradually as you can see from the list of my publications, I made a series on the *Sources of Jâmî's Nafahât* and it is long since I wanted to bring them together and print in the form of a booklet, in a revised form, to prevent their being lost. But the matter was always so far postponed. If you like I shall sent to you copies of other articles, too.

Now, let us take up business. As you are in Paris, perhaps it would be easy to settle everything on the spot concerning the proposed publication of Mr. Max' translation. I had talks with our President and am authorised to suggest this: in view of the difficulty of getting permits for remittances for such frivolous purposes as printing abroad books on Islamic subjects, especially in French, the Ismaili Society would greatly prefer if the Institut could print the booklet at their expense, as one of their own publications. The Ismaili Society, however, undertakes *to buy* 200 copies (without a right to resell them, but with the right to distribute them free, as honorary copies). This number will include copies distributed at the Ismaili Society's request to different libraries. Your Institut is, of course, free to send any at their own choice. Please make inquiries as to whether such conditions suit your Institut, and let us know soon. It seems desirable to add to the booklet a few pages of explanations of terms employed there, and, perhaps, of names, referred to in the text. I do not think that this would be more than about 8 pages. It is a pity that your Institut would not buy accented types, to avoid mixing romans and italics in one and the same word. The expense would be comparatively small. Please note that in your book there are some misprints in dates — a slip with corrections would be desirable.

I am working over the index to the *Râhatu'l-'aql* and my *Ahl-i Haqq Texts*, introduction in English, is in the press — about half of it has been already set, and optimistic expectations are to have it ready in a month's time — though I doubt this.

There is nothing as yet definite about the next issue of the *Collectanea*, in which I would like to publish a note on Amûzgâr's manuscript, together with many other matters — I have a heap of them. As you know, I am working singlehanded. You in Tehran can get some assistance from Persian enthusiasts. But here there is not a single soul, no Persians of the suitable education, and the Indians are unfit and do not take any interest in the subject. I have to do everything myself.

Please convey my compliments to Mr. Max. I am so thankful to him for his active and kind help with the translation of the booklet.

Thanking you once more for your books and kind letter, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

W. I.

41. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 10 novembre 1953*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 10 November 1953

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you for your kind letter of the 20 October (which I received on 27 October). As you were travelling, in accordance with your wishes, I have delayed writing to you till now, to post it with the airmail leaving here just after your arrival in Tehran. I hope you had quiet and pleasant journey, and are glad to be back in Persia. Please convey my best compliments and wishes to Mme Corbin.

We have posted to you two copies of A-7 (*The Truth-worshippers of Kurdistan*) and four reprints of my articles on the sources of Jâmî's *Nafahâtu'l-uns*, two being devoted to the question of Rûzbihân al-Baqlî. I am sorry to have no reprints of my earliest article, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1917.[129] It was printed during the First War, and reprints never reached me.

Your *Shumûs* has been completed, but the last few pages are not yet received. I want to bind it before sending to you. It is a pity that this cannot be done by the next boat, leaving here on the 12th November, morning.

I have submitted what you write about the publication of the translation prepared by Mr. Max, to our president, and we are awaiting further news from you. It would be possible to print it here in Bombay, where there is a French press. Unfortunately, the most difficult question is that of proof reading. Sending the proofs to Europe, or to you, would necessitate keeping print engaged for a long time, and the press will probably not consent to this. Anyhow, you do what you find the best.

I am just finishing the index to the *Râhatu'l-'aql*, and hope to deliver the typescript to the press before the end of the month, so that it may be ready before the end of the year. As soon as I have it off my hands, I shall immediately take up going through Mr. Max' translation, so that it may also be ready for the press by the beginning of the next year.

We have discussed the question of your taking up the edition of the *Wajh-i dîn,* and your plan seems to be highly acceptable. I shall be glad to lend you my copy (dated 1155 A.H.), and you can get photostats of

[129] «A Biography of Shaykh Ahmad-i Jâm». Voir bibliographie.

the copy dated 924 A.H. from the India Office Library. In the type used by your press the book will be very large. As to your suggestion concerning the *Haft bâb* of Abû Ishâq, I have already suggested an edition — lithographed text, with an English translation — as a substitute to the reedition of the *Kalâm-i Pîr*, which is a plagiarism from the former. This will not take much time.

I hope it would be possible for us to print in the course of the next year the second volume of the *Collectanea*, one of the items in it being a detailed article on Amûzgâr's manuscript. My *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism* (A-3)[130] is nearly out of print, and yet there is much demand for it from booksellers. I do not know what will be decided, but in case a second edition is sanctioned, I shall introduce certain modifications and additions. Perhaps it may be connected with the question of *jidd, fath, khayâl*, treated in your excellent introduction. The matter still remains not entirely clear to me, as to the origin from which it was taken.

A Persian friend, just from Tehran, told me that he saw in newspapers there the news that Massignon had died — is this true? I have written to Paris, and am waiting for confirmation or denial, — I hope for the latter.

The *Râhatu'l-'aql* is a very interesting work, quite deserving of a translation and careful study. The learned editors, to say the least, do not inspire much confidence as to their ability to tackle the work. Not being a specialist in Arabic, I cannot pronounce a decisive judgment as to the quality of the edition, but it seems to me quite good. In any case it is quite sufficient for the study of the subject, the *classic* Fatimid philosophy, or theosophy. It would be particularly helpful for the edition of the *Wajh-i dîn* and other works of Nâsir-i Khusraw.

I do not know when I shall be able to go to Persia. I would immensely like to re-visit the country, and spend two or three months up in the hills, to give rest to my nerves in their quiet air. Let us see whether circumstances will permit me to go there in spring. I shall take with me a certain Persian text and prepare there an edition of it in consultation with some learned Persians.

With my best wishes to you, I shall expect your confirmation of the receipt of the books, your impressions and criticisms.

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

The books have been posted *registered* — we always register the books which we send anywhere. I hope they will safely reach you.

[130] Leiden: Brill, 1948 (ISS A, 4).

42. *Henry Corbin à Ivanow, 23 décembre 1953*

[Téhéran,] 23 décembre 1953

Cher Collègue et Ami,

Les deux volumes des *Ahl-e Haqq* ainsi que les tirages à part Rûzbihân et Jâmî sont bien arrivés. Merci de tout cœur. Malgré le surmenage de la fin d'année, je ne veux pas attendre pour vous dire tout de suite que je n'avais pas lu depuis longtemps un ouvrage d'orientalisme aussi excitant que vos *Truth-Worshippers*. Votre analyse met admirablement en valeur les traces des autres croyances religieuses. Vous dégagez celles du Mithraïsme de façon très heureuse (au début de novembre, nous avons passé une journée merveilleuse à Ostia Antica, où il n'y a pas moins de quinze mitreums. Le musée d'Ostie doit donner prochainement une publication considérable à leur sujet). Tout à fait d'accord avec vous sur l'opportunité de rechercher les traces des sectes chrétiennes; vous touchez juste avec les Pauliciens. De mon côté je suis très préoccupé par l'intérêt du docétisme. En général, nos Orientalistes perdent trop souvent de vue qu'il a existé un christianisme tout différent de celui de l'Occident. Deux autres points (entre beaucoup d'autres!) ont retenu mon attention: il y a la figure de Razbar et il y a cette pratique de l'*Iqrâr*. Tout cela est d'un intérêt extraordinaire. Quoi vous dire d'autre, puisque vous êtes le seul à avoir pu vous engager dans la voie d'une telle recherche! Combien je déplore que le jeune Mokri, qui dispose d'une si grande quantité de textes en gûrânî, ne semble absolument pas se rendre compte des impératifs scientifiques et réserve ses trésors par espoir de futurs contrats chimériques!

Certes, l'édition de *Râhat al-'aql* est tout à fait suffisante pour une étude sérieuse. Comme vous me le suggérez, j'ai bien l'intention de l'entreprendre, car, vous le devinez, c'est le genre de livres auxquels va ma prédilection! Actuellement avec Mo'în nous préparons le *sharh* de la *Qasîda* d'Abu'l Haytham, qui semble pouvoir être attribué à Mohammad Sarkh Nîshâpûrî. La comparaison avec Nâsir-e Khosraw est bien intéressante, mais ce commentaire est beaucoup plus court que le sien[131]. Nous avons déjà préparé pour l'impression la moitié du texte. Après cela, nous verrons si nous pouvons entreprendre le *Wajh-e Dîn*. C'est très tentant. D'ici là, vers février, j'ai un travail en deux volumes sur *Avicenne et le Récit visionnaire* qui doit sortir en double édition: une pour la collection du Millénaire, l'autre pour notre Bibliothèque Iranienne[132].

[131] Allusion au *Jâmi' al-hikmatayn* de Nâsir-i Khusraw.

[132] *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire.* 1. *Étude sur le cycle des récits avicenniens.* 2. *Le Récit de Hayy ibn Yaqzân.* Traduction française du texte arabe et du commentaire persan avec introduction, notes et gloses, Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1954 (Bibliothèque

En fin de compte, vous le savez peut-être déjà, voici qu'après en avoir perdu tout espoir, ce millénaire aura bel et bien lieu, semble-t-il. On parle de la fin du mois de mai. Ce sont des questions de personnes qui, lors de l'ancien gouvernement, avaient tout bloqué. L'atmosphère que nous avons retrouvée est incomparablement meilleure que celle que nous avions laissée au mois de juin; il y a de la détente et de l'optimisme.

Notre collègue Massignon est bien vivant et même plus actif que jamais. Impossible de savoir d'où a pu partir la rumeur de son prétendu *décès*. Toujours est-il que non seulement la *nouvelle* était allée jusqu'à vous dans l'Inde, mais on y a cru ferme ici en Iran et on m'en a même *informé* de Beyrouth. Quel historien de l'avenir pourra se débrouiller là-dedans?

J'ai eu des nouvelles de notre ami Max, il y a un peu plus de deux semaines. Ses fonctions l'absorbent beaucoup et le font voyager, mais il paraît que la traduction était sur le point d'être achevée.

Que cette missive vous apporte tous nos vœux les meilleurs et les plus sincères, ceux de ma femme et les miens, pour la nouvelle année. Bon travail avant tout, la santé qui en est condition et peut-être le voyage qui vous détendrait. Voilà tout ce que l'on vous souhaite, mon cher Collègue et Ami. Nous ferons naturellement une réception triomphale aux *Shumûs al-zâhira* lorsqu'ils se montreront!

En attendant nous vous envoyons nos pensées les plus cordiales

[Henry Corbin]

43. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 7 janvier 1954*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 7 January 1954

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you for your kind letter of the 23 December 1953, and your kind greetings and wishes. Please convey my best compliments and season's greetings to Mme Corbin.

iranienne, 4, 5); *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire.* 1. *Le récit de Hayy ibn Yaqzan. Texte arabe, ancienne version et commentaire en persan.* Traduction et avant-propos, Téhéran, 1952 (Société des Monuments Nationaux de l'Iran. Collection du Millénaire d'Avicenne, 25 I); *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire* 2. *Étude sur le cycle des récits avicenniens*; 3. *Notes et Gloses de la traduction du récit de Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, Téhéran, 1954 (Société des Monuments Nationaux de l'Iran. Collection du Millénaire d'Avicenne 25 II/III). Voir aussi G. Vajda, «Publications iraniennes à l'occasion du millénaire d'Avicenne», *REI* 22 (1954), p. 158.

I am very glad that you have found the *Truth-worshippers* very interesting. The subject, surely, requires considerable extent of interest in that field, which is rarely available in the present day Orientalists. I hope, however, that I have done my duty placing in the hands of the future intending student the materials and genuine texts with which he can start his researches.

We have posted to you two copies of my index to the *Râhatu'l-'aql*, of which as far as I can remember, we have sent you two copies, for yourself and the Institut's library. Thus the index may now be bound with the copy. Together with these I have sent a copy each of two booklets, M[uhammad] Kâmil Hussein's edition of three short *risâlas* (out of the *13*) by Hamîdu'd-dîn al-Kirmânî.[133] They are rather interesting. Unfortunately, he has sent only a few copies.

About the *Shumûs*. The manuscript is ready since some time, bound, etc. But the question is as to how to send it in such a way as to assure safe arrival. Its transcription cost about 14 pounds sterling and it would be a pity if the book is lost. I intended to ask the local P[ersian] consul who is going home to take it, and he agreed. But he has again become sick and now has to go by air. He therefore places an excuse of having too much luggage with him. This simply means that he does not like to pay the charges, while at the same time does not like to accept our money to cover the expense. I am waiting for an opportunity to send the book by a friend, but if there will be no prospect, we will have to post it in an ordinary way.

I shall be very glad to see your next publications, and it will be good to take up the *Wajh-i dîn*. I hope we shall be able to issue a new edition of the *Kalâm-i Pîr*[134] (together with the *Haft Bâb* of Abû Ishâq[135]) with a new introduction, summing up the information collected in the course of the last 20 years (since 1933), and also my *Studies in early Persian Ismailism*, which is also sold out. Strangely, such a highly technical book finds more demand than other, *lighter* works.

133 Hamîd al-Dîn al-Kirmânî, *al-Risâla al-durrîyah fî ma'nâ al-tawhîd*, ed. M.K. Husayn, Le Caire: Matba'at al-jâmi'a, 1952; id., *Risâlat al-nuzum fî muqâbalat al-'awâlim*, ed. M.K. Husayn, Le Caire: Matba'at al-jâmi'a, 1952; id, «al-Risâla al-wâ'iza», ed. M.K. Husayn, *Majallat kulliyyat al-âdâb, Jâmi'at Fu'âd al-awwal [Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fu'âd al-Awwal University, Cairo]* 14 I (1952), pp. 1-29. Ces trois traités, de même que six autres du même auteur et trois qui n'appartiennent pas à al-Kirmânî, sont généralement présentés en un recueil, intitulé *Thalâthat 'ashara risâla li-Sayyidinâ Hamîd al-Dîn al-Kirmânî*; cf. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 94-102 (nos 12, 13, 21); Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 40-45 (nos 133, 134, 142).

134 À sa mort, WI avait achevé la préparation d'une *New Introduction to Kalâm-i Pir*; cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 70.

135 L'édition et la traduction par WI furent publiées en 1959. Voir bibliographie.

Our time is mad time, when absurd things happen while normal things become extremely difficult to attain. If the celebrations will be really held, I surely would like to attend. It will be a happy opportunity to exchange opinions on various subjects of study when we meet — one cannot pack everything in a letter.

Mr. Max has nearly completed the translation,[136] and I am revising it, comparing with the original and introducing a few alterations (some of them suggested by him). As far as I can see, he has excellent style, plain and simple, and therefore forcible. I shall be glad if the question with the publication is decided, and this is off my shoulders. Now that more than a year has passed since the booklet had been printed, I feel great desire to alter many portions. Really, it was a mistake to press so much for *conciseness*: brevity rarely means clarity, and it surely requires a considerable *background* to make a complete idea. However, Mr. Max, who never studied the question specially, writes to me that he does not feel any need in additonal explanations, list of technical terms, etc. And, anyhow, as it has been clearly said in that booklet, it reflects merely a passing stage: it will have to be replaced, and perhaps cancelled, in many respects, by a new review, as the time passes and new information comes forth. I am already trying to do partly this[137] while rewriting the first article in the *Studies* which I have to complete soon in order not to delay the proposed reprinting. However, I am not yet sure, which will be taken first, this or the *Kalâm-i Pîr*, which is also out of print.[138]

Thank you for the news of Massignon. It is often said that if news of death become spread about a person who is still alive, it signifies that he will enjoy a very long life. I sincerely wish him to be a good example of this, but only to give up his hunt for dark dollars, and return to research, if he generally can return.

With my best wishes of good health and success, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

[136] Du *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism* de WI.

[137] À la mort de WI, une édition revue et corrigée de son *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism* était prête à l'édition, sous le titre *Ismailism and its Development*. Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 68.

[138] Allusion à l'édition de 1934; voir bibliographie.

44. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 6 mars 1954*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 6 March 1954

Dear Dr. Corbin,

H.E. Ali Asghar Hekmat was so kind as to agree to take with him the manuscript of *Shumûs* in order to hand it to you. He is flying on the 5th of March, and thus expects to be in Tehran on the 8th. Please be so kind as to ask him and arrange about taking delivery of the book. He also was so kind as to give me an official invitation for the Avicenna *jashn*, on the 21st April. I have submitted it to the council of the Ismaili Society, and now am awaiting their decision — perhaps I may come, if they so decide, and may read a paper on *Crypto-Ismailis*, with special reference to Avicenna.[139] I shall be glad to see you and discuss many questions of various publications. Please convey my best compliments to Madame Corbin.

I have nearly completed an edition of Rashîdu'd-dîn's section on the Persian Ismailis, and its translation. I hope to have it out in the autumn. We are also planning to issue a second impression of our B-1,[140] and a second edition of A-3,[141] also the *Kalâm-i Pîr*,[142] and a new edition of the *Haft Bâb* of Abu Ishâq.[143] I do not think that my Persian tour, in case I go, will be lengthy. It is such a pity that the date of the celebration is so inconvenient: the celebrations end by the first of May, and on the fourth the Ramazan is beginning. I know what means Ramazan in Tehran when it falls upon the hot season, and have little desire to enjoy it again. To be

[139] WI participa aux célébrations du millénaire d'Avicenne (21-30 avril 1954), où il donna une communication intitulée «Avicenna and crypto-Ismailis». Cf. Anawati, «L'Œuvre scientifique du Congrès d'Avicenne de Téhéran», p. 355.

[140] *Risâla dar Haqîqat-i Dîn, or True Meaning of Religion, by Shihâbu'd-dîn Shâh al-Husaynî*. Edited in facsimile, in the original Persian, from the autograph copy, Bombay: Thacker and Co., 1947 (ISS B, 1); cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 34. Voir aussi le compte-rendu de R.A. Nicholson, *JRAS* (1937), pp. 379-83. La seconde édition, à laquelle WI fait référence ici, fut publiée en 1955 (ISS B, 8, Bombay); cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 53.

[141] W. Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*. La seconde édition, que WI mentionne ici, fut publiée en 1955 (ISS A, 8. Bombay: Ismaili Printing Press); voir Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 52.

[142] L'édition de 1934 du *Kalâm-i Pir*; voir bibliographie.

[143] Publiée en 1959; voir bibliographie.

in time, I have to start from here by the aeroplane leaving on the 16th of April. But if my visit has been decided, and it is possible to complete all formalities in time, I shall try to come a week earlier, starting on the 9th April, returning in the beginning of May.

Please accept my best wishes, and hope that everything may come off well and that we may meet again after six years, discussing philosophy, the texts, and many other things. (By the way: I was feeling so much irritated when I found that the manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Mss Suppl. Persan 2004*, of which we have got photostats, has an enormous lacuna, apparently 16 pages, a whole *juz'*, artfully masked. One can only discover it when actually reading the text. And there is no mention of this in the *Catalogue* of Blochet.)[144]

Thus accept my best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
W. I.

45. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 25 mars 1954*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 25 March 1954

Dear Dr. Corbin,

My coming to Tehran has been definitely decided, and I hope to be in time for the celebrations. It is generally said that the air service from here to Tehran has been greatly disorganised of late, and appears to be unreliable. Therefore I am advised by the consul to start earlier. I shall try my best to start form here on the 9th April, and thus may arrive to Tehran in the afternoon on the 10th. If that does not work, I may try other routes. I hate Baghdad, and would not like that way, but perhaps may try Basra by air, and then by rail from Khurramshahr. I shall be very glad to see both of you again. Please convey my compliments to Mme Corbin.

Just a few days I received the balance of the translation of the *Brief Survey*... from Mr. Max, through a friend who arrived from Paris. He is

[144] Cf. E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, Paris, 1928, vol. 4, p. 224-25 (n° 2279).

very busy and does not keep good health, unfortunately. Have you received the *Shumûs*? It is nearly a month since the Ambassador has left Bombay. But do not write, as now it will be difficult to get your letter before my departure.

I am preparing a short paper to be read at the *conference*, though, unfortunately, not so much *on* Avicenna as *in connection with* him. In my young days I was very keen on attempts at studying Islamic *philosophy*, but now cannot stand it — perhaps because I have overfed myself with it.

So, in a hope of having the pleasure to discuss with you personally at our meeting all the matters, and wishing you good health and success in your work, I remain

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

46. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 19 octobre 1954*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 19 October 1954

Dear Prof. Corbin,

Mr. Max wrote to me that you intended to leave for Persia on the 9th October, so that I may think that you have already settled in your Tehran abode, and my letter will not arrive at the time when you are very busy on the arrival. Please convey my greetings and compliments to Mme Corbin.

I have made arrangements through a friend of mine to take to you the *Asrâru'n-nutaqâ'* and *Sarâ'iru'n-nutaqâ*.[145] He will be in Tehran about the middle or towards the end of November. I do not know whether he will hand the books to you personally or will simply send these. In case you meet him (his name is Majîd Khân), please note that he is a man of no education, is fond of *adjusting and improving upon the facts*, pretends to be an Ismaili, but knows nothing about Ismailism, and generally

[145] *Sarâ'ir al-nutaqâ'* et *Asrâr al-nutaqâ'* de Ja'far b. Mansûr al-Yaman (IVe/Xe siècle); sur l'œuvre et son auteur, cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 21-22 (nos 14, 15); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 70-75 (nos 2, 3).

is a man with whom one should be on his guard. I shall be very much obliged if you mention myself as little as possible — no compliments, nothing about plans and aspirations. We are on officially good terms, but I had many opportunities to find out that he is not the same when speaking in one's presence and absence. In any case I shall be glad if he does not lose the books and delivers these to you safely.

Since my return to Bombay (I spent a week in Karachi, and returned in the beginning of July) I had very unpleasant time owing to the extraordinarily heavy monsoon — 135 inches instead of the normal 60. It was something like what rain your have in Tehran during ten years to have been poured in 3 months! There were also many other pleasures of various kinds. Only now, with the return of dry weather, I begin to come to normal conditions.

My work over the *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh* was not proceeding as fast as I expected because I had to revise for the second edition my *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism* and, in addition, to write reviews of several Ismaili books which were sent to us. I expected to have the *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh* off my hands, published, by the end of the year, but now I shall be glad if it is out in January of February.

Much pressure is exercised on me for speeding up the publication of Mr. Max' translation of B-7.[146] I am ultimately trying to make some arrangements locally — I shall write to you when something definite is arrived at. Of course, I would be very glad if your original intentions could be materialised — all the plans as explained by me, and the offer of buying 300 copies — remain in force. The question is only about the time.

We had recently a change in presidents, the original had to retire owing to his being busy outside India. A new one[147] is younger and more enthusiastic, although, of course, he had not yet time to get into the *spirit* of the work. But my impression is that many things will be easier with him, and the work may go faster.

I always remember with great pleasure our conversations, and wish I could soon come again to Persia where I always feel myself incomparably better. It is very unfortunate that the present difficulties and restrictions with remittances ruin all possibilities of working in the conditions which suit best the work.

[146] *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism* de WI.

[147] Ali Muhammad Mecklai eut pour successeur, à la présidence de l'IS, Mahomedali G. Fazulbhoy.

With my best wishes and compliments, awaiting news from you soon, I remain

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

47. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 8 novembre 1954*

W. Ivanow
c/o The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 8 November 1954

Dear Dr. Corbin,

A friend of mine, Aqâ Majîd Khân, is going to Iran, and will be about the 20th November there, staying there about two weeks (he will stay in the *Park Hotel*). He was so kind as to take with him a copy of the *Asrâ-ru'n-nutaqâ'* and *Sarâ'iru'n-nutaqâ'* which he promised to hand to you. I do not know whether he will simply send the books by a person, or will hand them personally. He is not a scholar, but a business man, a Persian born in Bombay. I hope the books will be interesting for you. When you finish with them, better do not send them back by post but await an opportunity to send by hand through someone going to India. With all that tall talk of all sorts of benefactions by every one, especially by that great philanthrophical body, UNESCO, things become worse and worse. Now even to send a complimentary copy of a book implies endless nonsense with applying for a permit to Reserve Bank, etc., etc. It is the beauty of the *free world.* I am sorry to say that I really would prefer the hard rule of the *iron curtain:* prohibited, and this is the end of the story. But here it is not prohibited, you are free to be fleeced in all ways and have endless troubles, worries and waste of time, and yet the result is the same.

I hope you enjoy your being back to Iran. Please convey my best compliments to Mme Corbin. I hope both of you feel well and fit. I do not know whether I am coming soon to Iran, and when — I am trying my best to get there in spring.

We are here thinking of printing the French translation of the *Evolution* here, in Bombay, in case it is impossible for you to take it up into your series. Please write to me finally. Our offer remains as before. We have still there in the Bank 39 pounds sterling, and this with a small addition

will cover the cost of 300 copies. The people here show much impatience to see the booklet printed in French and in Arabic.

I hope to hear from you soon, and remain

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

Just received this moment a letter from Mr. Max from Paris. It is dated 31 October. He is back form his visit to London in which he was very busy. He again asks about the arrangements with regard to the printing of his translation, and I am going to write to him tomorrow. W. I.

48. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 1er janvier 1955*

[Bombay,] 1 January 1955

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you for your very kind letter of the 19 December which I received only on the 30th December (!), so that there was no time left to answer it to you to your Tehran address.

Please receive my best wishes of Happy New Year, and all success, prosperity and good luck in it. Please convey my best greetings and compliments to Madame Corbin. I hope both of you are feeling well, despite the preoccupations with the most difficult thing such as shifting over such long distances. But, once done, I am sure, it will be of great advantage to your work.

I am glad that you have received our manuscripts and found them interesting.[148] Do not forget that Fyzee has a Yamanite copy of these dated something like 771 A.H. It is not badly written, but very often dots are omitted, and therefore it is necessary to read it along with another copy. There are facilities of making a microfilm in New Delhi, where he is at present, but the cost is higher than in Persia. I ordered photostats, small size, and it cost me exactly twice as much as in Tehran. Yes, it is much better always to send manuscripts by hand. I hope there will be an occasion. I personally also am trying to arrange another tour, but the matter is still uncertain.

About our translation publication.[149] The more time passes the less I feel enthusiastic about this publication. It was the desire of my patrons,

[148] *Sarâ'ir al-nutaqâ'* et *Asrâr al-nutaqâ'* de Ja'far b. Mansûr al-Yaman (IV^e^/X^e^ siècle).
[149] La traduction du *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism* de WI.

I have done my best, but, surely, I cannot change the circumstances. Even now I would like to introduce changes, not entirely rewrite the booklet. As it is, it satisfies neither specialists nor general readers — for the former it is not sufficiently detailed, and for the other it requires a lot of information already stored in memory. I shall make an attempt at finding their final desire, and shall act accordingly. If Mr. Max could have completed the translation within a few months after the publication, it would have been published long ago. Unfortunately, as you remember, he was about that time transferred from Tehran, and later delayed by various circumstances. Of course, again, we cannot alter these circumstances. But, for me, the more I work, the more I feel temptations to alter this or that portion — this is, as you know, quite inevitable.

So far I had no time to take up the poems of the son of Khaki,[150] and there are still many things to be done before I can think of this. I have several other things, especially the text of the *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh*, on Ismailis. I have prepared the text and a translation, and an introduction is almost ready. But there are many details, such as names of different places, etc., to ascertain.

Our friend Hannibal is hopeless. For six months he had no time to write a letter, against my several inquiries. Surely, he is not so madly busy. It is simply laziness of the most unattractive variety.

I shall be glad if you find time to write occasionally from Paris. Please convey my best regards to Mr. Max when you see him. He is just the reverse of the Tehranis, and although, I am sure, he is incomparably more busy all the time than they, he finds time to write and writes very interesting letters.

I shall be very much obliged if you, when in Paris, may from time to time let me know of the interesting books, for my studies, which appear there. Of all the French booksellers only Adrien-Maisonneuve occasionally sends his catalogues. And, mon Dieu! what a dustbin it is! Simply as if you incidentally found a catalogue of 50 years ago, all these long since obsolete works. I remember receiving such titles in Persia in 1912. Brill is absolutely useless. English booksellers are more energetic, though the number of catalogues has now become small.

[150] 'Alî Qulî b. Imâm Qulî Raqqâmî Khurâsânî (ou Dizbâdî) (XI^e^/XVII^e^ siècle), fils d'Imâm Qulî Khâkî Khurâsânî (m. après 1056/1646). Sur le père et le fils, cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 145-48; Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 279-80. WI avait édité une partie du *Diwân* de Raqqâmî dans ses «Ismailitica II», *MASB* 8 (1922), pp. 73-76 (Le Poème de l'Incarnation de Raqqâmî); cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 2.

About Shah Ni'matu'l-lâh Walî: have you ever seen his *kulliyya* of mystical works?[151] I tried to go through it (you may see a note in my *Calcutta catalogue*), but found it beyond me. As you are specializing on mystical texts, how nice it would be if you give a note on them. It is a large and monotonous thing, but a paper of about 32 pages would offer ample opportunity to characterize the contents quite sufficiently.

Have you seen recently my compatriot Kashin? I cannot get any news from him. Is he sick? I have some faint hope that in case he died, one of my friends might have informed me. This sort of doing business is simply exasperating.

Once more I wish you and Madame Corbin best luck and all success in your new *phase* of activities, new publications, new finds!

I am finishing the printing of the second edition of my *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, and hope to post to you a copy by the middle of January, so that you may receive it in February. I hope the new edition, though I have not altered much, may be better than the first.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

49. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 21 mai 1955*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 21 May 1955

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I have not written to you for a long time, but this was not due to my laziness, or another vice. The reason was that I expected to go to Persia early in April, and every day expected the solution of this question. But owing to different circumstances the matter was being continually pending, and, as you may see, May is already ending, and I still sit waiting. All this is very unpleasant — I hate suspense and waiting. Therefore I had to postpone a letter to you in a hope that in a few days I shall be able to give dates and other details quite definitely.

[151] Les *Kulliyât-i dîwân* de Shâh Ni'matullâh (m. 834/1430-1), fondateur de l'ordre soufi persan Ni'matullâhi; cf. H. Algar, «Ni'mat-Allâhiyya», *EI²*, vol. 8, pp. 44-48. Cette œuvre a été éditée par M. 'Ilmî (Téhéran, 1333/1954).

There is not much that I may tell you. I hope you have already received the second edition of my *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*. I have three texts which I wanted to print in Tehran — the Ismaili portion of the *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh*, the *Haft Bâb-i* Abû Ishâq, and the Arabic translation of that my booklet, B-7.[152] I still cherish a hope that this may be done before the autumn, but Allah alone knows whether this will be so.

Is it definite that you are coming to Tehran in September? I shall be very glad to meet you again and have discussions on some subjects on which it would be too long to write.

I am collecting information for my proposed second enlarged edition of the *Guide*, and shall be very much obliged if you have something to contribute — some titles, dates, etc., with which you meet while reading. Of course, every such communication will be carefully acknowledged. I want to remodel the book completely, and give as much information on those books which are accessible to me, as I can get. Of course, many titles are doomed to remain merely titles.

Please convey my best compliments and wishes to Madame Corbin. I always remember her kindness in acting as our interpreter. I do not know for certain how it stands with French ladies, but in England it is a well established fact that ladies write much better than men. I am sure, Madame Corbin's memoirs, something like *My years in intellectual Persia* may be a real success. Anyhow, I offer myself as the first customer for her book.

As soon as my tour is decided — whether positively, or negatively, I shall write to you. I shall have busy time if I come to Tehran, but hope that printing may be finished before September, when I would like to visit Alamût, and see what can be done there.

What happened to Prof. L. Massignon? Has he become a monk? I wish him good and enjoyable salvation. Or may he at last settle down and produce a swan song of importance and erudition which he has accumulated?

If you see Mr. Max, please convey my best regards to him. I have not written to him for a long time, but hope to do so soon. This my interminable suspense has upset everything and I cannot tell you how much I feel tired and fed up. And now the damp heat before the beginning of rains seems unbearable — with age I begin feel heat more and more.

So, with my best wishes for both of you, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

[152] *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism*. Voir bibliographie.

50. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 21 septembre 1955*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 21 September 1955

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I wrote to you several months ago, but so far there was no answer to that letter, and now that you have to be back in Tehran, I am writing this. I shall be very much obliged if you find a minute of leisure, and let me have your answer as early as you can.

This is the contents of the circular letter which I have to send now: On the 16 February 1956 our Ismaili Society will be 10 years old, and, as a way of summing up the results of its work for the period, it was proposed to print a short pamphlet, explaining the aims and purposes of the institution, the progress during the ten years, certain points of its constitution, a list of publications, and a list of members (in the order of the alphabet: full name, designations, address, principal works on Ismailism published by him, works in the press). By the *work on Ismailism* we mean either a monograph, or an article specially dealing with matters of Ismailism (not any work in which Ismailism is discussed *inter alia*), as also an edition or translation of an Ismaili text. Membership in the Ismaili Society carries no obligations, no membership fees demanded. We have no *honorary members*, fellows, etc. No *elections*, recommendations, etc. I shall be obliged if you write whether you like to be a member, and have your name in the proposed list, as explained above. If all those whom we invite join, it will be exactly 25 names (British 1, French 2, Russians, including myself, 4, German 1, Arabs 7, Persians 3, Indians 4, and Jews 3). But this is the *ideal*: Massignon will have no time to answer the inquiry, some may be found already dead and so forth. Here, in India, there are many who have publications to their credit, and yet they are ineligible because their works deal either with religious propaganda or controversy, or are purely mediaeval in their methods. I am already anticipating the *comments* of those ignored and accusations in being *anti-Indian*. But this cannot be helped.

My proposed tour to Iran could not have materialized this year — I shall tell you later, why. The matter is rather complex, and it will take much in writing. I do not know yet whether I may hope to come the next spring. I am doing some work in connection with the second edition of my *Guide*.

We have still with you two Ismaili manuscripts, the *Asrâr an-Nutaqâ'*, and *Sarâ'ir an-Nutaqâ'*. If you are dealing with M[uhammad] Hussein Asadî, the bookseller, you may hand them to him. He is an intelligent man, and not a crook or cheat, and I think it is possible to trust him with delivery of the books here.

I have nothing particular to report of what may be of interest to you. Recently I had a letter from Mr. Max who wrote about his going to America for two months. Kâmil Hussein wrote to me asking for my advice: he has a chance to be appointed for three years as a cultural attaché to their embassy in India. But he wants to take the whole of his family (with 7 children) with him. I surely tried to dissuade him: what he gains in the increase of pay will be gone, but his career in his university may be badly upset. With their nepotism and intrigues he may easily find himself in an unenviable position of *surplus* men.

Anyhow, it is bad everywhere now, everything changes, but invariably to the worse.

Please convey my best regards and compliments to Mme Corbin. I hope she feels well, and the return to Persia will not make her to sigh about the life in Paris. It is a pity that my tour to Iran, where I hoped to stay till November, and thus to have a chance to see both of you, had failed to materialise this year, as mentioned above. But I hope this is merely a temporary development.

With my best wishes, expecting to have soon news from you, I remain

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

51. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 26 octobre 1955*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 26 October 1955

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you for your very kind letter of the 20-X which I just received. Please convey my best compliments to Mme Corbin for her kind memory. I am looking forward to an opportunity to see again both of you, and enjoy your friendly conversation.

I am now working over the new edition of my *Guide*, and am very much interested in new editions of Ismaili texts. If you are not sure of

your edition of the *Sharh*[153] being out by December, I shall be very much obliged if you kindly may post to me a set of those formes which have been printed by that time (end of December), so that I may make an entry in my book.

About the *Majmû'u't-tarbiyat*, 2 volumes,[154] I think it would be a good idea of editing it, as a *documentary statement* of the Ismaili beliefs of the Fatimid *classic* period. I have two copies of this work, one belonging to the Ismaili Society, and the other — mine. I am not sure whether this would not be a book not entirely in the strain of the works with which you have been so far concerned — there is no *mysticism*, and no exuberant theosophy. In case you really want to do serious work on it, and can spare time, I shall be very glad to send both volumes to you, either to Tehran, or to Paris. I would prefer, however, to send them by hand, not by post, when an occasion presents itself.

Thank you for the answer to our invitation to membership in the Ismaili Society. I have already received an answer from the majority of those invited, but so far no news from Massignon, Strothmann, and a few new names. Is Massignon very busy now? What is he doing? I am sorry to say that his *Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate*, 1922,[155] is now quite obsolete. I simply cannot refer to it, because almost every entry requires corrections, and this may offend him.

Yes, there is a series of anniversaries these days: today is 35 years since I came to settle in India. On November 3, I shall be 69. On the 1st of January it will be 25 years of my work with the Ismailis in Bombay, and 16 February 1956 it will be 10 years of Ismaili Society.

I have not yet given up a hope to be able to come the next spring to Iran, and stay there till October. But the matter is very complex, and much depends on blind chance. This is, surely, an extremely unpleasant situation, but one cannot help it.

A few days ago I received (and at once answered) a letter from Mr. F. Max, from New York. I am always glad to his letters, and feel grateful to his unchanging friendliness and kindness.

[153] Allusion à l'édition, par HC et Mo'in, du commentaire par Muhammad b. Surkh al-Nishâpurî de la *qasîda* d'Abû l-Haytham al-Jurjânî; voir bibliographie.

[154] *Majmû' al-tarbiyya* de Muhammad b. Tâhir b. Ibrâhim al-Hârithî al-Khazrajî (m. 584/1188); cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 54-61 (n° 205); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 143-50 (n° 1).

[155] Louis Massignon, «Esquisse d'une bibliographie qarmate», *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne On His 60th Birthday (7 February 1922)*, eds. T.W. Arnold et R.A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 329-38. Réédité *in* L. Massignon, *Opera Minora*, Beyrouth, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 627-39.

Kâmil Hussein — unfortunately, as far as I see — has accepted the post, and expects to come to India in the end of November or beginning of December. He is, as far as I know him, not a silly man, and I suspect that life in Cairo is not what it used to be. This is why he decided to go.

I personally have nothing sensational to report, my life is going monotonously, and I am really longing for an outing, to be able to take a little rest after this rather unpleasant summer.

About the *Sarâ'ir* and *Asrâr*, I think it will be safe to send them through Asadî. I exchanged some letters with him, but there were no news from him for about two months, and I do not know where he is at present. Anyhow, you can always send a note to his P.O. Box 640 in Tehran. Even if he is not here, his letters are conveyed to him by his employees. I think he has a telephone.

I do not know whether my impression is correct, but it looks as if Oriental studies in the West, including USSR, have terribly declined during the war and post-war period — practically nothing of importance is being done, while the East, *i.e.* Iran and Arab countries, begin to take more interest. It is a pity, because many basic problems have not yet been solved.

Once more thank you for your kind letter. Please write occasionally, when you have a minute to spare. I hope your staying in Paris will do you a lot of good, and wish you great success in your lectures.

With my best wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

52. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 31 janvier 1956*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 31 January 1956

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I have received three copies of your latest *Commentaire*[156] — thank you very much for your kindness. I took one copy for myself, one for the Ismaili Society's collection, and one we want to forward to the Aghâ Khân so that he may see your reference to the Ismaili Society, etc.

[156] Allusion à l'édition, par HC et Mo'in, du commentaire par Muhammad b. Surkh al-Nishâpurî de la *qasîda* d'Abû l-Haytham al-Jurjânî; voir bibliographie.

It is really gladenning that works on Ismailism increase. I read with great interest your introduction. There are a few points, however, with which I do not feel able to agree: *'awâmm al-hukamâ'* does not appear to me implying anything to do with exoteric or *profane* philosophers. This would be *hukamâ' al-'âmma*, or something like this. I would translate this by *popular philosophers*, or *amateur phil[osophers]* as the *qasîda* testifies. And *khwâja* is not *maître* — this is a title of respect, *Mr.* Sufic works are full of *khwâjas* who had nothing to do with any degree of *mastership*. Of course, this may be the matter of opinion.

I hope your are happy in Paris, and I still do not lose a hope to see you in Tehran again. Please convey my best *selams* and compliments to Mme Corbin. However, I am still not so certain about my going there the next summer. Besides, it looks as if the idyllic *calm* in Iran may be broken by a new wave of unrest.

My work over the second edition of the *Guide* is going rather slowly because many things detract me very often, and my original hope to issue it before summer will be hardly fulfilled. I am trying to use all the works of which I can get a copy for an account which would give more details than does the *Fihrist al-Majdû'*.[157] Of course, we by no means have all the works, and at present it becomes more and more difficult to get them.

If I go to Tehran, I shall do my best to print there the *Haft Bâb-i* Abû Ishâq (the real *Haft Bâb*, from which the *Kalâm-i Pîr* was plagiarized[158]), and the section on Alamût from Rashîdu'd-dîn. The text is ready, and a translation, the question is merely of printing.

I am sorry to inform you that my plans concerning a pamphlet on the tenth anniversary of the Ismaili Society, which had to include a list of members with reference to their publications on Ismailism, have not been carried out, owing to *domestical troubles*. Two influential (and wealthy) local men who printed a worthless article each, not only expressed a desire, but simply insisted *on their right* to be included in the list, which was quite impossible on the merit of their *learned production*. Ways of

[157] *Fihrist al-Majdû'*, ou *al-Majmû' fî fihrist al-kutub* d'Ismâ'îl b. 'Abd al-Rasûl al-Majdû' (m. 1183 ou 1184/ 1769-70), un ouvrage de bibliographie mentionnant environ 250 ouvrages ismaéliens, avec une description de leur contenu. Le *Fihrist* fut l'une des principales sources de WI, tant pour son *Guide* que pour sa *Literature* (*supra* n. 80). Cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 93-94 (n° 339); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. XIII, 204-6 (n° 1). L'ouvrage a fait l'objet d'une édition par 'Alî-Naqî Munzawî (Téhéran: Dânishgâh-i Tehrân, 1344/1966).

[158] L'édition et traduction par WI du *Haft bâb* fut publiée en 1959; voir bibliographie.

polite evasion could not help, and the row was raised that there is only one Khoja name in the list of members with all other names those of foreigners. — So it is, of course, but what can we do? — After something like two months of delay it has been finally decided to leave out the list of members, and generally not to mention the matter. Instead of this, to show the position of the Ismaili Society in regard to its contribution to the study of Ismailism, it has been decided to include a list of editions and translation of the original Ismaili texts, in a chronological order of publication. This, of course, has an indirect purpose, to show the scholars who *really work* on Ismailism, amplifying our knowledge of it. Thus also the sheep will be separated from the pretentious and loudly bleating goats, without giving much opportunity to raise objections.

The current news is that Dr. M[uhammad] Kâmil Hussein, of Cairo, who edited the *Râhatu'l-'aql*, etc., is in a few days coming to India to occupy the post of the cultural attaché to the Egyptian Embassy in New Delhi. His present intention is to stay for one year and see whether the job suits him. I tried to dissuade him from leaving his university, but, probably, financial considerations prevailed — he has *seven* growing children, and his pay in the University is stationary. This is a pity — he is, surely, no deep well of scholarship, but anyhow a well which contains some water. This is a rare thing now, usually such *wells* are either dry, or contain odorous filth.

Once more thank you very much for the copies of your very interesting and valuable addition to the literature of Ismailitic studies. With my best wishes to Mme Corbin and yourself, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

53. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 19 avril 1956*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, (India)

Bombay, 19 April 1956

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I had no news from you for a long time, and hope that — as the English say: *no news — good news*, — and everything is going well with you. Please convey my best wishes and compliments to Mme Corbin.

I am finishing preparations for printing of my *B-5*, *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism* (1948), second edition,[159] brought up-to-date, and incorporating the valuable information added by your *Jâmi'u'l-Hikmatayn*. The text is edited *excellently*, and the whole thing is extremely valuable. I only would say that your most interesting notes on the *doctrine* of Nâsir-i Khusraw appears to me too big for the author — he surely was merely a compilator, and not much qualified at that. The notes, therefore, are to an extent wasted here — they would deserve to be published separately, or in a more suitable association.

The reason for my writing to you is this: I am sure, that you, as a philosopher, would not disregard the axiomatic truth that every individual may have his own opinion which may differ from that of his friends. So is in my case, and, I am sure, you will quite agree that such difference should not be concealed, but honestly stated. I did this in my note on the *Jâmi'*, and you will notice that I do not entirely share your apparently very high opinion of the work, just as about the *qasîda*.[160] Really, after genuine Fatimid works they look very childish and amateurish. I had to say all this in my note if it had to be a honest expression of my opinion and impression. But I have no desire whatever to see that you may incidentally find some of my statements unacceptable or offensive to you. I therefore do here what I usually do on such occasions: I am sending the part of the typescript to you so that you may read it in advance and let me know whether there is anything to what you have any objections.[161] Please let me have your answer *at once*, as otherwise I shall have to hold up the press. You need not return the typescript to me — simply refer to page and line, adding your suggestions.

One cannot be specialist in everything, and there are small things which may escape our attention. I shall be only too grateful if you point these to me, so that I might correct them in time. But please remember: *answer at once*, as otherwise your letter may come after the matter had been set in type.

I have nothing special to tell you about myself. There is still no certainty about my going to Persia this summer. I was really glad to hear that all the grand (drunken) plans of various crooks who schemed some adventurous *projects* in the name of the Aghâ Khân, have all failed. But

[159] *Problems in Nasir-i Khusraw's Biography*; voir bibliographie.
[160] Allusion à l'édition, par HC et Mo'in, du commentaire par Muhammad b. Surkh al-Nishâpurî de la *qasîda* d'Abû l-Haytham al-Jurjânî. Voir bibliographie.
[161] Voir l'annexe à cette lettre.

I do not know what the crooks are still doing there. Anyhow, all that I want at the moment is to be left in peace so that I may complete the second edition of my *Guide* by the autumn. Now the worst season of the Indian year has begun, but the worst — the rain season — is still ahead. With age I am more and more suffering from heat, and immensely wish to be able to get out somewhere to a drier and cooler place — to silence, where I could be able to concentrate my thoughts on what I write.

The chief source of my worries is the condition of the Aghâ Khân. With his being incapacitated, every one here appears to get out of gear. I have never seen anything like this elsewhere: a strange mixture of stupid, idolatrous, ecstatic devotion with absolute dishonesty, dishonesty as a normal state of action, absolute absence of any sense of dignity and responsibility. This is the purest form of mysticism that I have ever observed. The man may do everything for the Imam, even paying a large sum of money to him, for superstitious reasons. But the Imam cannot trust him with even a few rupees without his attempting to steal something.

I shall be awaiting news from you. With my best wishes and compliments, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

What news of Mr. F. Max? Is he in Paris? I had no news from him for a very long time, and would like to write to him — please be so kind as to tell me whether he is back in France.

[Appendix:]

g) *Jâmi'u'l-Hikmatayn*.

This — so far the latest — addition to the known works of Nâsir has been excellently edited by Dr. H. Corbin and Prof. Muhammad Mu'în from a unique manuscript (2393) in the library of the Aya Sophia mosque in Constantinople: Nasir-e Khosraw, "Kitab-e Jami' al-Hikmatain," Le Livre réunissant les deux Sagesses, ou Harmonie de la Philosophie Grecque et de la Théosophie Ismaélienne, Téhéran, 1953 (forming vol. 3 in the Bibliothèque Iranienne of the Institut Franco-Iranien). It also contains a learned introduction by Dr. H. Corbin, in French, and a concise yet substantial and to the point introduction by Prof. Muh. Mu'în, in Persian.

The learned editors call it a *commentary* on the *qasîda* by an early author, Abû'l-Haytham Jurjânî, but it is necessary to note that this definition is merely used for the lack of a better expression. In fact, the *qasîda*

with which it is connected is nothing but a versified list of questions concerning the most varied and quite haphazard selection of subjects, 91 in numbers, according to the author's statement in the concluding lines of the book (313). Nâsir used it merely as a program for his "answers" to the questions. As he mentions (314), they are concerned with "(lay) philosophy, logic, physics, grammar, (plain) religion, *ta'wîl,*" to which should be added matters of cosmography, astronomy, biology, zoology, botanics, and many other, sometimes obviously trivial and uninteresting subjects.

The work therefore should be better regarded as belonging to the type of the immensely popular — and surely ancient in origin — collections such as those of 'Abdu'l-lâh ibn Salâm, or Ka'b al-Ahbâr, etc., what may be called the prototype of an encyclopaedia of "useful knowledge," *hikmat*. Within the sphere of Ismaili learning we may point out such works as the *Kitâbu'z-zîna*, or even the famous *Rasâ'il* of Ikhwânu's-Safâ which generally ascend to the same type, but are productions of incomparably more learned and qualified authors, of much greater orginality. It seems noteworthy in the evolution of Ismaili literature that the "classic" Fatimid period specialized on complete and systematic accounts of the Ismaili doctrine as a whole, whether it be a popular version, or very learned. The fashion for epitomising comes as a sign of fatigue, saturation of the book market; and various compilations, chrestomathies, and above all collections of *masâ'il*, notes on isolated subjects, ultimately flood the literature of the post-Fatimid Yamanite period. Now even large and obviously ambitious works, with pretence to great importance and secrecy of contents, as all such *Kanzu'l-walad*, *Dhakhîra*, *ash-Shumûs az-Zâhira*, etc., are of the same type as that of the *Jâmi'u'l-Hikmatayn* of Nâsir-i Khusraw, the difference merely consisting in the fact that the latter openly mentions that these subjects have been introduced from outside, due to the request of the *Amîr* of Badakhshân who asked the author to answer the questions posed by the *qasîda*.

Without the slightest prejudice to the high quality of the work of the co-editors, I may confess that I cannot agree with the subheading indicating this text as aimed *at the harmony between the Greek philosophy and Ismaili theosophy*. The term *hikmat* is too wide and vague in its application: wisdom, knowledge. Philosophy may be a part of it, if taken as a definite doctrine, *falsafa*, if applied to the lay philosophical thought. Ismaili theosophy is *'ilm*, or, in its speculative variety, *ma'qûlât*. Reading through the book I have not noticed much tendency to proving the *harmony* of Greek wisdom with that of *ta'wîl*. Nâsir, as a true Ismaili,

would have hardly conceived such an idea. Each "arcticle" in his book is built on the same scheme: he first mentions what the ancients, *qudamâ'*, say on the subject, quoting varied opinions. And then, as the final revelation, comes the "de-symbolised" (*ta'wîl*) final truth, *haqîqat*, conveyed by the *Ahl-i ta'yîd* (*'alay-him as-salâm*), *i.e.* (218) "the Imams of the community, the descendants of the Pure Apostle of God (*Rasûl-i Mustafâ*)." For instance (pp. 191 sq.) the author refers to solar eclipse, quoting various observations and conclusions of the ancients, which appear not entirely exhaustive. And then he finds the solution in quoting the *ta'wîl* explanations: the sun is the symbol of the Prophet, and moon — of the *Wasî*. Their religious relations explain the phenomena observed in connection with the luminaries which are intended to symbolize them. I would not call this "harmony," but indisputable superiority claimed for the final and absolute truth of the matter revealed in *ta'wîl*. As I have repeatedly drawn the attention of students, in Ismaili theosophy or philosophy all kinds of theorising or philosophic speculations are a more or less "ornamental" matter, intended for increasing the prestige of religious doctrines, and the ultimate truth, which overrides all, is produced by a quotation from the Coran or *hadîths*. Only these are accepted as final authorities which, of course, cannot be made to compromise in case of contradiction with the ideas of the ancients (*qudamâ'*).

But the author in his discussions refers not only to the ancient sages — of course, in so far as they are known to him in the popular second-hand versions of their doctrines — but also carries on unceasing controversy with modern opponents, contemporary with his world — Hashwiyya (Sunnites), Karrâmites, Mu'tazilites, and especially the Dahrites, or *materialists*, particularly the famous Rhazes, *i.e.* Muhammad b. Zakaryâ ar-Râzî (d. 313/925). It is again noteworthy that he never refers to the Ithna-'ashari Shi'ites. But this cannot serve as a valid proof of Nâsir's having studied their systems and works personally. Ismaili literature of the Fatimid period is full of *bickering* with these opponents, and Nâsir had no necessity to tread upon new ground.

As to the part of the Ismaili element played in this work, it is obvious that the *Jâmi'u'l-Hikmatayn* may be, with certain reservations, placed in the same group as the *Wajh-i dîn* and the prose *Rawshanâ'î-nâma*. It must be noted, however, that while the first two may be unhesitatingly classed as *da'wat* books, in Fatimid sense, the present one cannot. Its *Ismailitic contents* is rather poor.

The editors mark various places in which a lacuna is quite plausible (as on pp. 5, 16, 47, 106, 150, 232, 261, 316), but such lacunas are apparently

short, and most probably unintentional. Therefore it is difficult to suspect *censoring* in the case of this work. If Ismaili element is not given a central position in the work, but is somewhat modestly pressed to its importance by implication, this must be attributed to the conscious tactics of the author. And this was apparently so little offensive to the Sunnites that the book could have been preserved without mutilation in the orthodox milieu.

Such moderation in the dose of the Ismaili *ta'lîm* can be attributed either to the fact that the *Amîr* of Badakhshân, at whose request the author compiled his book, was himself an Ismaili, and needed little beyond a hint to understand the matter from the Ismaili standpoint. But it seems equally possible to think that he was *not* an Ismaili, and the moderation of the author was the result of the struggle between his missionary zeal, on the one hand, and his apprehensions to outrage the *Amîr's* susceptibilities, on the other.

Dr. H. Corbin, in his introduction, devoted much space to a very interesting analysis of various Ismaili ideas met with in this work. But I would not hesitate to regard these very valuable notes as referring to Ismailism in general, in the whole complexity of its evolution, and not to Nâsir personally. I am sure that he would have been astonished, even stupefied, if he could hear all this — all these quotations from Plato, Aristoteles, Plotinus, from Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, etc. From the very tone, the way of handling the material, from the continuous "leaps" from abstract philosophy to infantile trivialities, he appears as a typical early mediaeval religiously-minded dreamer in whom his innate interest in the world as it is in reality, in "alchemy," biology, astronomy, etc., was paralysed by religious beliefs and led him to seek solution in artificial logical deductions, analogies, or plain superstition. What he writes in this book is of "patchy," most varied quality, form the standpoint of mediaeval "wisdom," and this undoubtedly depends on the quality of the sources of information which he perused, trying to make it fit for popularisation, easy instruction — popularisation is generally a dominating feature of his works.

A few words should be said about the *qasîda* and the author of the question which Nâsir had to answer. The careful search which Dr. H. Corbin and Prof. M. Mo'in have made for references to him could only elicite in very little information. Their latest publication under the title "Commentaire de la Qasida Ismaélienne d'Abu'l-Haitham Jorjani, attribué à Mohammad ibn Sorkh de Nishapour" (Tehran, 1955, as vol. 6 in the *Bibliothèque Iranienne* of the Institut Franco-Iranien), pp. 1-15, adds little to what has

been said in the introduction to the *Jâmi'u'l-Hikmatayn* (pp. 48-52). On the whole, as according to Bayhaqî, *Tatimma'i Siwânu'l-Hikmat* (Lahore, 1935), p. 132, (referred to on p. 48), he appears as an amateur-philosopher (*min 'awâmmi'l-hukamâ'*), and the *qasîda* used by Nâsir was practically the only work which was generally known (although there were some other works by him). Was he an Ismaili, and was his *qasîda* an Ismaili work? It seems to me doubtful: There is nothing in it to call it Ismaili beyond doubt. But the best proof of his not being an Ismaili may be found in the references to him in Nâsir's work: he invariably, and even several times mentioning his name, refers to him as *în mard, that man*. This sounds definitely contemptuous. One might expect something like *musannif-i în ash'âr*, or *shâ'ir, hâkim*, etc. But *în mard* may imply the fact that Nâsir treated him as nobody, a nullity. He would hardly adopt such attitude if the author had any standing in Ismaili hierarchy, and was a learned man. Not rarely Nâsir criticises him, not without irritation. The most typical case (pp. 166-184) is in the section in which he deals with the peculiar properties of minerals, and discusses that ancient superstitious belief that red ruby cannot be crushed by any iron tool, but falls to pieces if struck with a piece of lead. He simply ridicules it as nonsense, and says that the stone is envelopped into lead before it is struck with an ordinary hammer simply in order to prevent scattering of splinters. Similarly, he ridicules the story that in Ahwâz every one is sick with malaria, or that in Tibet no one is unhappy.

It may be added that the *qasîda* itself appears as a kind of a puzzle: what was the sense of compiling such a list of questions, and especially so unsystematically, obviously without any definite principle? On the whole, this *qasîda* looks as a fragment of a larger work. Perhaps such a work was planned but never written or completed, and only its introduction got into circulation and for some reasons acquired popularity, being treated as an independent *qasîda*.

54. *Henry Corbin à Ivanow, 25 avril 1956*

[Téhéran,] 25 avril 1956

Mon cher Dr. Ivanow,

Je vous remercie sincèrement de votre lettre du 19 avril et je vous remercie plus encore de la délicate attention qui vous a inspiré de m'envoyer la dactylographie de votre chapitre sur *Jâmi' al-Hikmatayn*. Vous avez vraiment très bien fait; vous avez agi en toute franchise; vous ne

m'en voudrez pas de vous répondre également en toute franchise, car tout en vous remerciant de vos éloges pour l'édition elle-même, je dois dire que c'est avec une réelle consternation que j'ai lu ces neuf pages.

Il y a certainement plus d'un point sur lequel nous ne sommes pas d'accord. Je le savais en écrivant mon *Étude préliminaire*, mais je me suis efforcé de glisser si discrètement là-dessus que personne, hormis vous et moi, ne peut s'en apercevoir (par ex. pp. < ... > et < ... >). Cela, parce qu'en reconnaissance de tout ce que vous avez fait pour les études ismaéliennes, j'ai toujours voulu éviter l'ombre même d'une polémique avec vous. Je suis un peu étonné de recevoir en retour ce qui a tout l'air d'une attaque d'envergure.

Je sais bien que vous avez toujours eu tendance à minimiser et à déprécier l'œuvre de Nâsir-e Khosraw. C'était pour Mo'în et moi-même et pour plusieurs autres Iraniens, un sujet de grand étonnement; nous ne nous sommes jamais expliqué ce parti pris. Ainsi que vous le dites dans votre lettre, j'admets très bien, comme philosophe, que quelqu'un d'autre professe une autre opinion philosophique que la mienne. Encore faut-il la prouver par des arguments vraiment philosophiques et non par de simples affirmations. Vous affirmez toujours que Nâsir-e Khosraw est un amateur, mais vous laissez de côté les vrais problèmes qu'il a discutés. Vous vous référez aux autres œuvres fâtimides; je les connais aussi, et les ai utilisées (plusieurs grâce à vous!). Avez-vous réfléchi que le lecteur qui ne lit pas le français et vous croira sur parole, pourra s'imaginer que le Dr. Corbin *a pris des vessies pour des lanternes?* Est-ce que vraiment ce résultat vous semble s'accorder avec nos déjà vieilles et toujours amicales relations?

Voyez-vous, je ne suis pas un banquier qui aurais pris pour tâche de payer son dû à l'homme Nâsir-e Khosraw. Je me défends même pour cela d'être un historien. La personne historique de Nâsir-e Khosraw est largement dépassée par l'intérêt philosophique en cause. Pour moi, le philosophe doit prendre en charge le *stock* d'idées de son auteur et le porter à son maximum de signification. C'est l'Ismaélisme dans son ensemble que j'avais en vue et j'en ai commenté et amplifié les philosophèmes, comme si j'étais moi-même Ismaélien. Cela n'est possible que par une sympathie congénitale. Faute de cette sympathie, le philosophe égaré risque au contraire de porter l'auteur ou son école au maximum de platitude. Très bien, mais qu'il prenne garde que c'est sur lui que retombera son propre jugement.

Je n'arrive pas à comprendre ce que vous entendez par *philosophie populaire*, ni où vous en avez puisé le concept, ni comment vous justifiez

l'idée que vous vous faites du milieu soi-disant *populaire* pour lequel auraient écrit Nâsir-e Khosraw ou les Ikhwân al-Safâ. Ces *milieux populaires* devaient avoir un niveau culturel assez élevé? J'ai très peur que ce soit vous qui *popularisiez* ces choses, en réduisant au rôle *d'ornements* les motifs philosophiques qui font corps avec ces traités. Hélas! ici je crains que notre malentendu soit sans remède, mais est-il nécessaire de le rendre public? Le peintre voit ce que le non-peintre ne peut voir; le philosophe comprend et discerne ce que le non-philosophe laisse échapper, parce qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une simple donnée matérielle. Ne vaudrait-il pas mieux en convenir, car rien ne peut suppléer à l'organe qui manque?

Vous m'accusez en somme d'avoir fait trop grand cas du *Jâmi' al-Hikmatayn* (comme le dit le proverbe français vous trouvez que *la mariée est trop belle* et cela vous choque). Mais je n'ai pas l'impression que vous ayez réellement saisi ce que j'ai voulu dire par *harmonie*. Vous prenez le mot dans son sens *populaire* et le malentendu est complet. Je n'ai même pas procédé en philosophe pur, mais en phénoménologue je dois supposer cette méthode connue de celui qui me critique; celui-ci doit se demander si j'ai réalisé mes intentions ou non. Toute autre critique passe à côté. L'affirmation que le *Jâmi' al-Hikmatayn* est pauvre en contenu ismaélien m'apparaît démentie par tout le livre. Vous dites que Nâsir-e Khosraw aurait été stupéfait de tous les motifs que j'ai fait intervenir. Je dois dire que l'appréciation est plutôt désobligeante, mon cher Collègue; elle me fait soupçonner que mon propos réel est resté incompris, et m'autorise à vous demander si Nâsir-e Khosraw n'aurait pas encore été plus stupéfait de la manière tout arbitraire dont vous le dépréciez et l'aplatissez? Il y a plus grave.

Vos dernières pages sont consacrées à mettre en doute la qualité ismaélienne d'Abû'l-Haytham et de l'Amîr. Avez-vous bien pesé que votre lecteur en conclura que les éditeurs ont été deux naïfs? Mais je vous invite à relire *attentivement*, *Jâmi' al-Hikmatayn* page 217, lignes 12 à 14. Vous devriez alors au moins les citer littéralement. Si malgré cela, vous maintenez vos doutes, c'est que vous savez mieux que Nâsir-e Khosraw ce qu'il en était! Relisez aussi p. 86, ligne 7 à 10. Vraiment, en toute bonne foi, pouvez-vous aller là-contre? Il vous faudrait citer également les 8 arguments relevés par Mo'în, pp. 6 et 7 de sa préface au *Sharh-e qasîda*. Relisez la page 314 du *Jâmi' al-Hikmatayn*, relisez la page finale de ce *sharh*, où le Shâgerd déclare n'avoir fait que répéter ce qu'il a appris de son maître. Alors?

Car tout de même, vous mettez en doute notre jugement à Mo'în et à moi-même, sans alléguer un seul commencement de preuve; pour qui

nous ferez-vous passer aux yeux de votre lecteur qui n'aura pas notre *Jâmi' al-Hikmatayn* ni le *sharh* sous la main? Êtes-vous bien sûr que l'on procède ainsi entre bons collègues et amis?

Je suis très triste de devoir vous dire ces choses, mon cher Dr. Ivanow, mais puisque vous avez eu la gentillesse de m'envoyer ces pages je voudrais éviter un malheur. Si vous publiez ces pages telles quelles j'ai très peur que Mo'în et moi-même soyons forcés de vous répondre, en persan et en français, et je serais vraiment navré d'entrer en polémique avec vous, mais nous ne pourrions l'éviter, pour notre simple honneur scientifique. Alors que, de mon côté, je me suis attaché jusqu'ici à mettre en valeur dans vos livres ce avec quoi j'étais d'accord avec vous, passant discrètement par allusion ce sur ce quoi j'étais en désaccord.

Veuillez m'excuser de n'avoir rempli cette lettre que d'un seul objet, mais c'est la grosse affaire à notre *ordre du jour*. Pour le reste, tout continue de suivre son cours. J'ai une bonne équipe d'étudiants à l'École des Hautes-Études et l'on travaille assidûment en se tenant en marge du tumulte et de l'absurdité des événements.

Si rien ne change, nous partirons pour l'Iran, comme l'an dernier, vers le 15 septembre, et nous y resterons jusqu'à fin décembre. Je souhaite de tout cœur que vous puissiez enfin fixer vos projets et en finir avec tous les ennuis auxquels vous faites allusion. J'y compatis bien sincèrement mais, de grâce, ne vous vengez pas sur Nâsir-e Khosraw ni sur ses éditeurs!

Merci encore de m'avoir ainsi prévénu. Vous voyez que je vous réponds avec autant de diligence que de franchise, pour prévenir, de mon côté, tout malentendu.

J'ai bien reçu en son temps la petite brochure pour commémorer le X^{ème} anniversaire[162]. C'est encourageant. Mais il est regrettable que l'on n'ait pu réaliser la Société telle que vous l'aviez projetée.

Bon courage, mon cher Collègue et Ami. Nous attendons la seconde édition du *Guide!*

Veuillez recevoir, je vous prie, mes cordiales salutations

[Henry Corbin]

[162] *The Ismaili Society of Bombay. The Tenth Anniversary (16-2-1946 – 16-2-1956)*, ed. W. Ivanow. Published by the order of The President of the Ismaili Society Mohamedali G. Fazulbhoy, Bombay: Ismaili Printing Press, 1956.

55. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 8 mai 1956*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
104, Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 8 May 1956

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you for your kind letter of 25 April. I highly appreciate the tone of straightforwardness in which it is written — I like it — but what makes me sorry is that you could conceive a suspicion of my *attacking* you, of *going behind your back*, as it is said in English. Nothing like this was in my mind when I wrote my paper. You may realise that it was not a *review*, but simply a note on *Jâmi' al-Hikmatayn* along similar notes on other works of Nâsir-i Khusraw. My great difficulty is that there is no one whom I could consult as to the impression which my writings may produce upon the person who reads it for the first time and for the author, as you know, it is next to impossible to *abstract* oneself sufficiently for the purpose. I can assure that I really admire your work and sincerely regard you as the only scholar writing on Ismaili subjects whose works I value and respect.

You certainly cannot deny that every one may have his opinion: I do not share your *ghuluww* in Nâsir-i Khusraw who, I am perfectly sure, was merely an amateur who was merely driven by circumstances to writing his learned books. There is no sign of mastery over the material in him, not a drop of originality — all is commonplace, worn out by repetition. I really would suspect that the air of Tehran has infected you with that Persian traditional ability to fall in love with the hero of your book, *the love that blinds*. I can assure you that I have nothing to do with the desire to *minimise* Nâsir-i Khusraw and his work, and feel great sympathy to him. His fate was not dissimilar to mine — I also live here in a kind of *Yumgân*, so I can understand him perhaps better than others.

I have carefully considered all points that you had raised, and I am sending to you this new version.[163] Please be so kind to let me your final answer as soon as possible, in order not to hold up the press.

[163] Cette nouvelle version correspond exactement à celle imprimée: *Problems in Nasir-i Khusraw's Biography*, Bombay, 1956, pp. 72-76 — c'est pourquoi nous ne la reprenons pas ici.

I must again tell you that your notes on Ismailism in the introduction are most valuable and interesting. I shall return to them elsewhere, making full use and full acknowledgment of my esteem. But, speaking honestly, I cannot deny that they would be rather out of place in connection with Nâsir-i Khusraw's meagre contents as regards to material for the study of Ismailism. To tell you frankly, when studying Nâsir-i Khusraw's works, I was always asking myself: had he really done much reading in Fatimid literature? He again and again repeated the same elementary things, and never gives an opportunity of *catching* him in deeper, higher knowledge of the system? He surely cannot be compared with Hamîdu'd-dîn[164] and some other *classics*. You cannot deny this. I am sure that he was *not* a *hujjat* of Khorasan, only wanted to be it — and suspect very much that his failure to get that promotion was due to his not being sufficiently qualified.

In our letter you several times protest against my bringing out in public our dissensions on the subject. But a booklet like this, I am sure, will hardly ever be read by the *general reader*, it is intended only to those who take special interest, and who can judge for themselves, at least to some extent.

I have not said that the Amir was not an Ismaili — quite probably he was. But about the author of the *qasîda* it would be difficult to agree beyond his being a Shi'ite. This disagreement is based not on one of us being *naif*, but on the natural difference in interpretation of the material.

Please convey my best compliments to Mme Corbin. I would be immensely glad to see again both of you in Tehran, but I fear there is not much chance for me again to go this year there. I am passing at the moment through a very critical period in my career here, and the possibility is not excluded that my work here, and the Ismaili Society, may come to an abrupt end. I shall explain to you all later on. You mention your disappointment at the unfulfilled plans concerning a brochure which could serve as a latest bibliography of studies in Ismailism.[165] This was wrecked by the present rogue and idiot, the president, against my furious opposition. This was one of the *details* of the situation, a minor one. This is why I printed on the cover of the pamphlet as it was that it was printed

[164] Hamîd al-Dîn Ahmad b. 'Abdullâh al-Kirmânî (m. après 411/1020); cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 40-45; Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 94-102; J.T.P. de Bruijn, «al-Kirmânî, Hamîd al-Dîn», *EI²*, vol. 5, pp. 166-67.

[165] Allusion à l'ouvrage édité par WI à l'occasion du 10e anniversaire de l'IS; voir bibliographie.

by the order of the president, I am not responsible for it. Nâsir-i Khusraw was of very low opinion of the local population in Yumgân, as you know. I am also in Yumgân even in this respect. Sometimes such brutes have to be tackled that one may think that Nâsir-i Khusraw was too pessimistic.

With my best wishes to you, and most sincere and loyal assurances to you of not even the least desire of starting controversy and disputes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

I recently received a letter from Mr. F. Max, and wrote to him at once. My compliments to him also.

56. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 9 juin 1956*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
104, Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 9 June 1956

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you for your very kind letter of 22 May, which I have not answered at once because it was mentioned in it that you were going to Italy: I decided to write it a little later, so that it may reach you by the time you return. I hope that your tour was pleasant for Mme Corbin and yourself.

I am glad that the new version of the passage met with your approval. I hope the booklet will be printed soon, and then you will see that what was said in the note on the *Jâmi' al-Hikmatayn* was not all that I have said about it and your interesting introduction — there is much in the other parts of my booklet. I am trying to speed up the lazy press, but conditions are rather abnormal now here, in various respects. You will see that I have substantially remodelled the beginning and the end of the booklet adding some new things.

As to my chances of going to Iran this year, I have not much hope because, with the weak and helpless condition of the Aghâ Khân, it is difficult to do anything in this respect. When the master lies sick, all rats take advantage in the house. And to deal with rats is no easy thing. For

this reason I had to decide to concentrate on the second edition of my *Guide*, and get if off my hands before I make a serious attempt to have a chance to go to Iran next spring, for editing some Persian texts. I have high regard for the Aghâ Khân, he is by no means as bad as his craze for advertisement has made him. But what to do — even such a giant as Stalin suffered from a similar disease. But as he is in the present condition of helplessness, it is agony for himself as well as for the whole community. What may happen on the succession of his son,[166] is very difficult to predict. All that I can stake on is on the general principle that *new brum sweeps well* — perhaps some advantage of such sweeping well may fall to my share, and simplify the question. New people will come with him, there will be many changes and perhaps I may find an opportunity that my plans may be passed. You may understand that mediaevalism and *pre-feudal* world, in its relics, may have some good sides, but, on the whole, when something is going wrong with the Incarnated God, it becomes a difficult problem. I so often remember my young days and our Academy of Sciences,[167] when I had to deal with such people as Barthold, Salemann, Radlof, Oldenbourg and many other genuine scholars. It was a different world, different atmosphere, quite unbelievable in the beastly conditions of our present time, and especially when you have to deal with the *rats* who *make hay while the sun is shining*. Your are very lucky that you have not tasted this dish.

With my best wishes to Mme Corbin and yourself, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

Just as I was going to close the letter above, I received a letter and the first formes of the new publications of the indefatigable Aref Tamer of Salamiyya. I am sure, he often writes to you — he writes to all those people whom I know. I am not competent and not interested in his *Sinân wa Salâhu'd-dîn*,[168] but have gone through the 32 pages of the

[166] Beaucoup estimaient que Ali Khan, l'aîné des deux fils d'Aghâ Khân III, qui menait une vie privée controversée, accèderait à l'imamat. Ce fut cependant le fils de Ali Khan, Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, qui fut finalement désigné par Aghâ Khân III pour lui succéder. Voir Daftary, *Ismâ'îlîs*, p. 544.

[167] À l'époque où il travaillait au Musée Asiatique de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie, à Saint-Pétersbourg (lequel avait déjà été transformé en bibliothèque), WI fut nommé conservateur-adjoint des Manuscrits arabes. À ce titre, il voyagea beaucoup en Asie Centrale, où il acquit un grand nombre de manuscrits arabes et persans pour le compte du Musée. Voir Farhad Daftary, «W. Ivanow: A Biographical Notice», *MES* 8 (1972), p. 241.

[168] 'Ârif Tâmir, *Sinân wa-Salâh al-Dîn. Qissa tâ'rîkhiyya*, Beyrouth: Dâr Beirût, 1956.

Five Risalas,[169] almost entirely devoted to his *muqaddima*. What a difference as compared with the Persians! His work is so childish, in every line you can see that he had no schooling whatever. The *al-Mudhahhaba* attributed to Qâdî Nu'mân is not mentioned anywhere, and appears to be an extract from *al-Majâlis wa'l-musâyarât*.[170] It is a pity he has not written to me in advance about the *Tuhfatu'l-mustajîbîn* of Abû Ya'qûb — we have two copies of it, and it would be very interesting to compare the tradition preserved in Syria with that of the Yaman.[171] Anyhow, it is highly laudable that he works, and does what he can — praise be to him for this. But I am put into a difficult position: he writes that he wants the Ismaili Society to *adopt* his work into our series (*C*, due to the *French* size, which is not in use in India), and I have to submit a report on the matter. Stupidly, to bribe me, he dedicated this work to myself![172] Thus with all my desire to support his request, I cannot do this. Our *president*, an ignorant but wealthy shopkeeper, and a stupid man, will be extremely displeased by such *tactlessness*. Personally, I would not be averse of the idea of *encouraging* the *rural talent*. But with the *bribe*, and the fact that he, though a Nizârî, belongs to a rival and heretical branch which does not recognize the Aghâ Khân as the Imam — all this makes my task a torture. But even this is not all: he wants us to *buy* the edition, and remit to him the money. But you know, how difficult it is everywhere now to get a permit for remittance for such a frivolous and useless purpose as buying books. I just finished reading the stuff, and feel as if I am burdened as a

[169] *Khamsa rasâ'il ismâ'îliyya*, ed. 'Ârif Tâmir, Salamiyya: Dâr al-insâf li'l-ta'lîf wa'l-tabâ'a wa'l-nashr, 1375/1956 (contient une dédicace [*ihdâ'*] à WI (p. 5), une introduction par l'éditeur (*Muqaddima*, pp. 6-26), *al-Risâla al-mudhahhaba,* attribuée à al-Qâdî al-Nu'mân (m. 363/974) (pp. 27-88), *al-Risâla al-kâfiyya* de Muhammad b. Sa'd (ou Ahmad) b. Dâwûd al-Rafnah (m. 859/1454-5) (pp. 89-96), *Risâlat al-usûl wa-l-ahkâm* d'Abû l-Ma'âlî Hâtim b. 'Imrân (ou Mahmûd) b. Zahrah (m. 497/1103-4 ou 498/1104-5) (pp. 97-144), *Risâlat tuhfat al-mustajîbîn* d'Abû Ya'qûb al-Sijistânî (pp. 145-56), *Risâlat al-asâbî'* de Qays b. Mansûr al-Dâdîkhî (m. 655/1257) (pp. 157-80). Sur la *Risâla al-kâfiyya* de Muhammad b. Sa'd b. Dâwûd, voir l'étude d'Yves Marquet, «Grades et heptades d'imâms dans la *Risâla Kâfiya*, traité ismaïlien nizârite du 8e/14e siècle», *JA* 273 (1985), pp. 139-60.

[170] Allusion à la *Risâla al-mudhahhaba*, incluse dans cette édition (pp. 27-87). L'attribution de ce traité à al-Qâdî Nu'mân, entérinée par 'Ârif Tâmir dans cette édition, est sujette à caution. Cf. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 67 (n° 54). Le *Kitâb al-Majâlis wa'l-musârayât wa-l-mawâqif wa-l-tawqî'ât*, par Qâdî al-Nu'mân; sur cette œuvre et son auteur, voir Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 48-68 (n° 23).

[171] La *Risâlat tuhfat al-mustajabîn*, comprise dans cette édition (pp. 145-56), d'Abû Ya'qûb al-Sijistânî.Tâmir a édité le texte d'après un manuscrit d'al-Sulaymân à Qadmûs (Syrie); cf. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 87.

[172] Cf. 'Â. Tâmir, éd., *Khamsa rasâ'il ismâ'îliyya*, p. 5 (*ihdâ'*).

camel, intended to cross a hot and waterless desert. Really, I do not know what to do. Perhaps the best would be to write to him to cut out that silly dedication, to start with, and await for further formes.

I would be very much interested, in case he has sent to you the same 32 pages of his *Five risâlas*, to know your opinion, and frank and friendly advice as to what should I do in the case? You will oblige me very much. It is so difficult to decide.

It may amuse you that a Baghdadi highly educated merchant, who was here, liked very much that booklet[173] which Mr. F. Max translated into French, and which you wanted to publish in the Institut Franco-Iranien de Recherche's series. It was also translated by Kâmil Hussein into Arabic. He took the Arabic translation to Baghdad, and offered it for the Bulletin of the Baghdad University. But those people found that the work is unsuitable for being printed owing to certain statements which the Sunnites would not like. Then a Persian bookseller, M[uhammad] H[ussayn] Asadî whom you know, took it with himself to Damascus, and offered it to your Institute![174] All this without letting me know anything. Thus that booklet has become turned into a *Wandering Jew*. I wrote to them not to print it, as I intend to give in the introduction to my second *Guide* a new version of much of what went into that booklet. (It was there that I wanted to make full use of your most interesting notes in the *Jâmi' ul-Hikmatayn*).[175] I always envy Indian scholars: they go to England, produce there, with some one's help, their *doctorate thesis*, print it at the expense of some charitable institution or person — and then their mission in the world becomes completed and fulfilled: they attain perfection, and perfection cannot be perfected. But when you work on a subject, especially such as Ismailism, you have very frequently to change your ideas — every step forward opens a new horizon. This idea, however, seems unintelligible to many, and I am *caught* in contradicting myself. I am by now accustomed to follow that supposedly Turkish proverb: *dogs bark, but the caravan goes ahead*, but sometimes such things can irritate very much.

Excuse me for such a long letter. Please, if you have seen Tamer's first 32 pages, write to me your impression and opinion.

W. I.

[173] *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism.*
[174] L'Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas (IFÉAD).
[175] *Étude préliminaire pour le «Livre réunissant les deux sagesses»*. Voir bibliographie.

57. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 2 juillet 1956*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
104, Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 2 July 1956

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I herewith forward for your information some cuttings from the first proof of my new booklet on Nâsir-i Khusraw,[176] containing the portions which refer to your edition of the *Jâmi'u'l-Hikmatayn*. I am sure that you will not find anything objectionable in my statements. I cannot tell you how long it will take the press to complete the work — our press is in a hopelessly neglected condition, and my protests only make the situation worse, instead of helping. The Khojas are the community of businessmen. But I have never seen something so disgracefully messed as their *system*. And, with the senility of the *Spiritual Father*,[177] there is no way to get out of the mess. Well, what to do.

In case Aref Tamer has sent you portions of his new book which is now in the press,[178] please be so kind, if you can find time, to let me know your *unvarnished opinion* on the quality of his work, as I have asked you in my preceding letter. This would be important for me.

I am working over the new edition of my *Guide*, but this will take much time, of course. I shall be happy if I can get it out by the next April.

Please convey my best compliments to Mme Corbin, and to Mr. Max, if you see him. I have not written to him for some time. With my best wishes to you, and a hope that all misunderstandings have been cleared, and no new ones will ever arise, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

[176] *Problems in Nasir-i Khusraw's Biography.*
[177] Aghâ Khân III, Sultân Muhammad Shâh (1877-1957).
[178] L'édition par Tâmir des *Khamsa rasâ'il ismâ'îliyya*; voir bibliographie.

58. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 5 septembre 1956*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
104, Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 5 September 1956

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Just received your kind letter of 27 August, from Ascona. Thank you very much. Please convey my best compliments to Mme Corbin. I am glad that you are feeling well, are travelling, and that you expect to be by 20 September in Tehran. But why should your address be the Embassy? I would prefer to address the letter to your Institut, it is better… But let it be according to your instructions.

My booklet on Nâsir-i Khusraw[179] is ready, and will be sent to you, perhaps by the boat leaving on the 7 September, so that it may reach Tehran by the beginning of October. I hope that when you see it complete, you will not feel anything being wrong.

I incidentally received information that there were two volumes published to celebrate the 70th birthday anniversary of Massignon.[180] Not a single soul amongst my friends in Europe or elsewhere, who undoubtedly knew about this, could let me know in time, so that I might have sent a paper (although I sincerely hate this custom and such articles). I therefore wrote an apologising letter to him. For the last two decades, or about that, he was quite *finished* as an Orientalist, having switched to politics. But I had very good and interesting correspondence with him when I was in Calcutta, and I still remember it with good feelings. I had not the slightest desire to show him any unfriendliness and if I could know in time, I surely would do what suited the occasion.

A. Tamer's book[181] is coming soon, and I shall examine it. You are perfectly right that a case such as his deserves every possible encouragement. I wish he could develop on the lines of our M[uhammad] Kâmil Hussein, who at present seems to hang fire.

[179] *Problems in Nasir-i Khusraw's Biography*; voir bibliographie.

[180] *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, publiés sous le patronage de l'Institut d'Études Islamiques de l'Université de Paris et de l'Institut Français de Damas, vol. 1. Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1956; vols. 2 et 3, Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1957.

[181] Allusion à l'édition par Tâmir des *Khamsa rasâ'il ismâ'îliyya*; voir bibliographie.

About the manuscripts which you require. We have both the *'Alim wa'l-ghulâm*,[182] and both volumes of the *Majmû'u't-tarbiyat*. In the latter the first volume would be of little interest to you, as chiefly dealing with formal worship. In order to send them to you I have to ask the permission of our president, who is, however, out of Bombay. He is returning in the last week of this month, and as soon as he comes, I shall ask him, and let you know. It would be a good thing if Tamer prints *'Alim wa'l-ghulâm*.

Asadi writes to me fairly often, and I think he can arrange sending manuscripts as well as printed books — he is, of course, a specialist in handling books. I shall write to him also — I have to answer his last letter which I received a few days ago.

While going through Syria, have you met the director of the Institut in Damascus, Eliseyev?[183] I knew well his father, still in Petersburg (he is now in Harvard University, — specialist in Japanese).[184] He (the son) wrote to me a nice letter, in French, and I answered in Russian. No reply to that letter has been received — although there were several questions in it. Does he generally speak Russian?[185] Or, perhaps, it would be difficult for you to answer this, as you hardly took interest in the matter.

I am working over the second edition of the *Guide* which I wish could come out in spring. I am trying to do everything to be able to go to Persia about next May, to spend there 4-5 months, printing there my texts. Unfortunately, I do not feel sure as yet.

I had no interesting books, or anything worth reporting — except, perhaps, an amusing news that the Aghakhan has endowed a chair of

[182] Le *Kitâb al-'Âlim wa'l-ghulâm* de Ja'far b. Mansûr al-Yaman (IV^{e}/X^{e} siècle). Sur l'œuvre et son auteur, cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 17-18 (n° 10); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 70-75 (n° 14). Le texte arabe est paru dans *Arba' kutub haqqâniyya*, ed. Mustafâ Ghâlib (Beyrouth, 1983), pp. 13-75. On en trouve également une traduction abrégée, sous le titre 'The Book of the Teacher and the Pupil', dans W. Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, Leiden, 1948, pp. 61-86. HC analysa par la suite ce texte dans son article «L'ésotérisme et le verbe ou l'initiation ismaélienne», *Eranos Jahrbuch* 39 (1970), pp. 41-142 (repris dans H. Corbin, *L'Homme et son ange*, Paris: Fayard, 1983, pp. 81-205) et dans son article «Un roman initiatique ismaélien du X^{e} siècle (*Risâlat al-'âlim wa-l-gholâm*)», *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* (avril-juin 1972), pp. 1-25, 121-42; cf. «Bibliographie générale», n° 225.

[183] Nikita Elisséeff (né en 1915).

[184] Serge Elisséeff (1889-1975).

[185] N. Elisséeff adressa régulièrment des compte rendus à la *REI* et d'autres revues savantes, comportant des critiques d'articles et d'ouvrages publiés en russe. Voir par exemple «L'Islamologie en U.R.S.S., d'après un ouvrage récent», *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damas, 1957, vol. 2, pp. 23-75 (sur l'ouvrage de N.A. Smirnov, *Ocherki istorii izuchenija islama v SSSR*. [Panorama de l'histoire de l'islamologie en U.R.S.S.], Moscou, 1954).

Persian literature in the Harvard university (in which his younger son was studying). Really, the whole world now has turned into philanthropists and benefactors. In Persian newpapers it was written that he donated 300.000 dollars.[186] I doubt all this, as even the fact of donation itself — all possibly may shrink to his *promising to consider* — and this is quite a different matter. But Persian newspapers treat him as someone from the world of fantasy. I remember a good piece of news: "The Aghâ Khân, accompanied by 30.000 of his followers, is coming on Pilgrimage to Imam Riza's shrine in Meshed." I know many cases of his *generous gesture* which never came out of the state of *being considered.*

If I succeed in coming to Persia the next year, I will do everything possible to stay there till November — so that perhaps this may give a chance to me again to spend a few pleasant and instructive hours with you, if you again come in September there.

With my best wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

59. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 10 octobre 1956*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
104, Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 10 October 1956

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I have not sent as yet the manuscripts which you wanted: the same man who carried to you manuscripts on the preceding occasion was to go to Tehran in the middle of September, and I was trying to ask him to take with him these. He, however, fell sick, and ultimately died last Sunday, the 7th October. To send now the books by post has no sense whatever, because (apart from all sorts of troubles), if sent, they are bound to come after you leave Tehran in November. It will be perhaps

[186] Aghâ Khân III, dont le fils cadet Sadruddin Aghâ Khân avait été diplomé de Harvard en 1956, contribua à la création, dans cette université, d'une chaire de persan, qui porta son nom ('Aghâ Khân Professorship of Iranian') et fut occupée, de 1957 à 1990, par Richard Nelson Frye. Cf. W. Bentinck-Smith et E. Stouffer, *Harvard University History of Named Chairs. Sketches of Donors and Donations. University Professorships and Those of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences 1721-1991*, Cambridge, Mass., 1991, pp. 7-10.

easier to arrange to send them to you in Paris, and I shall look for someone who will be agreeable to take this commission. If you want, nevertheless, these manuscripts to be sent to Tehran, please let me know at once, and I shall look for an opportunity. If you like, I may suggest another thing: I have prepared a detailed list of the contents of the *Majmû'u'l-tarbiyat* for my forthcoming second edition of the *Guide*. If you like, I shall post to you a copy, so that you may better consider whether the book contains something that is interesting from your point of view. Please let me know.

I may add something which may, perhaps, be of interest to you. Recently I borrowed from a friend the *Dâmighu'l-bâtil*, by the Yamanite *da'i*, 'Alî b. Muhammad b. al-Walîd (d. 612/1215), which is a refutation of al-Ghazâlî's *al-Mustazhirî* (extracts edited by Goldziher in his *Streitschrift*, 1916)[187]. As Ghazâlî's work is not accessible otherwise than in Goldziher's publication, one remains under the delusion that the *Mustazhirî* is an opuscule which consists only of the platitudes, extracted by the editor. I was therefore imagining the *Dâmigh* also as a booklet. And here come *two* large volumes, altogether 1244 large pages! It quotes the whole of *al-Mustazhirî*, systematically, passage by passage, beginning with *wa qâl al-mâriq fî bâbi-hi...*, and always ending the passage with *hadhâ qawlu-hu*. Looking through, I could form an idea that the text of

[187] *Kitâb Fadâ'ih al-bâtiniyyah wa-fadâ'il al-mustazhiriyya*, connu aussi sous le titre abrégé d'*al-Mustazhirî*, d'Abû l-Hamîd Muhammad al-Ghazâlî (m. 505/1111), édité en partie par I. Goldziher; voir son *Streitschrift des Gazâlî gegen die Bâtinijja-Sekte*, Leiden: Brill, 1916 (Veröffentlichungen der de Goeje-Stiftung, 3). Le texte complet fut publié par la suite par 'Abd al-Rahmân Badawî, sous le titre *Fadâ'ih al-bâtiniyya* (Le Caire, 1964). La réfutation ismaélienne de cet ouvrage, *Dâmigh al-bâtil wa-hatf al-munâdil*, du cinquième *dâ'î* de la période post-fatimide au Yémen, 'Alî b. Muhammad b. al-Walîd (m. 612/1215), a été éditée entretemps par Mustafâ Ghâlib (Beyrouth, 1982) en deux volumes. Dans sa *Trilogie Ismaélienne* (Téhéran - Paris, 1961, p. 133), HC annonce son intention de consacrer une étude au *Dâmigh al-bâtil*, concrétisée dans un article sur cet ouvrage ismaélien, dans lequel HC donne une description des douze livres (*abwâb*) qui le composent et analyse quelques-uns de ses thèmes: «The Ismâ'îlî Response to the Polemic of Ghazâlî». Translated from the French by J. Morris, *Ismâ'îlî Contributions to Islamic Culture*, ed. S.H. Nasr, Téhéran, 1398/1977 (Series on Ismaili Thought, V), pp. 67-98 («Bibliographie générale», n° 284); voir *Abstracta Iranica* 1 (1978), n° 148. Pendant l'année universitaire 1958-1959, HC utilisa le manuscrit mentionné ici par WI et qui lui avait été transmis par ce dernier, dans son cours à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études; cf. H. Corbin, *Itinéraire d'un enseignement. Résumé des conférences à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (Section des sciences religieuses) 1955-1979*, ed. Ch. Jambet, Téhéran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1993 (Bibliothèque Iranienne, 38), pp. 49-50. Sur le *Dâmigh al-bâtil* et son auteur, voir aussi Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 69-74 (n° 234); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 156-61 (n° 14); B. Abrahamov, «An Ismâ'îlî Epistemology: The Case of al-Dâ'î al-Mutlaq 'Alî b. Muhammad b. al-Walîd», *JSS* 41 (1996), pp. 263-73.

al-Mustazhirî should be at least several times as large as the portion printed by Goldziher, and much more interesting and deserving study. Goldziher slavishly followed the fashion of his time, and selected only rubbish, apparently because he could not understand the meaning of more serious portions.

The author of the *Dâmigh* offers profuse refutation which contains much chaff, but occasionally refers to interesting matters. I could not read the whole, of course, but found this simply by looking here and there. After this what is written by Goldziher, of whom so enormous fuss has been always made, looks so childish and silly.

I have posted to you a month ago a copy of my latest publication, the booklet on Nâsir-i Khusraw[188] as you know. I hope that perhaps you have already received it. Please read it from the beginning to the end — I am sure that, having read it whole, you will satisfy yourself that there was nothing in it in the least degree discourteous and unfriendly to you.

Please convey my best regards and wishes to Madame Corbin. If I succeed in going to Persia the next spring, I shall do everything to prolong my stay there till October or November, and shall be able to see you there, in case you also come. My going is still uncertain, but I want to do everything possible to get the necessary arrangements.

Have I sent to you a copy of a letter from Prof. L. Massignon, with which he favoured me after years of silence? If I have not sent it, please let me know and I shall post it — it is instructive, and is no simple private letter, but is a kind of a *document*.

I hope you and Mrs. Corbin both are feeling well and fit. I envy you that you are in Tehran now — I wish I would also be there, because I have many things to do there. And also, sentimentally, because you have not to endure the pleasures of the local rainy season. This year we again had 55% (40 inches) of rain above the normal, and it is — for me — far from being a pleasure. I can feel myself well in dry air.

Please convey my *selams* to friends. I shall be awaiting news from you — write to me what you exactly want me to do concerning the books.

With my best wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

[188] *Problems in Nasir-i Khusraw's Biography*; voir bibliographie.

60. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 28 octobre 1956*

[Bombay,] 28 October 1956

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I have written to you on 9 October, asking you whether you would like me to send a detailed account of the *Majmû'at-Tarbiyat*, as on account of the death of the man who intended to go to Tehran it is rather difficult to send the manuscripts. Now we have found someone here who can do microfilming quite well. The cost will be slightly higher than in Iran, on account of higher customs duty, but it is for you to decide:

K. al-'Alim wa'l-Ghulâm, 182 pp., 91 double pp., three reels, R[upees] 30
Majmû', vol. I, 456 pp., 228 double pp., seven reels, R[upee]s 70
id.—, vol. II, 392 pp., 196 double pp., six reels, R[upee]s 60

The man who can do it (he also works for the local University library, etc.) usually charges 5 annas (*i.e.* roughly 5 rials) per double page, which comes to R[upee]s 11 and a quarter. In our case he agrees to charge *R[upee]s 10 per reel, or part of it*, each reel = 36 doubles pages. This is not so much because the cost of each reel is now about six and a half rupees. As you may be not familiar with rupees, I may add that 13 and a third rupees make one pound sterling, British. I have written all this to you so that you may make up your mind, considering the cost in Tehran. Just at present I do not see any one of my friends going there who could carry the manuscripts with him. Asadî's arrangements will surely take a long time, even if he can find anyone.

So much about manuscripts. Otherwise I have nothing special to tell you. Aref Tamer writes that he has at last posted his *5 risâlas*. He also writes about having received a letter from you in which you refer to a certain Chicago gangster, Hodgson, the author of an unimitable *book* on Ismailism.[189] I have glanced through it, and feel really surprised, how long and gangsterly American mentality has become. I knew personally several Americans long ago — some of them were quite decent, respectable people, in their own way. What has happened with them that their good qualities had gone? It looks the same story as with the Germans, *madness of a nation*. Generally, there are so many pathological developments all around us: take the British. Something really strange is happening with them. Kicked from everywhere, and slapped on the face

[189] Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizârî Ismâ'îlîs against the Islamic World*, The Hague, 1955.

by every one — the nation which had formerly produced some really talented diplomats and statesmen.

Please convey my best compliments to Mme Corbin. I hope both of you are feeling fit and well. I really hope that next summer I may be able to come to Iran, and see you when you come in autumn there. Please excuse my writing on *air-letter* form. It is a Sunday, and I cannot get stamps, but the letter should go tonight to catch the the next aeroplane.

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

61. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 3 novembre 1956*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
104, Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 3 November 1956

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you for your very kind letter of 25 October. I am glad that my booklet on Nâsir[190] was so kindly approved by you, and found interesting. As to the Gulbarga edition of Gisudiraz' commentary on the *Tamhîdât*,[191] it is very easy to find a copy — if you like, I can order it from Hyderarbad, and post it to you. My impression from works of Gisudiraz is that he was a great deal of a humbug, a *saint*, and his learning was in reality of those who wanted to make money under his protection, with the help of his influential connections. There are several of his works in the Calcutta Asiatic Society's library (see my *Catalogue*, 1924, p. 583 sqq.[192]). I think some other works by him have been lithographed in Gulbargâ from the copies in the collection of his famous shrine there.

I think there is a misunderstanding as to the *Dâmighu'l-bâtil*. I did not mean to say that I am interested in it, and my intentions were simply

[190] *Problems in Nasir-i Khusraw's Biography*; voir bibliographie.

[191] *Sharh al-tamhîdât*, un commentaire persan des *Tamhîdât* de 'Ayn al-Qudât Hamadânî (m. 533/1138-1139) par le saint indien Sayyid Muhammad b. Yûsuf Husaynî, surnommé Gîsû Darâz, mort à Gulbargâ en 825/1422. WI fait ici, sans doute, allusion à l'édition de S. 'Atâ Husayn (Hyderabad, 1364/1944-45). Sur l'auteur, voir K.A. Nizami, «Gîzû Darâz», *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, pp. 1114-16.

[192] W. Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1924, pp. 583-86 (Bibliotheca Indica, 240).

confined to giving a few details in the new edition of the *Guide*. I generally dislike and do not trust any works on controversy. In addition, I distrust and deeply dislike the Yamanite authors of the post-Fatimid period. At present I am only concentrating on Persian Nizârî works.

I am posting to you a copy of my note on *Majmû'*. As you perhaps remember, there is a copy of the first volume of it in the library of the School of Oriental studies in London. Have you seen the lunatical account of it by Tritton in *BSOAS*, 1933, p. 33-39?[193] I am awaiting your answer to my latest letter, of 29 October, about microfilming it.

I herewith enclose a copy of Massignon's letter.[194] I do not think that he was a great success in politics. I heard from many respectable people that he was not treated seriously by them (Arabs), and was a kind of a target for their ridicule. A great pity, of course.

As to M. Hodgson and his book on *Assassins*, I have glanced through it, just as you, with the feeling of nausea. It is a mixture of moralisation of a Chicago profiteer and hooliganism of a Chicago gangster. A friend of mine said — (excuse me for not abstaining from quoting a foul expression) — "an excrement of undigested studies." If Amurricans think to advance anything in the East by publications of this kind, then it will be nothing beyond nausea. As to his attacks on myself, his book as a whole is the best antidot — no one, reading it, can take it as reliable.

I shall be glad to receive the publication on Ni'matu'l-lâh by your colleague.[195]

As to the *Jâmi'atu'l-jâmi'a:* is it the same as that which was published in Damascus?[196] I have got the first volume, but could not get the second. I have seen several books with this title — all different. I am almost sure that there were many *personal* attempts of summing up the *Rasâ'il*, at different dates. I am sorry to say that Arabs themselves are not of very high opinion of Aref Tamer's editions. I just received a few days ago his *5 Risâlas*, but still had no time to glance through it. There is yet another *rising luminary* in Salamiya, a certain Mustafa Ghaleb. He also sent to me the beginning of his edition of a supposedly Ismaili text,

[193] A.S. Tritton, «Notes on some Ismaïli Manuscripts. From information supplied by Dr. Paul Kraus», *BSOAS* 7 (1933-1935), pp. 33-39.

[194] Voir l'annexe de cette lettre.

[195] Jean Aubin, ed., *Matériaux pour la bibliographie de Shah Ni'matullah Walî Kermani*. Textes persans publiés avec une introduction, Téhéran - Paris, 1956, contenant les biographies les plus anciennes de Shâh Ni'matullâh.

[196] Ikhwân al-Safâ, *Risâlah jâmi'at al-jâmi'a*, ed. 'Ârif Tâmir, Beyrouth: Dâr al-nashr li-l-jâmi'în, 1959; sur l'édition de Damas, voir *supra* n. 72.

al-Bayân li-mabâhith al-Ikhwân, by *dâ'î* Abû Mansûr al-Yamânî, surnamed ash-Shâdhilî, apparently quite a late writer.[197] I received the first 80 pages, and it appears to me of very little use.

I still hope that perhaps I may have a chance of revisiting Iran the next year. It is good that you will be in Tehran till the 20th of December, so that we can still exchange a few letters.

Please convey my best compliments to Mme Corbin. Newspapers bring all kinds of news which are really disgusting and distressing. Britain is apparently doomed to become a *seventh rate power*, and their lunacy seems to be infectious — it affected France.

I am sure that all this is very silly, and is merely bound to undermine and destroy even what little then still remains in the way of prosperity left from old days, opening wide the gates to the victorious march of communism.

With my best wishes, awaiting your answer to my letter of 29 October, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

62. *Massignon à Ivanow, 9 septembre 1956*

COPY
of a letter from Prof. L. Massignon, 9 September 1956, Paris,
to W. Ivanow

Comité pour l'Amnistie aux Condamnés Politiques d'outre-mer. 21, Rue Monsieur, Paris-VII.

Dear Friend,

do forgive me. I shall never forget the discoverer of the *Ummu'l-kitâb*,[198] the founder of Ismaili *Literaturforschung*, who helped me so much for Indian Hallagian texts.

I am retired now from Collège de France (successor: my friend Laoust, who shall have also the *Rev[ue] des Ét[udes] Isl[amiques]*), [École Pratique des] Hautes Études (successor: my friend H. Corbin), Presidence of

[197] Le *Kitâb al-bayân li-mabâhith al-ikhwân* d'Abû Mansûr al-Yamânî al-Shâdilî; cf. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 296-97 (n° 1). L'édition de l'ouvrage par M. Ghâlib parut en 1956 (Salmaniyya, Silsilat al-dirâsât al-ismâ'îliyya, 4).

[198] W. Ivanow, «Notes sur l'«Ummu'l-kitab» des Ismaëliens de l'Asie Centrale», *REI* 6 (1932), pp. 419-81; «Ummu'l-kitâb», *Der Islam* 23 (1936), pp. 1-132. Voir aussi bibliographie.

the Board for recruiting Arabic professors in France (successor: Laoust); I shall give the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* to my friend Monteil; I keep only the direction of the Institut des Études Iraniennes (though having forgotten last of what I ever knew in Iranian) at the Sorbonne for my friend H. Massé.

Since three years, the misery of the world has pierced my soul, I poorly [I do not understand what does he mean by this — WI] fast once a month for the sake of the oppressed people, widows, orphans, prisoners — I am (a) visitor in (of) prisons head of the committee above mentioned. I had the divine joy to rescue from prison, and slow death, several men since my visit to Mehrauli. On August 20 last, I was in Morocco, for the anniversary of the sultan's deportation in 1953: he was so touched when we met alone in his palace, he thanked me on the radio for having helped him to be rescued from the powerful scoundrels of colonialism. I must say that I had a bomb sent (to my home?) in Paris on October 25th last, sparing my old age, and wounding 8 (3 severely). But I hold on.

My hope in the Day of Doom and Resurrection of the Dead nourishes my efforts (quotation in Persian — "never dies he whose heart is alive with love").

I have published two new leaflets on Fatima *Dhât al-ahzân*[199] who is for me the highest symbol of persecuted women [Was Fatima really persecuted? — WI] in the Moslem World, such as the Virgin Mary in Christianity.

I have published two new editions (enlarged) *The Essai*;[200] and the *Akhbâr al-Hallâj*:[201] next October — and *Salmân Pâk*, in Unwala's English translation.[202]

[199] «La notion de vœu et la dévotion musulmane à Fatima», *Studi orientalisci in honore di Giorgio della Vida*, Rome, 1956; «L'oratoire de Marie à l'Aqça vu sous le voile de deuil de Fâtima», *Mardis de Dar es Salam* 1956, pp. 5-37.

[200] *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*. Nouv. éd. revue et considérablement augmentée, Paris: Vrin, 1954 (Études musulmanes, 2).

[201] *Akhbar al-Hallaj. Recueil d'oraisons et d'exhortations du martyr mystique de l'Islam Husayn ibn Mansur Hallaj, mis en ordre vers 360/971 chez Nasrabadhi et deux fois remanié*. 3ème éd., reconstruite et complétée par L. Massignon, Paris: Vrin, 1957 (Études musulmanes, 4).

[202] La traduction anglaise, par J. Maneckji Unvala, de «Salmân Pâk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien» (Société d'études iraniennes, 7, 1934): *Salmân Pâk and the Spiritual Beginnings of Iranian Islâm*, Bombay, 1955. Une autre traduction (version abrégée) fut faite plus tard par K. O'Brien: «Salman Pak and the Spiritual Beginnings of Iranian Islam (1934)», *Testimonies and Reflections. Essays of Louis Massignon*, selected and introduced by H. Mason, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989, pp. 93-110.

My *memorial book* was launched by the late Prof. Levi-Provençal;[203] he forgot some of my best friends amongst the contributors; Fyzee protested in due time, and his paper was sent to print.[204] Levi della Vida proposed it too late; and we had to divide the Memorial Book into three volumes (alas): I say *we*, on behalf of my friend Laoust, who is sad of this exaggerated size. At the beginning a bibliography of my works is getting printed,[205] which may amuse you; I quote all my worst contradictors [It is a pity that he does not mention whether I am also privileged to be mentioned there — WI]: the fairest Names are given to men by their *enemies*, and I pray for them.

(Signed: L. Massignon).

P.S. You can't understand how I am jealous of your unrivalled mastership [Is this mockery? — WI] in Persian; may God let us pay once a visit to Rûzbihân Baqlî's tomb [I cannot understand the noble sentiment behind this sentence. I have digged out the tomb stone simpy to verify the date on it, and have no particular fascination or admiration for the *Shîkh* (as it is pronounced in Shiraz) — WI] which you discovered in Shiraz, dear Friend.

63. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 28 novembre 1956*

The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
104, Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 28 November 1956

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I am posting today the microfilms of the *K[itâb] al-'Alim wa'l-ghulâm*, and two volumes of the *Majmû't-tarbiyat*, as you requested. The cost of the microfilms is R[upees]s 160, to which is to be added the airfreight — I am adding this below when I get the Air Waybill. When remitting, please remit *to me personally*, my name only, and not to the Ismaili Society.

[203] *Mélanges Louis Massignon*; voir bibliographie.
[204] A.A.A. Fyzee, «Islamic Studies in India», *Mélanges Louis Massignon,* Damas, 1957, vol. 2, pp. 183-214.
[205] «Bibliographie de Louis Massignon», réunie et classée par Y. Moubarac, *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damas, 1956, vol. 1, pp. 3-56.

I have received your kind letter, as I have already written to you (5 November 1956), and I have nothing to add — I am in a hurry to post this letter so that it may come to you on Thursday, the 29 November 1956. I shall write to you more by the next plane.

About the *Dâmigh* — I have posted a microfilm of it to the University Library,[206] at their request, so that you may see it before you leave for Paris. Muhammad-Taqî Dânesh-pazhûh wants to edit, or do something with it — let him do. I doubt, however, that he may be so good for this work as it demands certain amount of being read in Fatimid literature.

My best wishes to both of you — I wish to hope that a year since we may meet personally and discuss many matters [sic].

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

The parcel is addressed to: Prof. H. Corbin,
c/o Ambassade de France, Tehran, Iran.
Air Waybill no. < ... >
of the 28th Nov[ember] 1956.
Please acknowledge the receipt of the parcel as soon as it arrives. If it does not arrive till the 8th December — please let me know at once so that I might make inquiries here.

64. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 14 décembre 1956*

W. Ivanow
The Ismaili Society
Sea Croft
104, Wodehouse Road
Colaba
Bombay, 5, India

Bombay, 14 December 1956

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I just received your kind letter of 6 December 1956. Regarding the remittance, I went to the Exchange Control Office, and to the *National Bank of India* which is the agent for the Bank-e Melli-e Iran here, and both say that you can send the money simply by a *draft*. I have no banking account, and it is immaterial in the case. Simply give my address in full, as above, to the Bank-e Melli, and they will remit the money (R[upee]s 167).

[206] La Bibliothèque Centrale de l'Université de Téhéran.

If, however, there are some special difficulties, please pay the equivalent to Mr. Asadî. He wrote to me that he intended to come this winter to Bombay. All this is at the instruction of our *president*, who is in charge of money transactions — it is not my sphere. He does not want the idea of opening a banking account in Tehran because it requires an immense amount of formalities and waste of time. But please do not forget to make remittance *in my name*, not that of the Ismaili Society — I shall later on explain to you the reason why.

I hope this clears everything, and that this letter may come in time — I hope you will receive it on Monday, the 17th of December. I wish you and Mme Corbin enjoyable journey and return to Paris. Please write from France when you have time to spare. I hope to receive soon the Gulbarga lithography of the *Sharh* of the *Tamhîdât*, and will post it to you at once to your Paris address.

With my best wishes for both of you of happiness and peace of mind in the New Year, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

65. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 16 avril 1957*

[Bombay,] 16 April 1957

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you for your kind letter of 9 April which I received yesterday. Please convey my best regards to Madame Corbin. I hope both of you feel fit and well, enjoying the Paris life.

Answering your letter: Asadî is here, and probably leaves for Tehran on 19 April. He brought the sum received from Kamalian,[207] and I am very keen to take Persian currency, as I hope to sail to Khurramshahr on the 11th of May, and the money will be useful to me in my journey. There are, however, some restrictions, and I cannot get to certainty in my inquiries from the officials. Anyhow everything will be settled: either he pays in tumans or in rupees. Microfilms can be made at the same rate if you want them, but not during my absence from Bombay.

Dânesh-Pazhûh (as he writes) has received and is studying the *Dâmigh. K. al-'Alim wa'l-ghulâm*: I have another copy, dated 1605 (quoting from memory). I did not offer it for microfilming because it contains too

[207] Assistant de HC à l'Institut franco-iranien. Voir la lettre de HC à Émile Benveniste datée du 31 octobre 1947, in *Cahier de l'Herne HC*, p. 314.

many words in red ink which do not come well in photography. Would not it be better to suggest editing it to Aref Tamer, as I did long ago? You may write afterwards your essay when the text is edited — this will save much of your labour and time. Of course, this is merely a suggestion.

Translation of the *Asâsu't-Ta'wîl*: I am for over *twenty years* trying to get an old copy. The High Priest of the Bohoras promised to show it to me a hundred times. But so far *nothing* has come out of all this. The copy which I saw in 1932 was from Hyderabad, and was quite worthless, linguistically (modern Indian Persian). I therefore suspect that the translation is merely a legend, and the copy which I saw was a recent fake. Of course, Allah knows better.

Jâmi'atu'l-Jâmi'a: In my writings I several times expressed the belief, based on what I have seen, that most probably all such works are of modern origin and are nothing but different attempts to prepare a conspectus of the *Rasâ'il* — nothing else. I wrote to Aref Tamer many times, trying to dissuade him from wasting his time on it. By the way, it is a long time since he wrote to me, although formerly I received letters from him almost weekly.

The *Asâsu't-Ta'wîl* is not an essay on the principles of *ta'wîl*, but merely childish interpretation of various stories in the *Coran*, etc. It is a very dull book, I do not think that you would like it. We have a copy of it.

My *Guide* is to await my return (perhaps in November). I shall be very glad indeed to see you in Tehran, and confer on many questions.

I have no grudge against Massignon, and only regret that he so stupidly sacrificed his scholarly career for earning a few more worthless francs or dollars.

I have not the slightest desire to go to Muenchen for the humbug of the *Congress*.[208] Especially in winter — thanks.

The Aghâ will be 80 on the 2nd of November, but he is very weak. Nevertheless, he works much — his beloved spiritual children supply any amount of work to him by their quarrels, intrigues, and all sorts of nonsense. I am very sorry for him, he was by no means a bad man, despite the efforts of journalists to emphasise everything scandalous about him. If he dies, I do not think the Ismaili Society will be able to carry on. His successor will be quite different, although he shows now (at the age of 47) some signs of becoming adult, not a play-boy as before.

[208] Le XXIV[e] Congrès international des orientalistes, à Munich (du 28 août au 4 septembre 1957). Cf. *Akten des vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses München, 28. August bis 4. September 1957*, ed. Herbert Franke, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1959.

About your copy of the *Tamhîdât*: I sent it long ago to the press, together with the address slip, etc., and was sure that it has gone long ago. But a week or so ago a friend of mine found it in the press, and brought to me to ask, what it was? I made much row, and wanted to post it personally, but during the last week I was too busy. I shall post it this week, anyhow, or will ask Asadî to take it to Tehran, if he has not too much luggage.

When I come to Tehran (probably by the end of May if all goes well), I will be busy with printing some Persian Ismaili texts. I hope to visit Meshhed and Tebriz, if possible, later on.

When you see Massignon, please convey to him my regards. His *Salmân* has been very badly translated into English by a Parsi who asked me to write a (laudatory, of course) review.[209] But I was so busy all the time that I could not.

With my best wishes of good health and success in all your work, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

66. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 10 juin 1957*

W. Ivanow
c/o Kitab-khane e Asadi
Beharistan
Tehran, Iran.

Tehran, 10 June 1957

Dear. Dr. Corbin,

As you see, I am already in Tehran, just over two weeks. I have come here to print some Ismaili texts (Persian), and possibly to make a tour in Alamût later on. I hope to be staying there till October, and to see you when you come here in September.

I wanted to print the portion of the *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh* dealing with Hasan b. as-Sabbâh and *khudawands* of Alamût, and prepared the text on the basis of 3 manuscripts.[210] But here I have found that our friend

[209] Allusion à la traduction anglaise, par J. Maneckji Unvala, de «Salmân Pâk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien», voir *supra* n. 202.

[210] L'édition de cette partie, préparée par WI, fut publiée plus tard par Md Dabîr Siyâqî sous le titre *Faslî az jâmi' al-tawârîkh. Târîkh-i firqa-yi rafîqân wa Ismâ'îliyân-i Alamût* (Téhéran, 1337/1958). Voir bibliographie.

Dânesh-Pazhûh had already conceived a *grand* plan to edit the whole section on the Ismailis, beginning with that on the origin of the sect, the Fatimids, etc. — quite worthless — and adding to it the whole text of the corresponding section of the *Zubdatu't-tawârîkh*, so that, as he told me, "it would make a book of about 200 pages which may be sold at 12 tumans."[211] I tried to persuade him that only the Nizârî portion should be edited, and the portions of the *Zubdat al-Tawârîkh* which constitute valuable additions, should be printed as an appendix. There was much talk, and he was obstinate in his plans, but ultimately it has been agreed that he will first take up the *second part*, *i.e.* my text, which I handed over to him, together with my photostats, on the condition that the printing will be completed within two months. I must tell you that this has greatly relieved me from various anxieties. I would surely like to print the text myself — and I have money assigned for this — but what attracted me in this new scheme was the consideration of *politics* within the holy community. I need not fear anything so long as the Spiritual Father[212] is alive. But as he may die any day, the advent of his *lovable* son[213] is bound to bring to the top many undesirable persons, of the most backward type, who may receive a valuable pretext for the agitation against the Ismaili Society and myself, raising the noise that a work offensive to them is printed by me at their own cost. To tell you the truth, I am not quite sure of the efficiency of our friend. There is no doubt that his eruditon and assiduity are very large. But what I doubt is his ability to do the work quickly — he seems to belong to the race of dreamers who want to do many things without regard of their means and limitations in time and labour which this entails. Anyhow, I am watching the situation, and in case no sufficient progress is done, I should do something to resume the orginial plan.

[211] L'édition par Md-T. Dânishpazhûh et Mudarrisî Zanjânî fut publiée en 1338/1954 (Téhéran), sous le titre *Jâmi' al-tawârîkh. Qismat-i Ismâ'îliyân wa Fâtimiyân wa Nizâriyân wa dâ'iyân wa rafiqân*. Le *Zubdat al-tawârîkh* de Jamâl al-Dîn Abu'l-Qâsim 'Abdullâh b. 'Alî Kâshânî (al-Qâshânî) (m. vers 738/1337-1338). Cf. Daftary, *Ismâ'îlîs*, p. 329. Dânishpazhûh prépara une édition du texte sur la base d'un seul manuscrit, sous le titre de «Zubdat al-tawârîkh. Târîkh-i ismâ'îliya wa nizâriya wa malâhida», *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres, Université de Tabriz*, supp. n° 9 (1343/1964), pp. 1-215. Plus récemment, il a publié une seconde édition, fondée sur le même manuscrit: *Zubdat al-tawârîkh. Bakhsh-i Fâtimiyân wa Nizâriyân*, Téhéran, 1366/1987.

[212] Aghâ Khân III, Sultân Muhammad Shâh (1877-1957).

[213] Ali Khan (m. 1960), l'aîné des deux fils de l'Aghâ Khân III et père de l'actuel Imam des Ismaéliens Karîm Aghâ Khân IV. *Supra* n. 166.

Our another friend, Hannibal, has surprised me with his *Journal*[214] in which there is everything except anthropology to which it is supposed to be devoted. He endlessly expresses admiration to your letter printed in it,[215] but I believe that *anthropology* interpreted in this way may well cover all forms of human activity. He asked me to write *something* about the Ismailis, but I tried to explain to him that Ismailism is an idea belonging to the study of religions, not of *anthropos* in general, and if we include Ismailism into anthropology, why then not include higher mathematics or poetics? The study of the anthropology of Persia, in its ethnological version, surely constitutes one of the most necessary and urgent tasks in view of the immense changes taking place in the country and all over the East. A magazine, half-yearly, would excellently do, if sufficient number of workers may be found (which I doubt very much). But in the form as it appears, it resembles the predominant type of the shops one sees in Tehran, *seka tavara kauppa*, in Finnish, *the shop for everything*. Surely, the money spent may find a better use.

I am very glad to be back here. Here I feel much better than in India, and hope to do some work. These two weeks I had to devote much time to *social* work, to which I am not much accustomed, and which fatigues me very much. But now things seem to become more quiet, and I can find sufficient equilibrium to do useful work. Again I find here an immense difference with India and even Egypt, the growing class of the *intelligentsia* which in spirit comes very close to what it was in pre-revolution Russia, better to say, Russia of the XIXth century. Of course, there are educated people in India and Egypt, but they are individuals who do not form a *movement*, or *class*. Many of them, if not majority, are the people who are the product of foreign education, in foreign countries. But here you find the people who do not speak foreign languages, and yet are completely *full weight*. And it is really instructive to watch these people: I came first to Iran in 1910, almost exactly half a century ago, and can testify the immense change that had taken place. But it is characteristic for the Persians, the creators of one of the greatest literatures in the world, in Persian and Arabic — that particular predilection to the *humanitarian* sphere, and not to *science* (in English sense). Their fathers could recite pages from the *Coran*, and debate subtle points of *fiqh* at their friendly assemblies — I remember these very well — while their sons or grandsons

[214] La *Revue Iranienne d'Anthropologie* (*Majalla-yi mardumshinâsî*).
[215] «Lettre au Directeur», *Revue Iranienne d'Anthropologie* 1 (1957), pp. 1-4; voir «Bibliographie générale», n° 113.

discuss up-to-date philology etc. The speed of the change is amazing, and would be really instructive to those who regard themselves as qualified to decide in the high politics, and assume as an axiom the *conservatism of the East*.

I hope this may find you in good health. Please convey my best compliments to Mme Corbin. I have a great request to you: when packing for my trip here, I have in excitement forgotten to take Mr. Max' address. May I ask you to convey to him the enclosed note? He wrote me that he was coming to Paris by the end of April but I do not know whether this was decisive. He has given me three addresses, his private address in Paris, his daytime telephone in the Ministry, and his American address, which is useless now.[216] I have it here, but I am almost sure that the letter would have to be returned to Paris.

With my best wishes and compliments, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

I am staying again in the same hotel and even in the same room as three years ago, can see Lalezar from my window, and enjoy all its noises. However strange, it is rather *cold* here, owing to some kind of *cold wave* — thing unprecedented, and I enjoy it, thinking of what I should have not if I remained in Bombay.

67. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 30 décembre 1957*

[Bombay,] 30 December 1957

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Please accept my best wishes for the New Year, and convey my greetings to Mme Corbin. I most sincerely wish that the coming year may bring relief and peace of mind to you individually and generally.

I returned to Bombay in the end of November, and at once found myself tremendously occupied by all sorts of things which accumulated during my six months' absence. Only now I gradually clear up these Augean stables. I am trying to arrange another visit to Iran, and Alamût, next spring, but nothing so far is clear because the new Imam[217] has to come to India and only here can we get his necessary blessings.

[216] De 1953 à 1959, Max fut affecté au Secrétariat des conférences du Ministère des affaires étrangères. Cf. *Annuaire diplomatique* 1977, p. 1065.
[217] Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, Aghâ Khân IV.

There is a question which I would like to discuss with you, and I shall be very much obliged if you can give me your opinion as early as you find it practicable. Having had experience with printing of texts in Tehran this summer, I would like to suggest that I may come there for a year or more, and print all the Nizârî Ismaili Persian works, copies of which we possess. But while there are ample facilities for doing this, as regards Persian text, it would be very cumbersome to import these books to India and print the English translations and comments here, in Bombay. I would like to suggest therefore that the question may be raised about coming into an agreement with the press of your French institute. As your press has not got types with diacritical signs, and devices to print in the *demy* size, perhaps it would be possible, if a kind of contract can be made, that we may supply the necessary quantity of accented types and also the frame, etc., needed for the printing in the size mentioned above. As you know, the generous and enlightened policy of the Iranian government permits import of everything connected with printing free of duty. We might therefore import such types, according to specimens you give to us, either from India or Beirut. But can your compositors set the texts in English?

I have just finished reading a new Russian book, *History of Media* by I.M. Diakonov.[218] It is a critical summary of all — to date — information on the subject, and is most interesting. I hope it will be translated into French or English and Persian.

Recently I had a letter from Mr. F. Max, who is apparently still in Paris. If you see him, please convey my best compliments. I received three large volumes of the *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, from the Damascus Institut. I generally dislike such learned cocktails, and, in fact, it is a melancholy sight: with his indubitable talent and great effort, he stuck in his *Hallâj*, never making any serious progress. The whole problem of Sufism, its history, real sociological effect and implications, and so forth, a huge problem which is really worth taking up, remains as dark as ever. He has not founded any movement, any school, and his admirers, whose articles are here published, are an assembly of casual social friends who came to pay their respects only because so it is usually done. No sign of any serious continuator of an important work started by the man in whose honour these volumes have been printed. I have not yet written to him,

[218] I.M. D'jakonov, *Istorija Midii ot drevnejshih vremen do konca IV veka do n. è.* [Histoire de la Médie, des origines au IV^e siècle avant notre ère], Moscou - Léningrad: Akademija nauk SSSR, 1956.

partly because I had no time to glance through properly, and partly because I find great difficulty in deciding what really should I write, except for the usual *festive* banalities which are not worth the paper on which they are written.

Once more I wish you everything good for the new year and generally, and shall be very glad to get news from you.

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

68. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 22 février 1958*

[Bombay,] 22 February 1958

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I have received the permission of the *Imâm-i Zamân*[219] to go to Persia for six months, for the exploration of Alamût, etc., and hope to start from Bombay on the 23-rd of April. When coming back from the hills, by October, I probably shall be able to see you in Tehran, and discuss all kinds of things. I have not forgotten about my promises to let you have our manuscripts of the *Ta'wîlât-i Gulshan-i Râz*[220], and of that Persian version of the *Sermon on the mountain*.[221] I have to tell you, however, that it is not so easy to send to you the originals, and, at the same time, it is as difficult to make microfilms or photostats. In its efforts to save foreign exchange, the Indian government has drastically reduced licences for photographic goods, which are not manufactured locally, with the result that they are now very difficult to get, and the cost, of course, has risen quite absurdly. I therefore would like to suggest to you to wait till I come to Tehran, probably by the end of May. Then it will be possible to prepare microfilms there. If you like, I shall simply hand over the manuscripts in your Institut, and they will make and send you the microfilms.

[219] Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, Aghâ Khân IV.

[220] *Ta'wîlât-i gulshan-i râz*, commentaire anonyme du poème *Gulshan-i râz* de Mahmûd Shabestarî (m. 720/1317), qui devait être édité et traduit par HC dans sa *Trilogie Ismaélienne* (Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1961 (Bibliothèque Iranienne, 9): «Symboles choisis de la Roseraie du Mystère de Mahmud Shabestarî». Cf. «Bibliographie générale», n° 141. Sur cette œuvre, cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, p. 164 (n° 768); Daftary, *Ismâ'îlîs*, pp. 453-54. Sur le *Gulshan-i râz* et son auteur, voir L. Lewisohn, *Beyond Faith and Infidelity. The Sufi Poetry and Teachings of Mahmud Shabistari*, Richmond: Curzon Press, 1995 (Curzon Sufi Series).

[221] Référence probable à la version ismaélienne du «Sermon sur la montagne» (d'après Mat. 5-7). Cf. Corbin, *Trilogie*, pp. 112-13, 114-16 n. 235, 116 n. 237.

I hope to move into the Alamût valley in the beginning of June, and tour those localities for about four months, so that I may complete my work and later publish a reliable description of the present state of the site, plentifully illustrated by my photographs.[222] There are many things there to find out, and this cannot be done in a short visit. I am immensely glad for this opportunity. Generally speaking, such *returning to primitive state,* even for short periods, was always extremely beneficial for me, refreshing and giving an opportunity of rest to the nerves, which are so badly worn out in this *civilised* life.

Still two months' time remains at our disposal, and if you write at once, I still shall be able to receive your letter. I also wrote to Mr. Max, asking him to convey my selams. Please also convey my best regards to Mme Corbin. I am looking forward for a quiet talk in your Tehran *nest.*

My correspondence with the West gradually shrinks, and I become more and more a savage, I am afraid. As time goes, I feel more and more longing for desert life with its quiet and silence.

Please be so kind, if writing, to tell me the latest *Orientalist* news. Bombay was a port and bazar always, but now it is still more a kind of backwaters.

With my best wishes for you, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

69. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 7 avril 1958*

[Bombay,] 7 April 1958

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I just received your kind letter of the 31 March 1958. Thank you very much. Please convey my *selams* to Mme Corbin. I hope that both of you enjoy Paris life.

I expect to leave for Iran on the 23 April 1958, by boat to Karachi, then by rail to Zâhedân, then by bus to Meshhed, and finally by rail again to Tehran. I had to go by this route because it would be too expensive to carry with me my books etc. by air. I expect to be in Tehran by the end of May, and my address there will be, as last year, c/o Asadî (Kitabkhane

[222] Ce projet devait être réalisé en 1960: *Alamut and Lamasar. Two mediaeval Ismaili strongholds in Iran. An Archaeological Study*, Tehran: Keyhan Press, 1960 (ISS C, 2). Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 59. Voir aussi «Abstracta Islamica (XVII)», *REI* 31 II (1963), p. 71 (n° 621).

e Asadî, Maydan e Beharistan). This time I go specially to complete my exploration of Alamût, hope to start from Tehran early in June, and return by beg[inning] of October, so that I may have the opportunity to meet you again.

I am bringing with me the photostat of the *Ta'wîlât-i Gulshan-i Râz*, and, if I can find it, of the *Sermon*. Both may be microfilmed in your Institut in Tehran. It was difficult for me to arrange microfilming here because the Indian Government, in order to save foreign exchange, have practically stopped issuing import permits for photographical goods, which for this reason practically disappeared from the market, and, of course, became extremely expensive. I also promised to arrange microfilming of *Dalâ'il an-nubuwwat*[223], for Aref Tamer. I did not know that he is editing *Yanâbî'* and *Sullamu'n-najât* — we have manuscripts of both, and I would be able to bring them with me.[224]

It is very kind of you to assist us with regard to the possibility of printing English texts in the Institut's press. Personally I am almost completely sure that the idea will be approved, but, of course, I have to refer to *authorities*.

Now, news about myself: radical changes in the Ismaili Society. Please keep all this private at present. The new *Incarnation*[225] has decided to transfer the headquarters of the Ismaili Society to Karachi. He has given me *blessings* to go for six months to Alamût, etc., and wishes that the transfer should be completed on my return in two months' time, *i.e.* by the end of this year. According to our discussions, he offers me complete freedom of choice as to the place of my work, and I can, without any new authorisation, stay in Iran, and come again whenever I find it necessary for my work. Therefore, if I find it preferable, I shall simply settle in Iran, coming periodically to my *base*, especially during the periods at which he himself is expected to pay a visit to that place. I may, if I find it necessary, take with me to Iran *any books, or even all books* belonging to the Ismaili Society. Just at present, of course, it would be

[223] Allusion possible au *Ithbât al-nubuwwât* d'Abû Ya'qûb al-Sijistânî, qui devait être édité par 'Ârif Tâmir (Beyrouth: al-Matba'a al-kâthûlîkiyya, 1966).

[224] Le *Kitâb al-Yanâbi'* d'Abû Ya'qûb al-Sijistânî; cf. Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 27-30 (n° 38); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 82-89 (n° 2). L'ouvrage devait être édité par HC dans sa *Trilogie Ismaélienne* (Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1961; Bibliothèque Iranienne, 9); cf. «Bibliographie générale», n° 141. Une seconde édition fut mise au point par Mustafâ Ghâlib (Beyrouth, 1965). *Sullam al-najât* d'Abû Ya'qûb al-Sijistânî; sur cette œuvre, voir Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 27-30 (n° 37); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 82-89 (n° 8).

[225] Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, Aghâ Khân IV.

difficult to say what may develop from this, but I at present feel rather inclined to think in terms of work in Iran as my normal condition. Karachi has no libraries comparable to those of Tehran, and summer is a hell there.

I am of course very much flattered by such expression of complete trust and confidence on the part of the *Supreme Master*. Of course, I anticipate considerable technical difficulties with printing, and in keeping contact with my *bases*. The *Incarnation* only issues *blessings*, but I have in my routine work to deal with all sorts of people amongst whom there are good as also bad ones. But I do not like to be more pessimistic than it is warranted by facts — let us see first how matters will go.

I have authorisation to edit several Persian Nizârî texts, but they are not *philosophical*, being mostly of the *vulgar* variety, productions of little educated authors. Of course, from my point of view such works are far more interesting than outstanding works of highly qualified individuals, because such *popular* works stand nearer to the common ideas and beliefs of the masses. There are, however, several *summing up* works to be completed, beginning with the revised edition of the *Guide*. It is chiefly concerning these that I am anxious to make some arrangement with your Institut's press.

You refer to different Arabic manuscripts. We have got a complete and fairly good copy of the *Asâsu't-ta'wîl*, and generally it is a common book — quite a large volume. You seem to be mostly interested in the works of the Yamanite period, which, as far as I can see, are mostly worthless, being bad compilations from the works fo the Fatimid period. G 206, the *Jâmi'u'l-haqâ'iq*, of which we have a copy, is a huge work in *three* volumes. It consists of a purely mechanical collection of quotations, *cuttings*, from the 8 *Mi'ât* of al-Mu'ayyad fî'd-dîn.[226] I occasionally perused it, and formed an opinion that the book is of very little use, because you have not got the context. Only when you have an opportunity to refer to the original majlises, you can make the sense. Of the *Mi'ât* we have an incomplete set, but it would be not impossible to get the missing volumes. Of course, microfilming thousands of pages demands quite substantial outlay of money. We have the *Risâla* G 247, and I can bring

[226] W. Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 54 (n° G 206); le *Jâmi' al-haqâ'iq*, aussi appelé *al-Mu'ayyidiya* de Hâtim b. Ibrâhîm al-Hâmidî (m. 596/1199), est un sommaire systématique du contenu des *Majâlis* ou, selon leur nom usuel, des *Mi'ât* d'al-Mu'ayyid fî al-Dîn al-Shîrâzî.

it with me, for your Institut to microfilm, if you like.[227] G 275, *Azhâr,* we have an incomplete set.[228] Some portions of it are small booklets, and some huge volumes. As to the historical part, it is chiefly repetition of the *'Uyûn*, although here and there there are notes taken from other sources.[229] We have G 241 and 242, 217, 221, but all these works are obvious compilations, and the headings mention in the *Guide* sound much more interesting than the text. Of course, this is my estimation — perhaps you may find these interesting.[230]

I am glad that Aref Tamer continues to print texts, even if his editions are amateurish. Have you seen his latest, *al-Hikam al-Ja'fariyya*?[231] I wrote to him that he should avoid such ostentatious *padding*, using 70 pages for what could be printed on 10 — this produces very miserable impression. I advised him to concentrate on editing Fatimid literature, and not to waste his time and means on Yamanite, or especially Syrian rubbish, and most particularly — in verse.

When I come to Tehran, I shall try to see Mr. Garrigue, and discuss the matter with him, about types. As import of all kind of printing machinery and materials is duty-free in Iran, it will be not difficult to arrange about

[227] W. Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 61 (n° G 247), *al-Mabda' wa'l-Ma'âd* de Husayn b. 'Alî b. Muhammad b. al-Walîd (m. 667/1268). Sur cette œuvre et son auteur, voir aussi Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 163-65 (n° 7). L'ouvrage devait être édité et traduit par HC dans sa *Trilogie Ismaélienne*. Cf. «Bibliographie générale», n° 141.

[228] W. Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 65 (n° G 275): *Kitâb al-Azhâr wa-majma' al-anwâr al-malqûta min basâtîn al-asrâr wa-majâmi' fawâkih al-rûhâniyya wa-l-thimâr* de Hasan b. Nûh b. Yûsuf b. Muhammad b. Adam al-Hindî al-Bharûchî (m. 939/1533). Voir aussi Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 83-88 (n° 292); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 178-83 (n° 1).

[229] Voir Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 83-88 (n° 292) et Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 179-83, pour une liste détaillée des sources du *Azhâr wa-majma' al-anwâr*. Le *'Uyûn al-akhbâr wa-funûn al-âthâr fî dhikr al-nabî al-Mustafâ wa-wasiyyihi 'Alî* d'Idrîs 'Imâd al-Dîn b. al-Walîd (m. 872/1468) servit de source pour le volume 5 II (Biographie de 'Alî) du *Azhâr*. Sur le *'Uyûn* et son auteur, voir Ivanow, *Literature*, p. 78 (n° 270); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 169-75 (n° 1).

[230] W. Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 60 (n° G 241): *'Aqîdat al-muwahhidîn wa-mûdihat marâtib ahl al-dîn* de Husayn b. 'Alî b. Muhammad b. al-Walîd (m. 667/1268); voir aussi Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 163-65 (n° 3). *Guide*, p. 60 (n° G 242): *Risâlat al-Îdâh wa'l-bayân fî l-kashf 'an masâ'il al-imtihân* du même Husayn b. 'Alî b. Muhammad b. al-Walîd; voir aussi Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 163-65 (n° 1). *Guide*, p. 55 (n° G 217): *Risâlat Zahr badhr al-haqâ'iq* de Hâtim b. Ibrâhîm al-Hâmidî (m. 596/1199); voir aussi Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 151-55 (n° 3). Cet ouvrage fut édité par 'Adil al-'Awwâ dans ses *Muntakhabât Ismâ'îlîyya* (Damas: al-Jâmi'at al-sûriyya, 1958). *Guide*, p. 56 (n° G 221): *Diya' al-albâb* de 'Alî b. Muhammad b. al-Walîd (m. 612/1215); voir ausi Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 156-61 (n° 3).

[231] *Al-Hikam al-Ja'fariyya li-l-Imâm al-Sâdiq Ja'far ibn Muhammad,* ed. 'Ârif Tâmir, Beyrouth: al-Matba'a al-Kâthûlîkiyya, 1957 (Nusûs wa-Durûs, 5).

types with diacritical signs. If the Ismaili Society is shifted to Karachi by the beginning of the next year, I shall surely try to arrange my spending the summer in Iran, where I would like to complete several works which I have now in hand.

I wish you all success, good health, plenty of money, and, of course, much energy to continue your most valuable studies. I shall be looking forward to our meeting in Tehran, and personal exchange of ideas. Please convey my best wishes to Mme Corbin.

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

I forgot to thank you for your kind opinion about the note published in the *Orient*.[232] I have never seen this magazine before I received it recently, and must tell you that I utterly dislike this type of publications. There is any amount of similar *orientalistic* publications in Russia, which really take the East as merely a geographical term for Asia and Africa. Such publications have nothing really to do with Oriental studies, but are purely political propaganda, incidentally associated with the East. But political journalism is only good when it is fresh. To read now about the events that took place some two or three years ago, is simply unbearable. Unfortunately, the real Oriental studies find less and less support.

70. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 27 avril 1958*

Karachi, 27 April 1958

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I have received your very kind letter on the eve of my departure from Bombay, and I am also typing this short note to tell you that I am bringing with me the *K[itâb] al-'Alim wa'l Ghulâ*m (an old copy), the *Dalâ'ilu'n-nubuwwat*,[233] and the commentary on the *Gulshan-i Râz* (a photostat). I could not find the text of the *Sermon on the Mountain*, and it is not impossible that I merely saw it in a manuscript lent to me by an Ismaili friend, not attaching to it any importance, and therefore had not prepared a photostat of it. I shall try to do something fo find it by

[232] W. Ivanow, «Peinture et poésie en Orient», *Orient* 4 (1957), pp. 7-16. Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° V 8.

[233] Allusion possible au *Ithbât al-nubuwwât* d'Abû Ya'qûb al-Sijistânî.

correspondence, although this may be not easy. In any case I shall try to find it in my return to Bombay in November.

As soon as I come to Tehran, I shall contact your Institut, and ask them to microfilm the manuscripts which I have brought. It is quite out of the question to do this in Bombay. I could not even find there any films for ordinary camera, and had to buy it here, in Karachi.

It is quite possible that my visits to Iran will be more frequent in the future, and I shall be able to bring with me more of our manuscripts to be microfilmed. There is a talk now amongst my patrons about microfilming the whole collection, and the question is only about the sanction of the necessary sums to meet the cost. This is intended to assure their preservation because the influence of the climate and damage caused by insects threaten to injure the copies which we have got. As you know, A[saf] A[li] A[sghar] Fyzee has last year donated his collection, of some 160 volumes, to the library of the Bombay University.[234] His collection contains some books which we have not got (as, *e.g.* the *Dâmighu'l-bâtil*, *Zahru'l-ma'ânî*,[235] etc.), but it also does not contain many which we possess.

I shall write to you from Tehran when I reach it — most probably in the end of May, before I shift to Alamût.

Please convey my best regard to Mme Corbin.

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

My address in Tehran remains the same, — c/o Asadî
(Kitâb-khâne-e Asadî, Maydân-e Beharistân).

[234] In 1957, Fyzee fit don de 186 manuscrits ismaéliens et 23 non ismaéliens à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Bombay. Voir G. Roper, ed., *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, London: Al-Furqân Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 418-19; Mu'izz Goriawala, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fyzee Collection of Ismaili Manuscripts*, Bombay: University of Bombay, 1965; voir aussi le compte rendu de ce catalogue par W. Madelung, *Der Islam* 44 (1968), pp. 263-64. L'Institut d'études ismaéliennes de Londres acquit des photocopies de toute la collection Fyzee; voir A. Gacek, «Library Ressources at the Institute of Ismaili Studies, London», *BSMES Bulletin* 11 (1984), p. 63. Pour une description du reliquat de la collection privée de Fyzee, voir aussi A.A.A. Fyzee, «A Collection of Fatimid Manuscripts», *Comparative Librarianship: Essays in Honour of Professor D.N. Marshall*, ed. N.N. Gidwani. Delhi, 1973, pp. 209-20.

[235] Le *Zahr al-ma'ânî* d'Idrîs 'Imâd al-Dîn b. al-Walîd (m. 872/1468); voir Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 77-82 (n° 273); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 169-75 (n° 4).

71. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 11 novembre 1958*

[Bombay,] 1 November 1958

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I have reached Bombay after a long series of all kinds of experiences, and now have two months' respite in travelling before I shall have again to start packing and unpacking, going through the numerous and often unpleasant forms of the *musâfir* in the East. From Meshhed, where I spent four days, I was able to get a seat in the bus going directly to Tun, via Yunsi and Bezhistan, a desert route. I found in Tun interesting relics of the old town, now rapidly destroyed by the *shahrdari* and local peasants. From there I went to Gunabad — the real Gunabad, not Jumin which is so called on maps. Local people call the old Gunabad — *shahr*. From there I went to Qâ'in where I ascended to the ancient fort of the Muhtasham of Qâ'in in whose honour the *Akhlâq-i Nâsirî*[236] was written. Thence to Seh-deh, and further to Bîrjand where I stayed several days, visiting some Ismaili villages. I intended to fly from Zâhedân, but on arrival had a very unpleasant surprise: I was officially told in the central Irantur office in Tehran that the ticket to Karachi costs 410 tumans, and found on arrival that is has been raised to 589 tumans! A kilo of surplus luggage is just about six tumans. I was enraged, and as the train was leaving the same day, I went by rail. The Zâhedân station, as regards arrangements, looks as if it is still in its first day after the rails had been laid. The train comes and stops amongst a wide sandy area, with a few huts far away. The only people who meet you are a few local professional beggars who nest near by. It is necessary to go by the first class, as even second is quite unbearable. The whole show is a piece of undisguised mockery. Charges are absurdly high, and the conveniences offered are such as these: the train leaves at 4-30 a.m., local time, but stands an eternity at every station, not to speak of stops at those stations where customs, police, and other pests of civilisation are to be encountered. For the convenience of the public, in view of the absurdly early hour of departure, passengers are invited to come and occupy their berths in the afternoon on the eve of the departure. It sounds very nice: you will quietly sleep and see beautiful dreams when the train, at the the proper

[236] *Akhlâq-i Nâsirî* de Nasîr al-Dîn Tûsî (m. 672/1274), achevé vers 633/1235, une époque à laquelle Tûsî se trouvait encore au service du gouverneur ismaélien de Quhistân, Muhtasham Nâsir al-Dîn 'Abd al-Rahîm b. Abî Mansûr (m. 655/1257). Pour une analyse de l'œuvre, voir W. Madelung, «Nasîr ad-Dîn Tûsî's Ethics Between Philosophy, Shi'ism, and Sufism», *Ethics in Islam*, ed. R.G. Hovannisian, Malibu, California, 1985, pp. 85-101.

time, will start, taking you still in dreams. But the reality is this: when you get in, and lock the door, some one begins to knock and try to open it. It is not illiterate third class passengers, but the *better* ones. They want to see whether the compartment is occupied or not. So, instead of going to the station and asking, they will try to break in, and you have to rise from your sleep and shout abuse at the rogue. This goes on well till after midnight. And later on there comes another variety: some one knocks at your door with masterly hand. You ask: "Ki-e?" The voice: "Open." You open, and a shadow in the darkness asks: "Do you want to buy Pakistan currency?" If you had no experience, you surely will not have ready either a stone or at least a pail of water to throw at the rogue. But as there is no one, no police or guard in the sandy desert, amidst which the train stands, the enterprising profiteer quietly departs, probably to make another offer to some one else. The whole night you will have no sleep at all, be sure.

It is only 459 miles from Zâhedân to Quetta, *i.e.* about 700 kilometers, but it takes some 38 hours to cover the distance. And, for the convenience of the passengers, it is so arranged that your train arrives, on time, just 40 minutes after the Bolan Mail train to Karachi has left. As the train leaves only next evening, you have to spend 24 hours for nothing. I therefore alighted at a junction 16 miles before Quetta, and had to travel, with the ticket of first class, in what in India is called *intermediate*, *i.e.* slightly better than the third class. Here, in all sort of smells, etc., you have to sit the whole night in a corner which you may be lucky to find for yourself. Well, I do not think you will go to Persia via Zâhedân!

Please convey my best regards to Mme Corbin. I shall be awaiting news from you.

Yours very sincerely,
W. I.

I have just received an interesting note in Russian on a rare biography of Rûzbihân al-Baqlî in a Leningrad library.

72. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 22 février 1959*

[Bombay,] 22 February 1959

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Thank you for the copy of your work on *Shîkh* Rûzbihân al-Baqlî.[237] I shall read it with great interest as soon as I can spare time. I hope you

[237] Rûzbihân Baqlî Shîrâzî, *Le Jasmin des Fidèles d'amour (Kitâb-e 'abhar al-'âshiqîn)*. Traité de soufisme en persan publié avec une double intr. et la trad. du ch. I par H. Corbin

are feeling well, working and preparing another interesting publication. Please convey my best *selams* and compliments to Mme Corbin.

I returned to Bombay, as I have written to you, on November 1, and ever since, till this very moment, it was continuous period of hard work and hurry. I had to attend a million of various vexatious small things, and had a million worries with our press which promised to print my translation of the *Haft Bâb* of Abû Ishâq in a month, to have it ready before the New Year, but has not yet completed it even now. I am still reading the proofs and had to waste much time on this.

My departure for Iran has been decided in principle, but there are many technicalities which are dragging on and on. I want to go as early as possible in April, before the *big birds* have gone on their most important joy-rides. My proposed book on Alamût investigations, unfortunately, cannot be printed here, for various reasons, and I have to try to arrange something in Tehran.[238] Prices have gone up here, for printing and paper, fantastically.

Generally, I feel as if I arrived here only a day or two ago, still on my way somewhere, and have to pack up and start tomorrow. I wish I could make a pause now, and free my hands by publishing the material which is awaiting its turn to go to press. Unfortunately, the absence of the *Imâm-i zamân*[239] makes it impossible to get any sense. It fully justifies the Ismaili doctrine, that *if the Imam disappears even for a moment, the world will perish with all its populations*. The old order in which everything, however small, should come up to the holy person of the Lord of the 18 000 worlds for a final approval, is really irritating. But what to do? Anyhow, I hope that matters may clear soon.

My programme is fixed: going through Karachi and Zâhedân, Meshhed, etc., to Tehran, printing several texts, and, if possible, translations, and, if all goes well, a tour to Khorasan in September and October. If I can stay and work through the winter, with a short visit to Karachi in case the *Imam-i zaman* comes there, I hope to complete the publication of the second edition of the *Guide* which requires a period of more or less settled existence.

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et Md Mo'in, Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1958 (Bibliothèque Iranienne, 8). Cf. «Bibliographie générale», n° 118. La traduction du texte complet par HC, achevée le 14 décembre 1957, fut éditée après sa mort: Rûzbihân Baqlî Shîrâzî, *Le Jasmin des fidèles d'amour...*, ed. Ch. Jambet, Paris: Verdier, 1991 (Collection «Islam spirituel»). Une édition du texte persan basée sur de meilleurs manuscrits a été par la suite publiée par J. Nurbakhsh, Tehrân, 1349/1971.

238 *Alamut and Lamasar. Two mediaeval Ismaili strongholds in Iran: An Archaeological Study*; voir bibliographie.

239 Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, Aghâ Khân IV.

There is nothing of interest, with regard to our line of studies, in this part of the world, everything is as stagnant as ever: no money, and what little that there is, is reduced to nothing by the rise of costs. It may be safely said the the Islamic branch of Oriental studies has come to an end in India.

You have probably read what a scandal took place in connection with the address of A.A.A. Fyzee in Constantinople in his address of one of these innumerable *seminars* or *colloquia*, now staged in the different American-financed countries. I know him for the last 30 years, and can only say that essentially he is a decent man, but, unfortunately, has in him a strong strain of degeneration, produced by the practice of close intermarriages in one and the same family in the sect to which he belongs. He may be all-right for a long stretch of time, and then, suddenly, does something which can only be regarded as insane.

Once more thanking for your book, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

73. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 7 avril 1959*

Karachi, 7 April 1959

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I have not heard from you for a long time, and did not write to you also for a long time because, while in Bombay, I was hectically busy, in continuous hurry to different offices, in which I had to waste hours in waiting. It was much worse than in the country of *fardâ*. Some of these *formalities*, as they are nicely called, could be completed merely on the eve of my departure. The five months that I spent in Bombay were as a single unending day of hurry and exasperating waiting. I have succeeded only to print the translation of the *Seven Chapters* of Abû Ishâq Quhistânî the text of which you already have. The book will be sent to you when delivered by the binder, and I believe you will have it in a month's time. I was so much in hurry that in my introduction had to confine myself only to some basic matters. Detailed discussion will follow later, *in shâ'a'l-lâh*.

I hope to start from Karachi, by rail, to Zâhedân, on the 9th April, and expect — if nothing happens — to be in Tehran about the 20th. I have a large programme of publications, some new ones, some second editions, and some second editions of the works published not by us, but long since out of print, as the *Wajh-i dîn* of N[âsir-i] Khusraw. I have also

plans to entrust such second editions to some Persian scholars, for saving time. My best hopes are to find a *quiet* place to stay in, as it is obviously impossible to work while staying in a hotel. I even thought of settling in Tajrish, and coming to the city two or three times a week. Of course, all this is to be decided on the spot. Please write to me to Tehran, c/o Asadi, as the last year, and tell me when will you come to Iran? What are your plans? What are you publishing now?

I may tell you *unofficially* that a Khoja *enthusiast* who met Aref Tamer last year, decided to finance him (on a modest scale) with his publications of Ismaili texts. He asked me to recommend some of early texts, and as it was possible to get two copies of the *Kitâbu'r-Riyâd* of Hamîdu'd-dîn al-Kirmânî,[240] I recommended this, sent a copy, and hope to send a microfilm of another one from Tehran. I do not know whether Aref Tamer will be able to do this work properly. He is a man of not much education. But let us see.

Please also write to me on this subject: last year there were some plans (as Mr. Garrigue told me), to expand the press of your Institut in Tehran, change the type, etc. Has any thing been done so far? If your press expands its potential, so that it may take orders from outside, we would be glad to avail ourselves of such possibility. I had a talk with some people in Bombay, but, of course, it did not go beyond general discussion, because I could not give information as to the actual position.

Thank you very much for your volume on *Shîkh* Rûzbihân al-Baqlî.[241] I had no time to read it, but will do this with great interest when I settle in Tehran. As I have explained to you on many occasions, I cannot appreciate the mystic depth and penetration of highly abstruse speculations, and feel much greater interest in what may be called *popular* forms of Sufism, Shi'ism, or Shi'ite Sufism, which reflects the mentality not of some exceptional individuals, but of wide masses. Such *peaks* of mystic thought attract attention on the assumption that they are *leading lights* which masses follow. But it is not so in reality: *big names* do not lead any one, and remain individual fr[reak]s, just a kind of a *curio* in its field. Well, I hope, when we meet again in Tehran, we may have a talk on this subject.

[240] *Kitâb al-Riyâd* de Hamîd al-Dîn al-Kirmânî (m. after 411/1020); voir Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 40-45 (n° 130); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 94-102 (n° 2). L'édition par 'Ârif Tâmir, d'après deux manuscrits (l'un de l'Ismâ'îlî Association de Bombay et l'autre de la collection de WI) fut publiée en 1960 (Beyrouth: Dâr al-thaqâfa).

[241] Rûzbihân Baqlî Shîrâzî, *Le Jasmin des fidèles d'amour (Kitâb-e 'abhar al-'âshiqîn)*. Voir bibliographie.

I had no letters for a long time from our friend F. Max. Do you know where he is? He is travelling so much, and his addresses are so often changed that is is not easy to keep in touch with him.[242]

Please convey my sincere selams and compliments to Mme Corbin. I shall be so glad when we three can sit again and have a talk as usual, with her kind help in *difficult passages* of speculation.

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

Address: Bashgahe Deneshgah, Khiabane Shahreza, or c/o Asadî, as you like.

74. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 7 mai 1959*

[Tehran,] 7 May 1959

Dear Dr. Corbin,

I am already two weeks in Tehran, staying in *Bâshgâh* of the University, where I was invited as a guest. I was very grateful for this invitation, because, apart from high expense on private accomodations, with the present mad rents in Tehran, it is a great relief in many respects to stay here. There are, of course, *drawbacks*, such as communications with the central quarters of the city, which take much time, and, by taxis, cost a lot. But I came here to work, and not to flutter about.

My purpose and idea to come here was to push ahead all sorts of our publications, which are of three varieties: new ones, as my book on Alamût,[243] in active preparation, and several new Ismaili texts. Secondly, reprinting some of our publications (texts) which are now out of print. Thirdly, some of those important Ismaili texts, published not by us, which are long since out of print, and the *Wajh-i dîn*, or *Zâdu'l-musâfirîn*,[244] etc. For the latter variety I shall try to use as much as possible the *local*

[242] En 1959-1960, Max était conseiller diplomatique près le Haut-commissaire-général à Dakar. Voir *Annuaire diplomatique* 1977, p. 1065.

[243] *Alamut and Lamasar. Two mediaeval Ismaili strongholds in Iran: An Archaeological Study*. Voir bibliographie.

[244] Le *Zâd al-musâfirîn* de Nâsir-i Khusraw. L'édition à laquelle WI fait allusion est celle de Md Badl al-Rahmân (Berlin: Kaviani, 1341/1924). Voir aussi K. Arjomand, «Die Buch- und Kunstdruckerei Kaviani und die iranischen Intellektuellen in Berlin um die Zeit des Ersten Weltkrieges», *Fremde Erfahrungen. Asiaten und Afrikaner in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz bis 1945*, ed. Gerhard Höpp, Berlin, 1997, p. 178. Les tentatives de WI's pour publier cet ouvrage aboutirent à l'édition en *facsimile* faite à Téhéran (Intishârât-i Mahmûdî, s.d.).

talent — for a remuneration, of course, for which I have a special sanction. The prospects, however, are not *bright* — the people do not mind remuneration, but do not like work.

I hope to be staying for six months or more, so that I may have the pleasure to pay my respects personally to Mme Corbin and yourself when you come to Tehran in the autumn. In October I may go — if all goes well — for 3 weeks or a month to Qâ'in, to survey the fort in which the Muhtasham of Qâ'in kept Nasîru'd-dîn Tûsî a prisoner — as the legend goes. I visited it last year on my way to India. All this is so far in the sphere of intentions. Just at present I am trying to make more or less reliable arrangements with various presses, and that *local talent*, which may take part in the work — and this, as you know, takes time.

I found many changes in Tehran, on returning after only so short a period as six months: mutton costs 12 tumans a kilo, taxis are a tuman and a half per trip (now it is intended to introduce meters). Everything, or almost everything is gone up by 30 to 50 percent. At his pace, if maintained, perspectives are not rosy. The cost of printing has also been affected, though, it seems, not so much thus far. This, of course, does not guarantee that it will not go up soon.

All our local friends are going on with their work, but I see not much of them because now is the examinations time, and they are very busy. As you know, Kamalian was dismissed from the Institut, and he complains to everyone that it was through myself that he was kicked out! You may realise, that my only part was complaining on his being *invisible*, when I brought those Ismaili manuscripts for you, to be microfilmed.

I am trying to get off my shoulders the book on Alamût as soon as possible, and take up Persian texts. I have brought with me some of my Sufic manuscripts (Indian Sufism), and intend to present them to the Central Library of the University, as a sign of my gratitude for their kind hospitality. But this I shall do only after consultation with some friends. In fact, there are only a few books, and they are nothing sensational and I do not like that my *gift* should appear *miserable*.[245]

A copy of my latest publication,[246] which was with the binder when I left Bombay on the 1-st of April, has been posted to you, along with other complimentary copies to different institutions. I wish you may find

[245] WI devait faire don de huit manuscrits à la bibliothèque centrale de l'Université de Téhéran; voir Roper, ed., *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p. 522.

[246] Allusion probable à son édition et traduction du *Haft Bâb* d'Abû Ishâq Quhistânî; voir bibliographie.

time to glance through it. However unskilled, it is important, in the absence of anything better, for the correct understanding of Nizari Ismailism in its later phase.

There is much demand for my booklet on the *Evolution of Ismailism*, and it is decided to prepare a new edition, considerably expanded.[247] In dealing with the *philosophy* of Ismailism, I may profit myself by your most interesting discussion of the matter in your introduction to the Commentary on the *Qasîda*, by Nâsir-i Khusraw.[248] When writing that part of the new edition, I shall submit to your information the matter before it goes to press, so that no misunderstanding may arise. I am sure that your have no objections to individual standpoints and opinions, but it is not so easy to foresee the reaction which these may evoke in others.

Please convey my best regards to Mme Corbin. I wish both of you good health and peace of mind, and hope to see you in September here, to discuss various subjects.

Yours very sincerely,
W. I.

75. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 29 décembre 1959*

[Tehran,] 29 December 1959

Dear Dr. Corbin,

Please accept my best wishes for yourself and Mme Corbin, for the New Year — complete happiness (if possible), health, and success in everything. I have posted to you two copies of our B-11 (*Fasl...*). The *A'lâmu'n-nubuwwat*[249] arrived, and is already with the photographer. I expect the *Wajh-i dîn* and the risala about *Adam al-kulli* by the end of this month. Fyzee came to Bombay on a month's leave, and I wrote to him about your desire to read the *Asâsu't-ta'wîl*, asking him, if possible to send the manuscripts *by hand*. Apparently his Constantinople experience has cured him from nostalgy for joyrides, there is nothing in his letter

[247] Cette édition révisée et intitulée *Ismailism and Its Development* était prête à l'édition à la mort de WI, mais ne fut jamais publiée. Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 68.

[248] L'édition par HC et Mo'in du *Jâmi' al-hikmatayn* de Nâsir-i Khusraw; voir bibliographie.

[249] *A'lâm al-nubuwwa* d'Abû Hâtim Ahmad b. Hamdân al-Râzî (m. 322/934-5); voir Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 24-26 (n° 30); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 36-39 (n° 3). Une édition du texte arabe, par Salâh al-Sâwî, fut publiée en 1977 (Téhéran: Académie Impériale Iranienne de Philosophie, avec une préface en anglais de S.H. Nasr et une introduction en persan de Gh.-R. Aawani); cf. *Abstracta Iranica* 1 (1978), n° 163.

about plans of flying anywhere. He came to his native Bombay, fleeing from the *horrors of winter in Kashmir*.

I am working over my new version of the *Evolution*,[250] and wish to send it to press soon, to be able to take up the *Guide*.

There is nothing exciting in Tehran, it is not very cold, cost of living is still rising. *Journal de Téhéran* from 2,5 rials is now 5 rials per copy.

Please be so kind to write when you receive the copies of the *Fasl*, so that I may see, how long it takes for a parcel to get to Paris.

I had a talk with Dr. Mu'in, who told me about the plans of the *Encyclopaedia*,[251] what you had told the other day. There is, however, a point which I forgot to make clear on both the occasions: the language in which it is to be published. Only Persian will be of little use. French would be better, but it will make the publication inaccessible to many potential users in India, who can read only English, of all European languages. I think that the best would be Persian and English as a minimum, with also French, it funds are available. Except Syria, where there is a small number of the Shi'ites, Arab countries in which French is in use, are predominantly Sunnite. Please keep me informed about further developments. I wrote about the plan to the Incarnation,[252] and am awaiting his reactions.

Once more, wishing you everything good,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

76. *Ivanow à Stella Corbin, 3 février 1960*

W. Ivanow, University Club, Tehran, Iran

Tehran, 3 February 1960

Dear Madame Corbin,

Thank you very much for your very kind letter of the 28-1, which I just received. Yes, I am also missing very much our Friday *Sessions*, as there is no substitute for them. Local learned ones, when they come together, usually discuss their service and domestic news, are too tired to take up some talk of *manuscripts* and similar matters.

Please tell Prof. Corbin that I received those manuscripts which we were discussing, including the booklet on *Adam-i kullî*. But — alas! —

[250] *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism*. Voir bibliographie.

[251] Allusion probable au projet d'encyclopédie du shi'isme de Mohammad Mo'in, qui ne fut jamais concrétisé.

[252] Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, Aghâ Khân IV.

it seems that after all it is nothing but an extract from the *Encyclopaedia* of the *Ikhwanu's-safâ'*. I have given the booklet to Mr. Rahawar[d], asking him to collate it with the corresponding portion of the *Encyclopaedia*, and if it is really an extract, then leave it, because it certainly will be of no use to microfilm it.

I also received both volumes of the *Nuzhatu'l-afkâr*,[253] of the *Wajh-i dîn*, etc., and I am arranging that these may be microfilmed and photostats given to us. Fyzee was for a short time in Bombay, but, unfortunately, my letter came after his departure, and without his help the book cannot be found. He very cunningly left no list of the books which are not numbered. Therefore one has either [to] see all books one by one, or recognise by the binding and outer appearance, in case he is familiar with the collection. He did not write, when he is visiting Bombay again, but I asked him not to forget to find that book, *Asâsu't-ta'wîl*, which is needed. A new copy is being transcribed for us in Burhanpur, but, as it is a large book, this will take some months to make ready.

Is it your own Persian handwriting on the envelope? If so, please accept my congratulations!

Please convey my *selams* to Prof. Corbin, and tell him that in case I am summoned to Bombay, I shall bring many manuscripts when coming back. It is also possible that a friend of mine may be coming in spring, passing through Tehran. He will be coming by air, but will not mind to take a few books with him. Asadî is also going to India, but his voyage may take rather long. I still hope to go to Qa'in in April or May.

What religious or spiritual functions Prof. Massignon was expected to perform in his joyride to the Assuan dam? Really, it is too much to be amusing.

You write about weather in Paris. But here we have the most wonderful winter — we had snow on the first of December only, and ever since the weather was clear and warm so that trees are covered with buds. For two months I could see Demawend in the morning and not rarely also in the afternoon, before sunset, from the veranda of the Club. The Persians do not like this uninvited courtesy of nature, as this threatens with the loss of the crop of fruit. But, nevertheless, it is the most pleasant winter that I experienced in Persia in my life.

I am going on with printing, and really hope that in the autumn I still will be here, so that we may re-start our Friday sessions.

[253] *Nuzhat al-afkâr wa-rawdat al-akhbâr fî dhikr man qâma bi-l-Yaman min al-mulûk al-kibâr wa-l-du'âh al-akhyâr* d'Idrîs 'Imâd al-Dîn b. al-Walîd (m. 872/1468); voir Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 77-82 (n° 271); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 169-75 (n° 2).

With my best wishes for both of you, and expecting to see you in September, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
W. I.

Nearly forgot to ask you to be so kind to tell Prof. Corbin that I just received a letter from V. Minorsky who writes that an expedition in Eastern Tadjikistan found a copy of the *Sargudhasht-i Sayyid-nâ*,[254] unfortunately, incomplete. It is very interesting, of course, but there are hardly many hopes to see it edited soon. Things move there rather slowly.

77. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 22 février 1960*

[Tehran,] 22 February 1960

Dear Dr. Corbin,

The *A'lâmu'n-nubuwwat* has been photographed, and now the question arises as to whether it will be possible to print it, from a single copy. Have you any intentions as to edit it? If you are busy, and it is very difficult to print it in France, do you think it will be worthwhile and useful, if an edition may be entrusted to the same Faris Ahmad here? I know him too little to judge. Please let me know your opinion and advice.

We have great trouble with Aref Tamer who has proved to be a real pig. The whole his plan was to get the book ready (*ar-Riyâd*), and then to receive money for its printing. This was definitely refused to him, and he really became mad — writes insulting letters to me and to his benefactor, the Khoja enthusiast who arranged monthly stipend for him. Ultimately the publication of the *Riyâd* is in suspense at present. He will not get any money from us, and he, surely, will not get them in Beyrut. His benefactor may go to Syria later in the year, and may try to arrange something, but at present he is very angry for insulting letters, and does not write to him.

My dear friends here are helping me: Naficy prints the second edition of the *Gushâyish wa Rahâyish* at the pace of one page in two weeks. Mashkûr, having married the niece of senator Mas'ûdî, has become not only a great scholar, but also an aristocrat. Work is beneath his dignity. I received instructions to get rid of them quietly. Dabîr Siyâqî is a nice

[254] *Sarguzasht-i Sayyidnâ (dar ahwâl wa-waqâ'i' Hasan-i Sabbâh)* de Hasan-i Sabbâh (m. 518/1124); voir Ivanow, *Literature*, p. 157 (n° 471); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 251-54 (n° 1).

man and hard worker, but he has stuck in his local routine, and, apparently having attained perfection, cannot be improved — perfection cannot be improved. Thus the outlook is sad. I have my own work, preparing *Introduction to the study of Ismailism*,[255] and the new edition of the *Guide*, and I have no time for other works. It is exactly to have my hands free for my work that I tried to engage *local talent*. But instead of talent I found only dishonesty and hopeless laziness. So far, that is to say for three consecutive years, I have not come across any real enthusiast of studies and advancement. It is real *irony of fate*: when money was not available, there were many desirous to print something useful. Now I am well supplied, and there is no one worthy of using his *talent*. Have you heard anything from Rahawar[d]? I will not be surprised if he also had no time to look up the Ikhwânu's-safâ', and identify the place from which the *âdam* was taken. Well, this is a rather disappointed letter, but I hope I may have better luck some day.

I hope Mrs. Corbin and yourself are feeling well and fit, although my friends write that weather in Paris is cold and wet. Here it is just the reverse — yesterday we had 27 C[elsius] during the day. Many trees begin to open their buds, and *bîd-i Majnûn* is covered with young leafs. But there is still time to get frost and snow, as the local people say. Let us see.

Please convey my *selams* to Mme Corbin. I am looking forward to *our Fridays* in September, and wish that by that time my books will be ready.

With my best wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

78. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 18 mai 1960*

[Tehran,] 18 May 1960

Dear Dr. Corbin,

It is a long time since I heard from you. I heard from Dr. Mu'în that you were very busy, and that now there is the examinations season, so that you must also be busy. I am writing this so that you may put it in your file of letters *awaiting attention*. I hope that Mme Corbin and yourself are in good health, anticipating the pleasure of the rest during the vacations.

[255] Allusion possible à l'édition de son *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism*; voir *supra* n. 137.

I have already written to you about our having received the photostats both of the *A'lâmu'n-nubuwwat* and of the *Dalâ'ilu'n-nubuwwat*.[256] In my preceding letter I asked you whether you feel inclined to edit one of these — or both. If you want to edit the text, we can publish it in our series. We will find an educated Arab to read the proofs here. As to translations, in case planned, I believe, it will be also possible to arrange by a special permission asked from H[is] H[oliness] the Aghâ Khân, when the time comes. However, even an edition of the text, properly indexed, will be a great achievement. Please let me know your answer in principle. But I must add that both these texts are in single copies. I may try to get second copies for both, or even for one of these, but it is not certain, whether we will succeed, because these books are very rare.

Have you done anything about the *Ta'wîl of the Gulshan-i Râz*? I have received an interesting document — *Chirâgh-nâma* — darwish-Ismaili *risâla* with some influences of the Ali-ilahism. It is only 16 pages, horribly written, with atrocious spelling and meaningless Arabic passages. As *learned* periodicals will probably object to its being *too lengthy* for their funds, I take the advantage of the insistent requests of Mr. Hannibal to give it to his magazine — I forgot what is its title — to print it here and receive 100 reprints which I can send to those interested.[257]

I also completed the *Introduction to the Study of Ismailism* which will be about 200 pages.[258] It is a development from the introduction to the *Guide*, then *B-7* (*A Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism*). I am sure you will find it very *unorthodox* in many respects. I have not started as yet printing, because it has to pass *religious censorship*, which is no joke for the people brought up in the traditional miracle-worked ideas. The new edition of the *Guide* is half ready, but the delay is about diacritical types. The Meyhan swines go on promising, and in these ten months have not managed the few necessary accented types. I wrote to some presses in India and Pakistan, but they are not hurrying with answering. It is almost exasperating but this is how things are moving.

Dr. Mu'in told me that Mr. Rahavar[d] photographed and posted to you the photostats of that booklet on the *Adam Kullî*, which I am almost certain is an extract form the Ikhwânu's-safâ'.

[256] Allusion possible au *Ithbât al-nubuwwa* d'al-Sijistânî.

[257] «Tasawwuf wa Ismâ'îliyya: Chirâgh-nâma», *Revue iranienne d'anthropologie* (*Majalla-yi mardumshinâsî*) 3 (1959), pp. 53-70, résumé en anglais pp. 13-17; Cf. Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 57; *id.*, «Bibliography of W. Ivanow: Addenda and Corrigenda», *IC* 56 (1982), p. 240 (n° Corrigenda 4).

[258] Allusion possible à l'édition revue de son *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism*; *supra* n. 137.

I am fighting the losing battle with universal laziness and dishonesty, alas, and have to give up one intended publication after another, because I alone cannot do the whole programme, concentrating on what I consider to be the most important.

It is possible that if H[is] H[oliness][259] comes in October to Karachi, he may call me for an interview. Then I shall take the advantage and go to Bombay, to bring some of the books and manuscripts which I need. I have somewhere a note which you have given on the manuscripts in which you are interested, and shall try to get them also. If I go — so far as I can see now — my tour will not last more than a month. But just at present it is still difficult to say what effect the dramatic death of Aly Khan will have on the further programme of his son.[260] It may have a sobering effect, and compel him to reduce his social joyrides.

Please convey my best selams and compliments to Mme Corbin. I am looking forward to our *sessions*, which I earnestly hope may be resumed on your return here.

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

79. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 9 mars 1961*

W. Ivanow, University Club, Tehran, Persia

Tehran, 9 March 1961

Dear Professor,

I am very glad to inform you that I just received a letter from my assistant in Bombay that they had received, and at once despatched to me, a copy of the 5th volume of the *Azhâr*. I asked him to inform me first when he receives the books, intending to tell him to post it directly to your address — this would surely save much time. But he obviously forgot about my request, and now it will take about a month to have it here, and re-direct it to you, so that you may get it only by the beginning of May.

I hope that both Mme Corbin and yourself are feeling well and fit. Please convey to Mme Corbin my best *selams*.

[259] Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, Aghâ Khân IV.

[260] Le prince Ali Khan, fils de l'Aghâ Khân III et père de l'Aghâ Khân IV (Karîm al-Husaynî), perdit la vie dans un accident de voiture en 1960; cf. Daftary, *Ismâ'îlîs*, pp. 544-45.

[261] «Tasawwuf wa Ismâ'îliyya: Chirâgh-nâma». Voir bibliographie.

I have nothing more sensational. My article[261] under the wise guidance of Hannibal remains in the state of anabiosis — I have not seen him and new proofs ever since you left. The text of the *Risâla* of Khayrkhwah[262] may be out soon, perhaps within a month. The *36 sahîfas*[263] is also moving. There was a new publication, I think, by Ibn Sina — an offset edition of the *Zâdu'l-Musâfirîn*. I tried to get a copy, but Asadî is gone to India, and I postponed this till his return.

As you surely have read in papers, there were students' demonstrations against alleged malpractices in the elections to the Majlis. The University is still closed in connection with the Ramazan, mourning days, and now impending Nowruz, but it is expected that it will be soon re-opened.

The monotype machines, ordered by the U[niversi]ty press, have arrived in Khurramshahr, but have not yet reached Tehran. It will take some time before they are brought here and installed in the press.

And there is yet another thing for you: you remember, in the text of the *Chihil Dunyâ*[264] there was a name several times used [sh-k-g] obviously in an abusive sense. I have found it recently. It is the name of the king of Kabul who treacherously brought out the death of Rustam, *Shagad*, here obviously used just as in the sense of Judas, an archi-traitor. It is mentioned in the Shahnama in the end of the cycle of Rustam stories.

During the last three months, since you left, I saw very few people, being busy with my publications. The winter was mild and dry, but now cold winds are again blowing.

As soon as I get my reprints from Hannibal,[265] I shall surely post copies of these to you, as also Khayrkhwâh's *Risâla*[266] when it is out. It will be only the Persian text, and a translation will come out later.

[262] *Risâla-i Khayr-i Khwâh*, aussi intitulé *Risâla dar haqîqat-i pîr*, de Khayrkhâh-i Harâtî (m. après 960/1553); voir Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 142-44 (n° 705); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 275-77 (n° 2). L'édition de WI fut publiée en 1961, dans son *Tasnîfât-i Khayr-khwâh-i Herâtî, Some Works of Khayr-khwâh of Herat*. Ed. in the orig. Persian, Tehran: IS, 1961 (ISS A, 13); voir Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 63.

[263] *Sî-u-shish sahîfa*, également intitulé *Sahîfat al-nâzirîn*, de Sayyid Suhrâb Walî Badakhshânî (milieu IX^e^/XV^e^ siècle); voir Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 163-64 (n° 762); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 267-68 (n° 1). Cet ouvrage fut publié en 1961: *Sî-o Shish Sahîfa, Thirty-six Epistles*, de Sayyid Suhrâb Walî Badakhshânî, ed. H. Ujâqi, avec un avant-propos de W. Ivanow, Tehran: IS, 1961 (ISS A, 12); voir Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 62.

[264] *Naql-i chihil dunyâ* ou *Risâla-yi chihil dunyâ*, ouvrage anonyme de la période nizârite, comprenant une chronique religieuse qui glorifie 'Alî comme lumière pré-éternelle et dans laquelle celui-ci décrit au Prophète les quarante mondes qu'il a visités; Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 156-57 (n° 739); Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 352 (n° 271).

[265] De son «Tasawwuf wa Ismâ'îliyya: Chirâgh-nâma». Voir bibliographie.

[266] Allusion à son *Tasnîfât-i Khayr-khwâh-i Herâtî, Some Works of Khayr-khwâh of Herat*, Tehran, 1961 (ISS A, 13); voir Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 63.

I wish both of you good health and peace of mind, and hope that later in the year we may again have some quiet *sessions*, when you come.

Have you heard that L. Massignon is re-printing his *Hallâj*?[267] He wrote to me, asking for some references. I shall be glad to have a copy when it is out — but this will surely not happen soon. I am sure that if he abbreviates it a little, it would be to great advantage of the book.

That is approximately all. I shall write to you if anything of interest turns out.

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

80. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 25 janvier 1962*

W. Ivanow, North-Western Hotel, Beaumont Rd., Karachi 4, Pakistan.

Karachi, 25 January 1962

Dear Professor,

I have arrived in Karachi two weeks ago, but have not yet completely settled. Most probably the address above will for some time remain valid. I hope that Mme Corbin and yourself are feeling well. Here newspapers (which are utterly dull) are full of stories about cold waves in Europe, and prevalence of influenza.

It is almost completely four months since I am busy with this idiotic farce of shifting here. I do not know whether you have seen Karachi, but after Bombay and Tehran it looks so miserable and uncomfortable, a creation of trading businessmen who just wanted to make money, and to go back to Europe. During these four months I had no chance to carry on with my *Guide*, and want now, as soon as I can, to leave everything and concentrate on it. I am what after the last war was called *displaced person*, and being such a *displaced person* implies a multitude of unpleasant experiences. The Skiing Deity[268] ordered his local authorities to find for me a *nice bungalow*, and do everything of buying furniture, engage servants, and so forth. I was horrified — you had experience with Persian servants, but the local are even more difficult to handle, an unexhaustible source of irritation and worries. We saw about 25 places, and could not find such a cozy and nice idyllic home. All were planned to meet the needs

[267] La publication posthume, revue et augmentée, de *La Passion de Husayn Ibn Mansûr Hallâj, martyr mystique de l'Islam, exécuté à Bagdad le 26 mars 922*, (1^ère^ éd., Paris: Geuthner, 2 vols., 1922), parut en 1975 (Paris: Gallimard, 4 vols.).

[268] Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, Aghâ Khân IV.

of a large Indian family, and were quite unsuitable for the purposes such as mine. Days passed in riding to different localities and seeing these *nice* places. Ultimately I revolted, and went on my own, to search for a big room in a hotel, in which I shall be quite free from domestical worries. I found a spacious abode in an old hotel, nothing fashionable and *luxurious*. It is a big room in which I can put six steel cupboards for books, a table to work, and a bed for myself. There is a veranda for receiving guests, and, in old colonial style, a series of *dressing room*, *bath room*, cupboard room, and so forth. The room is in the first floor, and overlooks the railway, so that I have every quarter of an hour, or more frequently, trains rushing past. The passenger trains are loud, but they pass in 15-18 seconds, and after this there is half-an-hour or so of silence, to give nerves a rest. I must tell you, that I am already accustomed to this, and although a light sleeper, I sleep well, and get up rested. In any case it is much better than the continuous noise of motorcars which I had in *Bashgah*.

Of course, it is useless to search for an ideal place, and one has to put up with certain defects. I do not think that on the whole conditions for work will be worse here than in Tehran. The only thing that I am afraid is the advent of the hot season, which will be down on us in about six weeks.

There is a *university* here, quite a new one. I want to go and see their library, as soon as I really settle and evoke a kind of a routine. Unfortunately, I have no one to introduce me there. In India much depends on who introduces one, some one from the local *influential* people. I shall try to find one, and then shall write to you, for information. I am so tired after the last four months, and need rest. Not rest in the sense of doing nothing, but the rest from the continuous worries and hurry, of concentrating on my own work.

I wish for you both good health and peace of mind, and, expecting to get news from you soon, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

81. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 23 mai 1962*

W. Ivanow, North-Western Hotel, Beaumont Rd., Karachi 4, Pakistan.

Karachi, 23 May 1962

Dear Professor,

This is to inform you that I received a copy of the *Zahru'l-Ma'ânî*, made for us in Burhanpur. It is a volume of 645 pp. and also *Hadâ'iqu'l-albâb*,

by Muhammad b. Tâhir b. Ibrâhîm.[269] Please tell me whether you want to see the *Zahru'l-ma'ânî*?

I also have a request to you: please write to me as early as you may manage which manuscripts of the Ismaili Society are with you? I am changing the numeration of our library, and I must know for certain which numbers I have to reserve for those books which are lent out. Is the *Kanz al-walad* with you?

I hope that both of you are feeling well and fit. Please convey my best regards to Madame Corbin — I have not written to her for a long time.

I have also to report that I have completed the typescript of my *Guide*, and now must send it to press. This is not so simple in the stupid place like this. Our *N.I.C.* (president) — *nuisance-in-chief* — is already more than a month on his joyride in Europe, and I am awfully afraid that we may miss paper of foreign make, and will be obliged to wait again for a long time. I am anxious to have the book out by October, because it is rumoured that the Patron[270] is coming in October or November. I want to make everything ready to my return to Tehran — quite enough for me what I have seen here so far.

There is nothing in the way of news — my life is completely monotonous, and I do not come out for several days at a stretch — 3, 4. It is the hot season now, and walking is no pleasure at all. I received a charming letter from Prof. L. Massignon, not long ago — there was nothing special in it. I receive very few letters, and am too busy with the book to enlarge my correspondence. Very little news from Tehran. Of course, it is the season of examinations, but also a hard financial crisis. Teachers in many schools, and apparently professors too, were not paid for more than six months, and their life is terrible, of course. The reason for non-payment is simple: *the budget has not been so far approved* — presumably there are moneys all right, and only approval is required. But the approval depends on the Mejlis, and the Mejlis must be first elected and installed — when? I quite understand these unfortunate people, and feel sincere sympathy with them.

Are you going anywhere for the vacation? It is in Europe and Persia that everybody is going somewhere. Here in India every move is so expensive with the air companies continually raising the fares that only few can afford going on joyrides.

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269 *Risâlat hadâ'iq al-albâb* de Muhammad b. Tâhir al-Hârithî (m. 584/1188); voir Ivanow, *Literature*, pp. 54-61; Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 143-50 (n° 3).

270 Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, Aghâ Khân IV.

If you will be writing to Mr. Max, please convey him my *selam*. I was determined to write to him, but somehow this good intention was continually postponed. I am looking forward to returning to Tehran, and perhaps again resuming our traditional "every second Friday" meetings, discussing what is worth discussing.

I wish you both good health and enjoyable time, and shall be awaiting news from you.

Yours sincerely,
W. I.

82. *Ivanow à Stella Corbin, 1er février 1964*

[Tehran,] 1 February 1964

Dear Madame Corbin,

Many thanks for your very kind letter and the postcard of Mr. F. Max. I am writing to him in a day or two. His handwriting has become practically illegible for me. He is an ambassador now,[271] and ambassadors write only to sign international documents of world-wide importance. I shall ask him that if he favours me with an answer, to have it typed. He surely has a secretary or typist.

First things first: please convey to professor my best wishes, and tell him that I received some manuscripts from Karachi. I have the *Mi'ât* 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6.[272] I shall be very much obliged if Professor may look into his books and see whether volumes 5, 7 and 8, and perhaps another volume 6, are with him. I remember that I have shown, and apparently gave those volumes when received from India. I shall be also very much obliged if Professor may see which other works manuscripts are with him, and give me a note, properly signed, so that I may pass it over to my authorities. If required, I shall post by sea mail those of the *Mi'ât* which Professor requires. I may add that our relations have to some extent become strained with the copyist — the cause is the normal in the East — dishonesty. It will be difficult to find another, but dishonesty is dishonesty.

About the congress in New Delhi.[273] A friend of mine sent me two packets of the cuttings from newspapers, Indian, but all this was production

[271] De 1963 à 1969, Max était ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire à Tegucigalpa (Honduras). Voir *Annuaire diplomatique* 1977, p. 1065.

[272] Allusion aux *Majâlis al-Mu'ayyidiyya* de Mu'ayyid fî l-Dîn al-Shîrâzî, désigné communément sous le terme de *Mi'ât* («centaines»).

[273] Voir *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth International Congress of Orientalists (New Delhi, 4-10th January, 1964)*, New Delhi, 1966, 3 vols.

of professional journalists, quite ignorant of the subject. I sent all to Minorsky who was very much interested, in his innate craving for publicity. Fyzee did not attend, he does not clearly say, why. Knowing him for 35 years, I am sure that the real cause is the lack for as high appreciation of him as he himself has. Most probably he expected to be appointed at least the president of the section of Muhammadan legal matters, but the baboos found a more deserving one, and he became offended. This is merely a suggestion. There was a huge crowd of the *iskollars*, something like 800, with something like 600 papers to read. Foreign delegations were 121 Amurrrricans with their busy dollars, 41 Russians, about as many West Germans, and so forth. Few Pakistanis, few Japs, no Chinese, of course. No revelations whatever, apparently everything is very dull, and the whole ceremony took only four days, 4-8 January. The general impression was that the fruit was too exotic for the country such as India, and very much affected by politics. The next congress is to meet in New York[274] (I, or, of course, if still living, will say: *merci*).

Weather: since December 24 we had awful snowfall, and continuous very cold weather, while thermometre used to rise in day time a little above the freezing point, at night had almost regularly 10-14 C[elsius] below zero. The last few days became al little warmer, but another cold wave is already moving from Adharbayjan. It is the coldest winter in my memory (in Persia). Many places in the South, which never had snow, have now got it. Hundreds were frozen to death, tens of thousands of sheep and cattle perished, communications by roads, rail and air were badly affected, and so forth. Nothing special about the University news. On account of the weather and now Ramazan, lectures go very irregularly. So far there were no troubles or closings of the University. Many technical reforms were proposed and are discussed. Has the book of Professor come out?[275] Many people ask me, but Rahawar[d] is still apparently absent, I have not seen him.

[274] Le XXVII[e] Congrès international des orientalistes (13-19 août 1967) eut lieu à Ann Arbor, Michigan; voir *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh International Congress of Orientalists (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 13th-19th August 1967)*, ed. D. Sinor, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971.

[275] En 1964, parurent trois ouvrages de HC: Mollâ Sadrâ Shîrâzî, *Le Livre des pénétrations métaphysiques (Kitâb al-Mashâ'ir)*. Texte arabe publié avec la version persane de Badi'ol-Molk Mirza 'Emadoddawleh. Traduction française et annotations, Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1964 (Bibliothèque iranienne, 10); *Histoire de la philosophie islamique. 1. Des origines jusqu'à la mort d'Averroës (1198)*. Avec la collaboration de S.H. Nasr et O. Yahya, Paris: Gallimard, 1964; *Allocution prononcée au Khângâh Nimatollâhi*, Téhéran: Publications du Khângâh Nimatollâhi, 1964. Voir «Biblioraphie générale», n[os] 165, 166, 169.

In February there will be several performances of the artists of the Comédie Française, there are various exhibitions of arts, etc. But, thanks God, there was no other kind of excitement and events. People are more thinking of the high prices and scarcity of meat. Frontiers are open to free import of cattle. No fish from the Caspian, and almost nothing from the Gulf, it is consumed there on the spot in view of the absence of meat.

I wish yourself and Professor best health and good time. Will be very glad to get news from you occasionally. Am looking forward to see *Fridays* again renewed, but it will certainly require long patience before they re-open!

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
W. I.

Asadi has returned not long ago, but his books have not yet arrived. He is going in March to Kuwait and India, to buy books, and expects to return by the end of April.

83. *Ivanow à Stella Corbin, 6 janvier 1965*

[Téhéran,] 6 January 1965

Dear Madame Corbin,

Please excuse me for delaying the customary *season's greetings*, as the British call it. As I told you at the farewell *session*, I intended to be absent only for ten to twelve days. But in fact I returned on the *29th*! I went to Bombay, and thence to Karachi, where there was a congress of Ismaili delegates (Aghakanis only, of course), 400 persons, from different Asiatic countries and even some from Africa. The organisation was disgusting, a complete mess. The A[ghâ Khân] was receiving one party after another, and the delegates talked and talked and talked, quite ignoring that their colleagues were waiting for hours. I had five appointments, all telephoned as: please be at ..... *sharp*. Of course, I was well in advance of the time, but had to wait for several hours only to hear that H[is] H[oliness] is leaving for a pompous dinner, or a certain public function, etc. But I, nevertheless, after all have had an interview, in a very odd, though romantic way, quite useless in fact. On the 25th, Christmas day, I received a call, saying that H[is] H[oliness] wants me to be present at *midnight, sharp*. This sounds mystical and mysterious. I came at 11-30, and found about sixty weary devotees sitting and still waiting for an interview. I joined the vigil — fortunately finding a place next to an old friend of mine, Mrs. Hamida Currimbhoy, an intelligent Khoja lady, still of real beauty,

despite white locks in her black hair, the chairman of a ladies' charitable Ismaili commitee. She came to say good buy to the God. The mystical hour passed, it was 1 a.m., then 2 a.m., then about 3 a.m. A messenger called me out and said that H[is] H[oliness] wants me to accompany him to the airport, and thus my interview should be *on wheels*. I was invited to sit in the car and wait for H[is] H[oliness]. There was a big crowd of devotees from Hunza, Kabul, Hezara, from Iraq, etc., and blessing was going on. At long last the Aghakhan got into his seat, and we started. It was possible to see even in the darkness that he was deadly tired (he got at 4 a.m. in the morning and thus had a working day of almost exactly 24 hours). I could see that he avoided leaning backwards, because most probably he would fall asleep at once. You can well see, what was the *interview* in such conditions! I had a bundle of important matters to discuss, such as my planned retirement. But what use it was to open the mouth when you would have to address a man who with difficulty struggles with the overpowering sleep. So we were exchanging uncommittal sentences, interrupted by pauses when he obviously was losing the thread. Ultimately we reached the destination, alighted, he went to take his seat in the plane, and I travelled back to the city, to my hotel. Thus 23 days were spent for this! It would have been mockery if I would not have seen it with my own eyes. Everything is good when it is done properly, but this show was really ridiculous, although it cost him several hundred thousand rupees (tumans). Of course, it is always easier to criticise than do something, but here absurdity was leaping to the eye. I can see you laughing, but for me it was a matter of great irritation. I returned after four a.m., but could not sleep. To write to him, which I tried to avoid, includes much chance that my letter will be put off *to think over*, and forgotten. Of course, nothing can be done — so has it happened.

Thus you may see that I had to have plenty of time, but most unfortunately I have not taken with me a typewriter, and thus could not timely send my season's greetings to friends. Besides, I expected that I should leave not later than the fifteenth, at once after the first appointment which was to be on the 14th. So, please accept my belated greetings, for yourself and the Professor. I would send you a christmas card, but here they are so dull. My young Japanese neighbour, a sweet girl who stay in the bashgah, presented me with a Japanese C[hristmas] card — what difference, how much of real artistic taste! It is in old and silver against black background. If you are interested, permit me to send it to you.

With my best wishes for both of you, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
W. I.

84. ***Ivanow à Stella Corbin, 13 mars 1965***

[Tehran,] 13 March 1965

Dear Madame Corbin,

Received yesterday the two copies of the *Mercure de France* which you had so kindly posted to me.[276] I owe you about 15 francs, which I shall refund to you when you, *in shâ'a'l-lâh*, come here in September. Many thanks! Please convey my *selams* and thanks to Professor. It is a very nice article and I am posting a copy to the Divinity,[277] let him see that while *his spiritual children* did nothing whatever to mark this historical date in their history, in the remote France it was not overlooked. I hope that he will not take it as a reproach. Only why in the article there is systematically *Hassan*, with double s?

Here we have the usual excitement of preparations to *Nowrooz*, or, rather, to getting out from it. Everybody asks me: where are you going for Nowrooz? And they are disappointed when I say that I am not going anywhere. Here, in the *bashgah*, the administration plans a tour to Shiraz — to take the whole population of the *bashgah* free of charge. I, of course, will *thank* them. As I certainly told you long ago at one of our *sessions*, I visited Shiraz twice: in 1914 and 1928, both times staying there more than two months. I have not seen the present, modern, Shiraz, but must confess that I have no *appetite* to see it. If I would have time and money, I would rather go to an old place out of the main roads and free from tourists.

We have again a hot winter, and even since two days a tremendous haze of dust, with no breeze at all. The dust was raised by a storm in Adherbayjan, and what meterologists call a *cushion* was formed, exactly over the locality in which Tehran is situated. It is very unpleasant, of course.

In the university things are apparently going as usual for the season — as you know, I have nothing to do with this. Holiday, holidays, holidays and holidays. Prices go up. Almost no vegetables. Fruits — bad oranges and rotting bananas. About a month ago I saw Dr. Mu'în — he recovered from his illness. Formerly, there was no more of the meeting of the learned ones, but now, with taxis' fare gone to two tumans each end, people cease to be *generous*.

[276] H. Corbin, «Huitième centenaire d'Alamût», *Mercure de France* 353 (1965), pp. 285-304; voir «Bibliographie générale», n° 176.

[277] Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, Aghâ Khân IV.

I wish to hope that both of you are feeling well and fit, despite cold and snow in Europe. My European friends write so little under this plea. But here the people feel afraid that again there will be scarcity of fruits and vegetables this summer, and such a perspective is by no means gladenning.

I am working as usual, getting up at 5 a.m., sleeping 12-30 to 2 p.m., and going to bed at ten. I impatiently await the Nowrooz tour to Shiraz, when all, including the *laughing ladies*, will be gone, and some silence will reign.

Please convey my best wishes and thanks to Professor!

Yours very sincerely,
W. I.

85. ***Ivanow à Stella Corbin, 7 juin 1965***

[Tehran,] 7 June 1965

Dear Madame Corbin,

I was delighted to receive your very kind letter of the 21 May, which I read with two different feelings, one the envy of your having visited Montségur, and another that you travelled in that picturesque part of France, near the Pyrénées. I must tell you that, however strangely, a connection has been formed in my early childhood with that part of the world. I was between five and six years old, and we had a family which was very friendly with us, Russian husband and his wife who was a French lady, apparently connected with that part of France. They had a son, of my age, with whom I was a great friend. It was apparently in one of Christmas seasons, with the usual exchange of presents, that the lady presented me with a few sheets of what is in English called *transfers*, pictures of thin paper, which children stick on paper, and remove the coarse paper by soaking it in water. I have not seen them for ages, and do not know whether the modern children use them. The pictures which they contained were those of the France near the Pyrénées. Their colours, feeling of bright sun, were full of fascination for me, in long, cold, dark semi-Arctic Petersburg winter, and I liked them immensely. So now, reading your letter, those long forgotten feelings became revived, and that early fascination of the picturesque South: hills going to the horizon, ancient buildings, an aqueduct, Southern trees, etc. I wonder whether they are in reality as fascinating as my childish impressions of them.

You write of the *Ismaili professor Jawâd*. May I offer you an advice, even uninvited, but based on my 55 years' experience of the East? Always

remember that the Oriental *gentlemen* are immensely inclined to ostentatiousness and imposture, and in this they have no feeling of measure, proportion or tact. The *professor* of Karachi is no professor at all, meaning a professor of the university, in which there are only *four* qualified professors, all scientists, for 2000 students. Jawâd Masqatî is himself no Isma'îlî but a *Twelver*, Shi'ite just as ordinary Persians, knows nothing about Ismailism, never studied it, and is a teacher of Arabic in a Khoja school. He was a native of Muttra,[278] a fishing village near Masqat, on the Persian Gulf, on the other side of the promontory. There are some khojas, Persians, Baluchis and Arabs. Jawâd was sent to Nejef for study, but was expelled for drunkeness and bad behaviour. I had the pleasure of having him attached to the Ismaili Society, with request of utilising his native knowledge of Arabic. It was a Herculean job — he was immensely lazy. Instead of coming at ten o'clock sharp, he would come 11-30, then will go for lunch, returning about 4-30, he would miss several days, and so forth. After many warnings I dismissed him after three months. The mentality of these people is that Europeans may be no fools, but they are hopelessly ignorant about things Oriental, and will readily believe all lies or nonsense which one tells them. Such things you can experience every day many times. And then, when the strangers discover the truth, they become *disillusioned* in the East! The best rule, when you meet a *professor* of this kind, or even an Oriental professor generally, do not believe about 95 percent of what he says, until you have ascertained that there is some truth in what he says. They are inspired liars, tell lies whether it is necessary or not, *in and out of season*, but are hopelessly helpless technically in this *art*. Excuse me for my preaching. And about the *Ismaili cultural centres* in Europe. This is something like inspectors of students, mostly well-to-do people with good *influence* who get such sinecures simply to pose as something. Of course, few of them have anything to do with *culture*, just as African trading *counts* have nothing to do with aristocracy and aristocratism — simply successful shopkeepers.

We have heat, working and sleeping with table fans, plus an additional nuisance — they repair the avenue Riza Shah, with bulldozers and various machines working with horrible noise. It is nearly exasperating, because it is impossible to keep windows open.

Please convey my *selams* to the Professor. I am looking forward for your return in September. I do not know as yet the programme of the

[278] Matrah, grande ville et port important du sultanat d'Oman; cf. C.H. Allen, Jr., «Matrah», *EI*^{2}, vol. 6, p. 843.

Divinity.[279] But with the situation as it is, one may expect very bad news if Pakistan helped by China would attack the Indians. Of course, Persia will be hardly directly involved, but if there is a fire in the building next door, sparks fall on the roof.

My best wishes to both of you, of good health, good time, and good success.

Yours very sincerely,
W. I.

86. *Ivanow à Stella Corbin, 11 juillet 1965*

[Tehran,] 11 July 1965

Dear Madame Corbin,

Just read a review of the book, published by General Arfa' whom you wished to contact myself through that teacher of <...> Bell. All that time I could not go with him, he promised <...> again, but never turned up. I shall try to find out whether < ... > Arfa', is in Tehran, and will ring him up. If he wishes, I shall be glad to go to see him and have a chat in Russian. I must confess, however, that a few retired *great names*, whom I happened to meet, were rather not enthusiasm-provoking varieties. Let us hope that his may be an exception. I am posting the cutting to you here. It is the usual Oriental way — the reviewer does not care about the positive side, contribution to knowledge, of the book, but concentrates his mind on defects and shortcomings. Especially such degenerate nation as the Indians. Finding 8 misprints in the book of 300 pages, he declares: *sab ghalti hay* (all through are mistakes). But when he himself writes something, you will easily find something like 35-40 misprints and bad errors on every page.

How are you and Professor? I read that is is now warm in Paris. Important: are you planning to go out in August, just as the majority Parisians do? I am much interested in this because, if you do not object, I was going to ask your kind permission to send you a letter, addressed to the Divine Being,[280] to post it in Paris. I do not like to post it at his fixed address — Gstaad in Switzerland, because there is some *leakage* in his secretarial staff, and letters which some people do not like become *lost*, certainly by postal service. And it is for me very important that the letter should reach.

[279] Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, Aghâ Khân IV.
[280] Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, Aghâ Khân IV.

You cannot imagine how dirty things are going in the *community!* Theft, embezzlement, swindling, I am 35 years in contact with Khojas, but have never seen such state of things, obviously because of the laziness and stupidity of the *head*, when the subordinates come out of control. Please be so kind to let me know whether you permit me to send that letter, and whether it may come in the beginning of August, and find you in Paris.

I am working, found something interesting, but it is hot, and, besides, the repairs of the road, Kh. Shah Reza, before our windows is still in progess — a very unpleasant thing. Great difficulty with taxis, they are supposed to charge on tuman, but do not like it. If you are in hurry, it is necessary to pay extra.

Wishing you and Professor every thing of the best, and looking forward to our possible *sessions* in September, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
W. I.

87. *Ivanow à Henry Corbin, 26 janvier 1966*

W. Ivanow, University Club, Tehran, Iran (Persia).

Tehran, 26 January 1966

Dear Professor,

To-day received your book on the *shathiyyat.*[281] I am very glad that it has been published. As soon as I have time, I shall read it. Many thanks.

It was in today's newspapers here that in September there will be a sort of a congress of Iranologists in Tehran,[282] under the presidentship of H[is] M[ajesty] the Shah. No date is still mentioned. I am sure that you will take part in it, and shall be very glad when our *sessions* on Friday may be revived.

[281] Allusion à l'édition, par HC, de l'ouvrage de Rûzbihân Baqlî Shîrâzî, *Sharh-i Shathîyât. Commentaire sur les paradoxes des soufis*. Texte persan pub. avec une intr. en fr. et un index, Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1966 (Bibliothèque iranienne, 12); cf. «Bibliographie générale», n° 179. Sur Rûzbihân Baqlî Shîrâzî, voir aussi H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien...* III. *Les fidèles d'amour. Shî'isme et soufisme*, Paris, 1972, pp. 7-146; P. Ballanfat, *Aspects de la pensée de Rûzbehân Baqlî, soufi à Shîrâz au XIIème siècle*, Paris, 1995 (thèse dactyl.); C.W. Ernst, *Rûzbihân Baqlî: Mysticism and the Rhetoric of Sainthood in Persian Sufism*, Londres, 1996 (Curzon Sufi Series, 4).

[282] Le Premier Congrès des études iraniennes eut finalement lieu à Téhéran en septembre 1970; voir Ch.-H. de Fouchécour, «Premier congrès d'Iranologie», *SIr* 1 (1972), p. 141; également *Irânshinâsî* 2 I (1970), numéro spécial en souvenir du congrès, et «Communication de M. Iraj Afshar au Premier Congrès National sur les études iraniennes, tenu à Téhéran en septembre 1970», *SIr* 1 (1972), pp. 147-54.

Generally speaking, there is nothing of interest. All the time was filled with unending celebrations of religious holidays of all descriptions. Only yesterday the celebrations of the *'Id-i Fitr* ended, but there is tomorrow yet another civilian holiday, with illumination, etc. It is really fatiguing to have so much of it.

No interesting letters, no new books on the market. But Asadî is going during the Nowrooz holidays to India and from there to Beirut, and hopes to bring something new. I do not think he may bring much from India, with her wars.

I am working as usual, and do not think that I may have a chance to go to India or for an interview with the Divine Being[283] elsewhere this year before late in the autumn.

Please convey my best regards to Madame Corbin. When I write the next time, I shall tell an amusing ancedote, Chistmas plus exotics.

Wishing both of you good health and enjoyable time, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
W. I.

88. *Ivanow à Stella Corbin, 22 février 1966*

[Tehran,] 22 February 1966

Dear Madame Corbin,

Many thanks for your kind memory and the letter of 15 February. It is very kind of you to write about the novel of Paoustovsky,[284] which you liked so much. I never read anything by him, and do not remember whether I have seen his name (which is sounding strange, as a non-Russian). Have you ever read Tolstoi's *Childhood* and *Adolescence*?[285] I am sure that these are translated into French, and that you would like these. Both are usually read by teenagers, but when an adult re-reads these, he may discover many things which he had not noticed in young days. I shall try to find the novel, read it, and write to you my impressions.

Please convey my *selams* to the Professor, and tell him that I received sad news — the man who copied for us Ismaili books has died. So far I do not know whether a substitute may be found, or we have to put a full

[283] Shâh Karîm al-Husaynî, Aghâ Khân IV.

[284] Konstantin Georgevich Paustovskij (1892-1968), écrivain russe.

[285] *Detstvo* [Enfance] fut la première œuvre publiée (en 1852) par Léon Tolstoï (1828-1910), qui y adjoignit plus tard *Otrochestvo* [Adolescence] et *Junost'* [Jeunesse], que WI semble avoir ici à l'esprit.

stop to the copying. And please convey yet another news — of a different kind. I received several letters from the former Asiatic Museum in the former Petersburg. It looks as if the things have very much changed there. They write that in two years' time, in 1968, there will be a grand celebration of the 150 years anniversary of the late Asiatic Museum, which has been now re-named as *Institute of the Peoples of Asia*. It is really stupid — is it an institute for the study of Ethnology, or Anthropology, or political affairs? It is that obnoxious craze for renaming old institutions, which is such a glaring expression of mental shabiness.[286]

I think, there will be invitations of the style like that of the celebrations of the jubilees of Bîrûnî or Avicenna, and, if so, you may perhaps be invited to Petersburg. Only I hope they will be so intelligent, as to fix it in summer or early autumn. Perhaps I also may be invited. They have published a sort of an alphabetic detailed inventory list of 4680 items of the Persian manuscripts only, out of which my collections number 613 Persian items (the Arabic not yet catalogued, but will amount up to the same figure).[287] A special Guide to the A[siatic] Museum is being prepared, in two vols. I am sure that the Professor may see the Persian catalogue — the administration has certainly sent copies to the Bibliothèque Nationale and to Sorbonne. Of course, the text is in Russian, but the titles of the works are in Arabic script, and arranged in an alphabetical order, so that it is easy to find what one looks for. The librarian asks me to send them an article on the study of the varieties of Persian scripts, and I am preparing it.

As soon as these depressing Christmas holidays have ended, I had a continuous *avalanche* of books, letters, visitors, local and foreign, so that I could not think of starting to write my promised biography.[288] I cannot

[286] Lors de la création de l'Institut d'Orientalisme de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS, en 1930, le Musée Asiatique fut rattaché à ce dernier. En 1950, l'Institut fut déménagé de Léningrad à Moscou, où il est demeuré depuis. Dix ans plus tard, il fut rebaptisé Institut des Peuples de l'Asie, avant de retrouver son appellation initiale en 1970. Voir M. Atkin, «Soviet and Russian Scholarship on Iran», *Iranian Studies* 20 (1987), pp. 231-32. Une conférence commémorative fut organisée dès 1964, pour la célébration du 250e anniversaire de la bibliothèque de l'Académie des Sciences; voir M.S. Filippov, éd., *250 let Biblioteke Akademii Nauk SSSR. Sbornik dokladov jubilejnoj nauchnoj konferencii, 25-26 nojabrja 1964g*, Moscou: Nauka, 1965.

[287] *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta Narodov Azii AN SSSR. (Kratkij alfavitnyj katalog)*, ed. N.D. Mikluho-Maklaj, Moscou: Nauka, 1964. Ce catalogue en deux volumes contient une liste alphabétique de 2976 manuscrits «persans et tadjiks». Voir Roper, éd., *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pp. 685-86.

[288] C'est probablement à cette biographie que Fyzee pensait, lorsqu'il écrivit: «He [WI] wrote a characteristic, albeit pungent, pamphlet on his reminiscences as an orientalist; but as it is in Russian, it is unfortunately not available to those who cannot read that language». A.A.A. Fyzee, «Wladimir Ivanow (1886-1970)», *JASB* NS 45-46 (1970-1971), p. 93. WI compléta cette esquisse d'autobiographie sur son expérience d'orientaliste, vers la fin de sa vie, en 1968. Farhad Daftary projette d'en publier une version anglaise annotée, précédée d'une introduction sur la contribution pionnière de WI aux études ismaéliennes et d'annexes comportant sa biographie et une réédition de quelques-uns de ses articles encore pertinents.

work as you advise, to write piecemeal between my other preoccupations, it is simply not in my character. When I start a work, I cannot interrupt it, except, of course, when compelled to. Every one has his ways.

I have found a very useful book. You may be surprised — *Larousse* 1965! When I have insomia, I switch on light and read it. The caleidoscope of names and faces has a powerful distracting effect, so that all sorts of black thoughts become expelled and some kind of peace of mind descends. And then I sleep till morning. A really useful book! What a pity that neither in Russian nor in English there is something like this!

Well, we have only about three weeks till the most unpleasant time — Nowrooz holidays, when everything becomes upset. This is in addition to paying *tips* — I think it will be about 200 tumans. The general *tax* in the Bâshgâh alone is T[uman]s 5. In good old days, the description of which you liked in the novel, there also were holiday *bonuses*, but they were not so depressing.

Once more thank you for your kindness. Please convey my best wishes to the Professor.

Yours most sincerely,
W. I.

89. *Ivanow à Stella Corbin, 14 juillet 1966*

[Tehran,] 14 July 1966

Dear Madame Corbin,

I promised to you to keep yourself informed about the impending congress of Iranologists in Tehran. Here are the latest news. Yesterday I received an official invitation to take part in it, in French. It will be open on August 31, and will last till September 7. I am almost finally certain that you have already received the invitation, because these were sent earlier than to the *residents*, some Persian professors have not yet received it. The purpose is "réunir les sources nécessaires pour la rédaction d'une vaste Histoire Générale de L'Iran." More than a hundred "Iranologues renommés de différents pays" have been invited. About fifty of Persians.

(Thank God that they have not invited all the Tehrani *doctors*.) "Les sessions du Congrès auront lieu matin et après-midi… Les commissions du Congrès seront suivantes: histoire politique, archéologie, philosophie, religion, littérature, science, arts, évolution sociale et économique." Papers are invited, and should be submitted at the latest on the 15th of August, to enable them to translate and cyclostyle them. (I am not sending anything — have no time.)

As I wrote to you already, I am preparing myself to retirement, and want to complete and print my *last Ismaili book*,[289] so that no time is left for *triffles*.

I shall be so glad to hear that you and Professor are coming, and we shall start our *sessions* of the autumn a little earlier this year. I may go for about a fortnight to India and Pakistan in the end of October, *in shâ'a'l-lâh*.

We have locally heat when breeze stops, and very unpleasant nights, but, on the whole, this year was still not so bad. Of course, a *panka* is absolute necessity.

Please be so kind to remind Professor to let me know the titles of the manuscripts, belonging to the Ismaili Society, which are with him. I was requested to ascertain all Ismaili Society's books lent to scholars.

No special local news otherwise — it is vacations time, many have gone out, both professors and the charming ladies in the *Bâshgâh*. Mlle Simon[290] has gone to Paris, and I asked her, in case she sees you, to give my *selams* to you.

Wishing both of you good health and good time, I remain,

Yours most sincerely,

W. I.

[289] La dernière publication ismaélienne de WI fut son édition des *Tasnîfât* de Khayrkhâh-i Harâtî, Téhéran, 1961 (ISS A, 13); voir Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 63. Son ultime publication fut son édition revue et corrigée du *Guide: Ismaili Literature. A Bibliographical Survey*. Voir bibliographie. À cette époque, WI travaillait aussi probablement à une traduction anglaise des mêmes *Tasnîfât* de Khayrkhâh Harâtî, restée cependant inédite; voir Ivanow, *Literature*, p. 144, où il annonce qu'il espère faire bientôt paraître des traductions de la *Risâla* et du *Qitâ'ât* de Khayrkhâh. Cf. aussi Daftary, «Bibliography», n° I 66.

[290] Brigitte Simon est aujourd'hui Maître de conférences de persan à l'INALCO, Paris.

ANNEXES

Abbréviations

AO	=	*Acta Orientalia*
BEO	=	*Bulletin d'Études Orientales*
BSMES	=	British Society of Middle Eastern Studies
BSOAS	=	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
EI[1]	=	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edition
EI[2]	=	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New edition
EIR	=	*Encyclopaedia Iranica*
HC	=	Henry Corbin
IBLA	=	*Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes*
IC	=	*Islamic Culture*
IJMES	=	*International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
IOS	=	*Israel Oriental Studies*
IRA	=	Islamic Research Association, Bombay
IRAS	=	Islamic Research Association Series
IS	=	The Ismaili Society, Bombay
ISS	=	The Ismaili Society series
JA	=	*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS	=	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JASB	=	*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JBBRAS	=	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRAS	=	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSS	=	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
MASB	=	*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
MES	=	*Middle Eastern Studies*
MIDEO	=	*Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales du Caire*
MME	=	*Manuscripts of the Middle East*
NS	=	New Series
OM	=	*Oriente moderno*
REI	=	*Revue des études islamiques*
SI	=	*Studia Islamica*
SIr	=	*Studia Iranica*
WI	=	Wladimir Ivanow
ZDMG	=	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

RÉPERTOIRE BIOGRAPHIQUE

ARFA
Le Général Hassan Arfa' (1895-1983), de mère anglo-russe et de père iranien, servit pendant trente-trois ans comme officier de carrière dans l'armée iranienne, avant d'être nommé ambassadeur d'Iran en Turquie (1958-1961) puis au Pakistan (1961-1962). Voir sur lui H. ARFA, *Under five Shahs*, London: John Murray, 1964; F. AZIMI, «Arfa, Hasan», *EIR*, vol. 2, pp. 384-85; E.J. HOOGLUND, «Arfa, Hasan», *Encyclopaedia of the Modern Middle East*, ed. R.S. Simon, P. Mattar, R.W. Bulliet, New York: Macmillan, 1996, vol. 1, pp. 213-14.

ASADÎ
Muhammad Hussein Asadî (Librairie Asadî, Meydân-e Bahârestân, Téhéran) était le distributeur de l'IS pour le Moyen-Orient.

BABINGER
Franz Babinger (1891-1967), orientaliste allemand, contraint de quitter son pays entre 1934 et 1948. Sur lui, voir H.-J. KISSLING, «Franz Babinger (1891-1967)», *Südostforschungen* (Munich) 26 (1967), pp. 375-79; du même auteur, «Franz Babinger (15.1.1895-23.6.1967)», *Jahres-Chronik Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München 1966/67* (Munich) 1968, pp. 17-19; H.W. DUDA, «Franz Babinger», *Allmanach der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienne) 118 (1968), pp. 317-23; «Franz Babinger», *Studia et acta orientalia* 7 (1968), pp. 233-35. G. GRIMM, «Franz Babinger [...]» *Die Welt des Islams* 38 (1998), pp. 286-333.

BARTHOLD
Vassily Vladimirovich Barthold (1869-1930), orientaliste russe; voir sur lui M. DOSTOJEVSKIJ, «W. Barthold. Versuch einer Charakteristik», *Die Welt des Islams* 12 (1930-1931), pp. 89-136; Y. BREGEL, «Barthold and Modern Oriental Studies», *IJMES* 12 (1980), pp. 385-403; B.V. LUNIN, «The life and works of academian Vasilii V. Bartol'd», *Soviet anthropology and archeology* 9 II (1970), pp. 91-126.

BENVENISTE
Émile Benveniste (1902-1976), linguiste français, directeur de l'Institut d'Études Iraniennes (1962-69). Sur lui, voir G. LAZARD, «Émile Benveniste (1902-1976)», *JA* 265 (1977), pp. 1-7; Ph. GIGNOUX, «Notice nécrologique. Émile Benveniste (1902-1976)», *SIr* 6 (1977), pp. 129-33; M. Dj. MOÏNFAR, «Bibliographie des travaux d'Émile Benveniste», *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Émile Benveniste*, Paris, 1975 (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris, 70). Sur l'Institut d'Études Iraniennes, voir aussi B. HOURCADE, «Iranian Studies in France», pp. 10-11.

BLACHÈRE
Régis Blachère (1900-1973), orientaliste français. Sur lui, voir D. COHEN, «Régis Blachère (1900-1973)», *JA* 262 (1974), pp. 1-10; P. COURCELLE, «Allocution à

l'occasion de la mort de M. Régis Blachère», *Comptes rendus des séances* (Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres) (1973), pp. 413-15; N. ELISSÉEFF, «Régis Blachère (1900-1973)», *Arabica* 22 (1975), pp. 1-5.

BRUNSCHVIG
Robert Brunschvig (1901-1990), orientaliste français. Sur lui, voir A. DEMEERSEMAN, «Un maitre de pensée (Robert Brunschvig) et son disciple dans 'Études d'islamologie'», *IBLA* 141 (1978), pp. 33-56; A.-M. TURKI, «Robert Brunschvig (1901-1990)», *SI* 71 (1990), pp. 5-10.

CORBIN
Henry Corbin (1903-1978) était un philosophe, éveillé par Etienne Gilson à la pensée médiévale et poussé par lui vers l'orientalisme (1925). Plusieurs rencontres marquèrent sa carrière de bibliothécaire (aux Manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque nationale) et de philosophe: celle de Louis Massignon qui l'invita à travailler sur Sohravardi (1929), celle de Martin Heidegger dont il fut le premier traducteur français et celle de Hellmut Ritter à Istanbul pendant la Deuxième guerre mondiale. C'est là que Corbin publia ses premières éditions des œuvres de Sohravardi et qu'il conçut le grand projet d'un institut d'orientalisme en Iran, qui vit le jour en 1946. Résident permanent en Iran pendant quelques années puis y revenant fidèlement plusieurs mois par an, HC collabora avec des savants iraniens, dont Mohammad Mo'in, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Jalâloddin Âshtiyâni, à la publication de textes philosophiques et mystiques persans et arabes restés enfouis dans les manuscrits. L'ismaélisme, dont il fit connaître des textes majeurs retrouvés en Iran et en Turquie, fut, avec la théosophie shi'ite duodécimaine, le soufisme et le sheykhisme, un des centres d'intérêt les plus féconds d'une vie enthousiaste et très productive de professeur à l'École pratique des hautes études et de conférencier. Sur lui, voir notamment Ch.-H. de FOUCHÉCOUR, «Henry Corbin (1903-1978)», *JA*, 267, 3-4 (1979), pp. 231-237; Ch. JAMBET, ed., *Henry Corbin*, Paris, L'Herne, 1981; *id. La logique des Orientaux. Henry Corbin et la science des formes*, Paris, Seuil, 1983; E. MEYER, «Tendenzen der Schiaforschung: Corbins Auffassung von der Schia», *ZDMG*, Suppl. III/1 (1977), pp. 551-558; D. SHAYEGAN, *Henry Corbin: la topographie spirituelle de l'islam iranien*, Paris, Éditions de la Différence, 1990; D. SHAYEGAN, «Corbin, Henry», *EIR*, tome 6, 3 (1993) pp. 268-272.

DABÎR SIYÂQÎ
Mohammad Dabîr Siyâqî, savant iranien, auteur, notamment, d'une édition critique du *Safar-nâme* de Nâser-e Khosrow (Téhéran, 1354/1976 (Anjomân-e âthâr-e melli, 120). Pour une liste de ses publications, voir Kh. Moshâr, *Mo'allefîn*, vol. 5, pp. 468-69; Khalkhâlî, *Tadhkira*, vol. 2, pp. 87-92.

DÂNESH-PAZHÛH
Muhammad-Taqî Dânesh-Pazhûh (1911-1996) érudit et bibliographe iranien, spécialiste des manuscrits arabes et persans. Voir sur lui, Ch.-H. de FOUCHÉCOUR «Mohammad Taqi Dânèche-Pajouh. Membre d'honneur de la Société Asiatique (1911-1996)», *JA* 285 (1997), pp. 23-30.

ELISSÉEFF st. 25.11.1997
Nikita Elisséeff (né en 1915) fut de 1945 à 1966 secrétaire-général de l'Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas (IFÉAD). Voir R. AVEZ, *L'Institut Français de Damas au Palais Azem (1922-1946) à travers les archives. Témoignages et documents présentés par l'Institut Français de Damas*, Damas, 1993, p. 326. Sur l'IFÉAD, voir aussi N. ELISSÉEFF, «L'œuvre scientifique de l'Institut Français de Damas 1930-1960», *BEO* 16 (1958-1960), pp. 101-18; id., «L'Activité de l'Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas (1922-1966)», *Soixante-dix ans de la coopération scientifique à l'Institut français de Damas. Actes du colloque (Novembre 1992)*, Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1995, pp. 19-28.

ELISSÉEFF
Serge Elisséeff (1889-1975), japonisant français d'origine russe. Il s'enfuit en 1920 de Russie en Finlande, avec sa femme, Vera Eiche (m. 1971) et ses deux fils Nikita et Vadime, pour échapper aux répercussions de la révolution bolchevique. Il gagna ensuite Paris, où il enseigna la littérature japonaise, à la Sorbonne. En 1932, il occupait une chaire de la section des sciences de la religion à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Il passa les années 1932-1933 à Harvard comme *visiting professor*, avant d'être nommé professeur de langues extrême-orientales à l'Université de Harvard (1934-1957), directeur du Harvard Yenching Institute (1934-1956), puis chef du Department for Far Eastern Languages, Harvard University (1936-1956). En 1957, il revint à Paris, où il enseigna encore pendant quelques années à la Sorbonne. Voir «Serge Elisséeff. Memorial Minute Adopted by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Harvard University. April 12, 1977», *Harvard University Gazette*, vol. 72, no. 33, May 27, 1977; E.O. REISCHAUER, «Serge Elisséeff», *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20 (1957), pp. 1-35; P. AKAMATSU, «Serge Élisséeff (1889-1975)», *JA* 263 (1975), pp. 205-10. Vadime Elisséeff suivit plus tard les traces de son père et devint un spécialiste de la Chine et du Japon. En 1952, il succéda à René Grousset au poste de conservateur du Musée Cernuschi. Sur Vadime Elisséeff, cf. M. SOYMIÉ, «Les études chinoises», *JA* 261 (1973), pp. 234, 243 et pour une liste de ses publications, voir *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies 1941-1965*, ed. Association of Asian Studies, Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall, 1969, Author Bibliography, vol. 1, p. 692.

FALSAFÎ
Nasr Allâh Falsafî, savant iranien; voir sur lui Khalkhâlî, *Tadhkira*, vol. 2, pp. 257-60; Borqa'î, *Sukhanwarân*, vol. 1, pp. 184-85; Kh. Moshâr, *Mo'allefîn*, vol. 6, pp. 585-89.

FYZEE
Asaf Ali Asghar Fyzee (1899-1981), savant égyptien. Voir sur lui I.K. PONAWALA, «In memoriam A.A.A. Fyzee, 1899-1981», *IJMES* 14 (1982), p. 418; T. MAHMOOD, «A tribute to Asaf A.A. Fyzee», *Islamic and Comparative Law Quarterly* 1 (1981), pp. 271-72; F. DAFTARY, «Professor Asaf A.A. Fyzee (1899-1981)», *Arabica* 31 (1984), pp. 327-30.

GIBB
Hamilton Alexander Roskeen Gibb (1895-1971), orientaliste britannique. Sur lui, voir Fr. GABRIELI, «In memoria di Sir Hamilton Gibb», *OM* 51 (1971), p. 833;

A. HOURANI, «Sir Hamilton Gibb 1895-1971», *Proceedings of the British Academy* 58 (1972), pp. 493-523; A.K.S. LAMBTON, «Sir Hamilton Alexander Roskeen Gibb», *BSOAS* 35 (1972), pp. 338-45; G. MAKDISI, «Sir Hamilton Alexander Roskeen Gibb, January 2, 1895 – October 22, 1971», *JAOS* 93 (1973), pp. 429-31; W.R. POLK, «Sir Hamilton Gibb between orientalism and history», *IJMES* 6 (1975), pp. 131-39; H. PÉRÈS, «Travaux de H.A.R. Gibb, professeur à l'Université d'Oxford (Grande Bretagne)», *Bulletin des études arabes* 3 (1943), p. 133; Z.-ul-H. FARUQI, «Sir Hamilton Alexander Roskeen Gibb», *Orientalism, Islam and Islamists*, ed. A. Hussain, R. Olson, J. Qureshi, Brattleboro: Amana Books, 1984, pp. 177-91.

GOLDZIHER
Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), orientaliste hongrois. Voir sur lui R. SIMON, *Ignác Goldziher: his life and scholarship as reflected in his works and correspondence*, Budapest - Leiden: Library of the Hungarian Academy - Brill, 1986; B. HELLER, *Bibliographie des œuvres de Ignace Goldziher*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1927 (Publications de l'École nationale des langues vivantes. 6. sér., 1); I. KRATSCHKOVSKY, «Quelques additions et corrections à la 'Bibliographie des œuvres de Ignace Goldziher par B. Heller, Paris 1927», *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, ed. S. Löwinger et J. Somogyi, Budapest, 1948, vol. 1, pp. 430-31; A. SCHREIBER, «A Supplementary Bibliography of the Literary Work of Ignace Goldziher», *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, vol. 1, pp. 419-30.

GROUSSET
René Grousset (1885-1952), orientaliste français spécialiste de l'Extrême-Orient. À partir de 1925, il fut conservateur au Musée Cernuschi, puis chargé de conférences d'Études indiennes à l'École du Louvre (à partir de 1928), d'histoire et de géographie de l'Extrême-Orient à l'École nationale des langues orientales (à partir de 1941) et de Sciences politiques à l'École de la France d'Outre-mer (à partir de 1945). Lauréat de nombreux prix, il fut élu en 1946 à l'Académie française. Voir sur lui «Grousset (René)», *Dictionnaire biographique français contemporain*, Paris: Centre international de documentation, 1950, pp. 253-54; H. MASSÉ, «Grousset, René», *Larousse mensuel* 459 (novembre 1952), pp. 163-164; M. LALOU, «René Grousset (1885-1952)», *JA* 240 (1952), pp. 387-88; P. DEMIÉVILLE, «René Grousset», *T'oung-pao* 42 (1952), pp. 411-15; *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, Paris, 1985, vol. 16, p. 1363; B. FRANK, «Les études japonaises», *JA* 261 (1973), pp. 281ss.; M. SOYMIÉ, «Les études chinoises», *JA* 261 (1973), pp. 224 ss. Pour des listes de ses publications, voir *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies 1941-1965*, ed. Association of Asian Studies, Author Bibliography, Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall, 1969, vol. 2, pp. 204-5; *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies 1966-1970*, ed. Association for Asian Studies, Author Bibliography, Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall, 1973, vol. 1, p. 663.

HANNIBAL
Ali Hannibal, éditeur de la *Revue Iranienne d'Anthropologie* (*Majalla-yi Mardumshinâsi*), publiée à Téhéran par l'Institut d'Anthropologie. Sur cet institut et ses périodiques, voir S. Shahshahani, «History of Anthropology in Iran», *Iranian Studies* 19 I (1986), pp. 71-72.

HEKMAT
'Ali Asghar Hekmat (1893-1980), qui étudia à Chiraz et Téhéran dans des écoles anglophones, fut ministre de l'éducation puis diplomate. Auteur de travaux savants sur la littérature persane et membre de l'Académie de la langue persane, il fut chargé d'organiser et de présider les célébrations en Iran du millénaire d'Avicenne en avril 1954; cf. G.C. ANAWATI, «L'œuvre scientifique du Congrès d'Avicenne de Téhéran (21-30 avril 1954)», *MIDEO* 2 (1955), p. 351. Voir sur lui Borqa'î, *Sukhanwarân*, vol. 2, pp. 96-99; Khalkhâlî, *Tadhkira*, vol. 2, pp. 75-80; Morselvand, *Rejâl va mashâhir*, vol. 3, p. 114.

IVANOW
Wladimir (= Vladimir Alekseevich) Ivanow (1886-1970), pionnier des études ismaéliennes. Né en Russie, il a étudié l'arabe, le persan et le sanskrit à St Petersbourg, notamment avec le fameux orientaliste Victor R. Rosen (1849-1908). En tant que conservateur des manuscrits orientaux du Musée oriental de l'Académie des sciences de St Petersbourg, il eut ses premiers contacts avec les textes ismaéliens en examinant les manuscrits réunis par I.I. Zarubin dans la haute vallée de l'Amou Darya (Shugnan). Au moment où éclate la révolution, il était en Asie centrale à la recherche de manuscrits pour le Musée oriental. Il ne revint jamais dans son pays. Il resta au Khorassan entre 1918 et 1920, puis entra comme interprète au service du gouvernement britannique dont il acquit la citoyenneté. Arrivé à Calcutta au début des années 1920, il se retrouva en 1930 à Bombay où il fonda l'Islamic Research Association avec quelques amis dont A.A.A. Fyzee. Cette association fut remplacée le 16 février 1946, sur l'initiative de WI, par l'Ismaili Society. C'est dans ce cadre que WI publia la plupart de ses travaux sur l'ismaélisme. En 1959, après environ 40 ans de vie en Inde, il se fixa à Téhéran où il termina ses jours. Sur lui, voir les articles de F. Daftary signalés dans la bibliographie du présent livre; également A.A.A. Fyzee, «W. Ivanow (1886-1970)», *Indo-Iranica* 23 III (1970), pp. 22-27; *id.*, «Wladimir Ivanow (1886-1970)», [avec liste des publications de WI jusqu'au 1er septembre 1952] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* NS 45-46 (1970-71), pp. 92-97. WI a également achevé vers 1968 un récit autobiographique de ses aventures d'orientaliste. F. Daftary s'emploie à faire traduire cet ouvrage du Russe pour le publier avec des notes et une introduction.

KÂMIL HUSAYN
Muhammad Kâmil Husayn (1901-1961), savant égyptien, éditeur de nombreux travaux ismaéliens. Sur ses éditions de textes ismaéliens jusquíen 1956, voir *The Ismaili Society of Bombay. The Tenth Anniversary (16-2-1946 – 16-2-1956)*, ed. W. IVANOW, Bombay: Ismaili Printing Press, 1956, pp. 7-9.

KRACHKOVSKIJ
Ignatij Julianovich Krachkovskij (1883-1951), arabisant russe. Voir Th. MENZEL, «Über die Werke des russischen Arabisten Krachkovskij», *Archiv Orientální* 2 (1930), pp. 54-86; H.H. GIESECKE, «Ignatij Julianovich Krachkovskij (1883-1951)», *ZDMG* 105 (1955), pp. 6-17; D. STURM, «Ignatij Julianovich Krachkovskij (4./16.3.1883 – 24.1.1951) — Gedanken aus Anlass seines 100. Geburtstages», *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 5 (1983), pp. 7-17; N. ELISSÉEFF,

«L'Islamologie en U.R.S.S. d'après un ouvrage récent», *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, vol. 2., Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1957, *passim*.

KRAUS
Paul Kraus (1904-1944); sur lui, voir C. KNEUTZ, «Paul Kraus (1904-1944)», *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 27 (1946), pp. 431-41.

LESCOT
Roger Lescot (1914-1975), savant et diplomate français, en poste au Caire de 1947 à 1953. Sur lui, voir *Annuaire diplomatique* 1975, p. 937; R. AVEZ, *L'Institut Français de Damas au Palais Azem (1922-1946) à travers les archives*, Damas, 1993, p. 326 (Collection Témoignages et Documents, 1); R. GHIRSHMAN, «Roger Lescot (1917-1975)», *SIr* 9 (1975), p. 241; Ch. de FOUCHÉCOUR, «L'Iran moderne», p. 132.

MASSÉ
Henri Massé (1886-1969), orientaliste français. Sur lui, cf. H. LAOUST «Henri Massé (1886-1969)», *REI* 38 (1970), pp. 3-5; G. LAZARD, «Henry Massé (1886-1969)», *JA* 257 (1969), pp. 205-11; M. BERNUS, «In memoriam Henry Massé», *Boletin de la Asociation Española de Orientalistas* 6 (1970), pp. 12-13; G. WIET, «Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Henri Massé», *Comptes rendus des séances* (Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres) 1970, pp. 208-21; H. BEIKBAGHBAN, «Henri Massé: l'homme et l'œuvre», *Luqmân*, XI, 1 (automne-hiver 1994-95), pp. 81s.

MASHKUR
Mohammad Javâd Mashkûr (1879-1995), spécialiste iranien des études islamiques, auteur de plusieurs monographies sur l'hérésiographie musulmane et la littérature persane, parmi lesquelles une traduction persane de l'hérésiographie d'al-Baghdâdî. Voir sur lui «Nachruf auf Muhammad Djavad Maškur», *Spektrum Iran* 8 III (1995), p. 89; Moshâr, *Mo'allefîn*, vol. 2, pp. 423-25.

MASSIGNON
Louis Massignon (1883-1962) fut le premier directeur de l'Institut d'Études Iraniennes, fondé en 1947. Voir P. ROCALVE, *Louis Massignon et l'islam*, Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1993 (Collection Témoignages et Documents, 2); HOURCADE, «Iranian Studies in France», p. 10. Sur Massignon, voir entre autres J.-Fr. SIX, ed., *Louis Massignon*, Paris: L'Herne, 1970 (Cahier de l'Herne); Ch. DESTREMAU et J. MONCELON, *Massignon*, Paris: Plon, 1994.

MAX
Frédéric Max (né en 1913), diplomate français, attaché au consulat de France à Bombay en 1946-1947, troisième secrétaire à Alexandrie en 1947-1948, second secrétaire au Caire en 1948-1949, puis second secrétaire à Téhéran à partir de juillet 1950 (*Annuaire diplomatique* 1977, p. 1065).

MAZAHÉRI
Ali-Akbar Mazahéri (1914-1991) immigra en 1928 d'Iran en France, où il fit des études de sociologie. Sa thèse *La famille iranienne aux temps anté-islamiques* fut publiée en 1938 (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve). De 1945 à 1950, il fut chargé des manuscrits persans à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Auteur de *La vie quotidienne des musulmans au Moyen-Âge (X^e^-XIII^e^ siècles)* (1949).

MINORSKY
Vladimir F. Minorsky (1877-1966), orientaliste russe. Sur lui voir J. AUBIN, «Vladimir Minorsky (1877-1966)», *SIr* 5 (1976), pp. 131-33; J.A. BOYLE, «Vladimir Minorsky (1877-1966)», *Journal of Asian History* 1 (1967), pp. 86-89; D.M. LANG, «Vladimir Fedorovich Minorsky», *Yâd-nâme-ye irâni-ye Minorsky*, ed. Mojtabâ Minovi, Iraj Afshâr, Tehrân, 1969 (Publications de l'Université de Téhéran, 1241), p. XIV; C.E. BOSWORTH, éd., *Iran and Islam. In memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, Edimbourg, 1971, pp. V-IX.

MO'IN
Mohammad Mo'in (1918-1971), linguiste et historien de la littérature iranien avec lequel HC a publié de nombreux textes comme Nâsir-i Khusraw, *Jâmi' al-hikmatain*, le *Kitâb-i 'âbhar al-âshiqîn* de Rûzbihân Baqlî Shîrâzî ou *Sharh-i qasîda* attribué à Muhammad ibn Surkh; voir sur lui Khalkhâlî, *Tadhkira*, vol. 2, pp. 335-38; Moshâr, *Mo'allefîn*, vol. 5, pp. 826-30.

MOKRI
Mohammad Mokri, chercheur au Centre national de la recherche scientifique, avait étudié la culture traditionnelle, la musique et le mysticisme kurdes et édité quelques écrits fondamentaux de la secte des Ahl-e Haqq (en particulier *Shâhnâma-ye Haqîqat, le livre des rois de vérité, histoire traditionelle des Ahl-e Haqq*, Téhéran - Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1966, Bibliothèque Iranienne, 14-15) et publié de nombreuses études sur les Ahl-e Haqq, parmi lesquelles «Le 'Secret indicible' et la 'Pierre noire' en Perse dans la tradition des Kurdes et des Lurs, Fidèles de Vérité (*Ahl-e Haqq*)», *JA* 250 (1962), pp. 370-433; «Kalâm sur l'Aigle divin et le verger de Pirdîwar», *JA* 255 (1967), pp. 361-74; «Un *kalâm* gourani sur les Compagnons du Roi des Rois», *JA* 257 (1969), pp. 317-59; «Le *Kalâm* gourani sur le Cavalier au coursier gris, le Dompteur du Vent. (Étude d'hérésiologie islamique et de thèmes mystiques iraniens)», *JA* 262 (1974), pp. 47-93. Voir sur lui Khalkhâlî, *Tadhkira*, vol. 2, pp. 345-50. Il a été le premier ambassadeur de la République islamique à Moscou en 1979.

MONTEIL
Vincent Mansour Monteil, officier, diplomate et orientaliste français. Parmi ses publications, dont la plupart portent sur la civilisation islamique et la langue arabe moderne, on peut citer aussi bien *Les tribus du Fars et la sédentarisation des nomades* (Paris - La Haye, 1966), que des traductions de la *Muqaddima* d'Ibn Khaldûn (Paris, 1978) ou de la description de l'Inde par al-Bîrûnî (Paris, 1996). Il est l'auteur d'un *Vocabulaire du persan contemporain* et de traductions littéraires de Khayyâm et Hâfez. Citons encore son livre *Iran* (Paris: Seuil, Petite planète, 1957, nvelle éd. 1962); son autobiographie, *Soldat de fortune* (Paris: Grasset, 1966, notamment sur la période où il était à Téhéran en poste comme attaché militaire adjoint: pp. 63-122, février 1950-mai 1952); son livre sur *Louis Massignon (1883-1962): Le Linceul de feu*, Paris, Végapress, 1987)

OLDENBURG
Sergius von Oldenburg (1863-1934), orientaliste russe; cf. D.K. ZELENIN, «Pjat'desjat let nauchnoj raboty akademika S.F. Oldenburga», *Sovetskaja etnografija* 1933 (I), pp. 9-14; KRATSCHKOWSKI, *Arabistik*, p. 138.

PÂKRAVÂN
Emineh Pâkravân était une Française cultivée d'origine autrichienne qui enseignait en Iran et dont le mari appartenait à la famille, bien connue à Téhéran, des Pâkravân (voir R. de BOYER SAINTE SUZANNE, «À Téhéran», *Cahier de l'Herne HC*, p. 288). Elle est l'auteur d'un certain nombre d'ouvrages sur les Qâjârs et sur la ville de Téhéran, parmi lesquels: *Agha Mohammad Ghadjar (1743-1797)*, Téhéran: Institut franco-iranien, 1954; *Le Prince sans histoire*, Paris: Nouvelle Édition, 1949-1950; *Abbas Mirza, un prince réformateur*, Téhéran: Institut franco-iranien, 1961; *Destinées persanes*, Téhéran: Banque Melli, 1961; *La Douleur de Temouga*, Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1960; *La Quatrième génération*, Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1959; *Téhéran de jadis*, Génève - Munich - Paris: Nagel, 1971.

PORCHER
Jean Porcher, chef du Département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (1945-1964).

PUR-E DÂVÛD [= POUR-E DAVOUD]
Né à Rasht, Ebrâhim Pur-e Dâvud (1885-1968) étudie le droit à Paris, puis rejoint les nationalistes à Berlin pendant la Première Guerre mondiale. Envoyé à Kermânshâh, où il publie *Rastâkhiz*, il rejoint ensuite Taqizâde à Berlin, où il collabore à *Kâve*. Après son retour définitif en Iran, en 1924, il se consacre entièrement aux études sur l'Iran ancien et cesse de publier de la poésie après 1926. Cf. MORSELVAND, *Rejâl va mashâhir*, vol. 2, p. 175; H. KANUS-CREDE, «In memoriam Ebrahim Poure Davoud (1886-1968)», *Iranistische Mitteilungen*, 4 (1970), pp. 3-33; Moshâr, *Mo'allefîn*, vol. 1, pp. 40-42; Bâmdâd, *Rejâl*, vol. 6, pp. 7 et sq.

RADLOFF
Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff (1837-1918), turcologue russe; cf. Ahmet TEMIR, «Leben und Schaffen von Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff (1837-1918). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Türkologie», *Oriens* 8 (1955), pp. 51-93; K. KHUSAINOV, *V.V. Radlov: kazakhshii yazyk*, Alma Ata: Nauka, 1981; «S.F. OLDENBURG, «Vasilij Vasil'evich Radlov. Nekrolog. (Vasilij Vasil'evich Radloff. Nécrologie)», *Bulletin de l'Académie (Impériale) des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, 6 sér., 12 (1918), pp. 1233-1236. Voir aussi KRATSCHKOWSKI, *Arabistik*, p. 173

RITTER
Hellmut Ritter (1892-1971), orientaliste allemand, fut entre 1927 et 1949 chargé de la branche nouvellement créée à Istanbul de la *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*. À partir de 1935, il fut aussi professeur à l'Université d'Istanbul. En 1949, il fut désigné comme professeur d'Études islamiques à Francfort-sur-le-Main, où il demeura jusqu'à sa retraite de l'enseignement en 1957. Il retourna ensuite à Istanbul, où il continua de résider jusqu'en 1969, date de son retour en Allemagne, contraint par la maladie qui devait l'emporter. Sur lui, voir Fr. MEIER, «Hellmut Ritter», *Der Islam* 48 (1972), pp. 193-205; *id.*, «Korrektur zum Nachruf auf Hellmut Ritter», *Der Islam* 49 (1972), p. 124; M. PLESSNER, «Hellmut Ritter (1892-1971)», *ZDMG* 122 (1972), pp. 6-18; R. WALZER, «Hellmut Ritter 27.2.1892-19.5.1971», *Oriens* 23-24 (1974), pp. 1-6; A. BÜCHER, «Verzeichnis der Schriften von Hellmut Ritter», *Oriens* 18-19 (1965-66), pp. 5-32; G. SCHUBERT, «A Ritter Memorial in Istanbul», *MME* 4 (1989), pp. 138-43. Th. LIER, «Hellmut Ritter in Istanbul 1926-1949», *Die Welt des Islams* 38 (1998), pp. 334-85.

ROSS
Edward Denison Ross (1871-1940), orientaliste britannique. Voir sur lui H.A.R. GIBB, «Obituary notice. Edward Denison Ross, 1871-1940», *JRAS* (1941), pp. 49-52; F. KRENKOW, «Sir Edward Denison Ross», *IC* 15 (1941), pp. 141-142; Sir R.L. TURNER, «Obituary. Sir Edward Denison Ross», *BSOAS* 10 (1940-42), pp. 832-36.

SA'ÎD NAFÎSÎ
Sa'îd Nafîsî (1895-1966), savant iranien, enseignait simultanément l'histoire de la littérature, la philosophie et la religion à l'Université de Téhéran. Sur lui, voir D.S. KOMISSAROV, «Said Nafisi — vydajushchijsja uchenyj i pisatel' sovremennogo Irana. (Sa'id Nafisi, un savant et écrivain éminent de l'Iran contemporain)», *Narody Azii i Afriki* 2 1 (1962), pp. 150-153; *Mélanges d'iranologie en mémoire de feu Said Naficy*, ed. Parimarz NAFICY, Téhéran, 1972 (Université de Téhéran, Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines, 16 = *Majalla-yi Dânishkada-yi Adabiyât va-'Ulûm-i insâni*, 19); Khalkhâlî, *Tadhkira*, vol. 1, pp. 401-12; Moshâr, *Mo'allefîn*, vol. 3, pp. 332-38.

SALEMANN
Karl Salemann (1849-1916), orientaliste russe, directeur du Musée Asiatique de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie, à Saint-Pétersbourg, à l'époque où WI s'y trouvait. Voir sur lui V. Bartol'd, «Karl Germanovich Zaleman. 1849-1916», *ZVO* 24 (1916), pp. 237-58; I.J. Kratschkowski, *Die russische Arabistik. Umrisse ihrer Entwicklung*, trad. O. Mehlitz, Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1957, p. 187. Voir aussi la lettre adressée par WI aux éditeurs de la revue *Islamica* du 11 janvier 1928, dans laquelle il défend son maître Salemann contre les accusations lancées par Karl Hadank, dans l'introduction par ce dernier des *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen* de O. Mann (Berlin, 1926). Hadank décrit Salemann comme «toujours prêt à supprimer ou à retarder toute entreprise liée aux études iraniennes» («Pro C. Salemann. A letter to the editors from W. Ivanow (Calcutta)», *Islamica* 3 (1927), pp. 271-72). Dans sa réponse, Hadank confirme son appréciation de Salemann («Erwiderung auf den Brief «Pro Salemann» des Herrn Ivanow in Vol. III, S. 271f. dieser Zeitschrift», *Islamica* 3 (1927), pp. 486-90). WI poursuivit son apologie de Salemann dans une seconde lettre aux éditeurs («Pro C. Salemann. A Second Letter to the Editors from W. Ivanow», *Islamica* 4 (1931), pp. 109-12).

SAUVAGET
Jean Sauvaget (1901-1950), orientaliste français. Sur lui, voir *Mémorial Jean Sauvaget*, 2 vols., Damas: Institut français de Damas, 1954-1961; M. ROBINSON, «Jean Sauvaget (1901-1950)», *Nouvelle Clio* 1-2 (1949-1950), pp. 294-300; D. AYALON, «On one of the works of Jean Sauvaget», *IOS* 1 (1971), pp. 298-

302; R. ETTINGHAUSEN, «The Publications of Jean Sauvaget», *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), pp. 208-213.

SHAFÎ'
Muhammad Shafi' (1883-1963). Sur lui, voir S.M. ABDULLAH, ed., *Professor Muhammad Shafi'. Presentation Volume*, Lahore: The Majlis-e Armughân-e 'ilmi, 1955, pp. XXIX-XXXI («A Biographical Note Relating to Prof. Muhammad Shafi'»), pp. XXXIII-XXXIX («Appendix: List of the works and articles published by Prof. M Shafi'»); «Obituary. Dr. Mohammad Shafi'», *Islamic Studies* 2 (1963), pp. 141-42; Md HAMIDULLAH, «Muhammad Shafî (6/8/1883-14/3/1963)», *Islâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü dergisi* 4 (1964), pp. 81-83; «(Sir) Mohamed Shafi (ancient membre du gouvernement de l'Inde)», *Correspondance d'orient* 24 (février 1932), pp. 68-69.

STERN
Samuel Miklos Stern (1920-1969). Sur lui, voir aussi R. WALZER, «In memoriam Samuel Miklos Stern», *Journal of Jewish Studies* 20 (1969), pp. 3-4; «Samuel M. Stern. In memoriam», *IOS* 2 (1972), pp. 1-14; J. WANSBROUGH, «Samuel Miklos Stern», *BSOAS* 33 (1970), pp. 599-602; J.D. LATHAM et H.W. MITCHELL, «The bibliography of S.M. Stern», *JSS* 15 (1970), pp. 226-38; «Bibliography of S.M. Stern», S.M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, ed. L.P. Harvey, Oxford, 1974, pp. 230-45. À propos des recherches ismaéliennes de Stern, on se reportera également à N. TAJDIN, éd., *A Bibliography of Ismailism*, Delmer, New York: Caravan Books, 1985, pp. 130-32. Pour une critique de l'apport de Stern aux études ismaéliennes, voir aussi D.R.W. BRYER, «Preface. An Analysis of Samuel M. Stern's Writings on Ismâ'îlism», S.M. Stern, *Studies in Early Ismâ'îlism*, Jerusalem - Leiden: Magnes Press - Brill, 1983, pp. IX-XXII (The Max Schloessinger Memorial Studies. Monographs, 1).

STROTHMANN
Rudolf Strothmann (1877-1960), orientaliste allemand. Voir sur lui R. PARET, «Rudolf Strothmann (4.9.1877-15.5.1960)», *ZDMG* 111 (1961), pp. 13-15 et, sur ses travaux concernant l'ismaélisme, TAJDIN, *Bibliography*, pp. 132-33. Auteur de *Die Zwölfer-Schia. Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Charakterbilder aus der Mongolenzeit*, Leipzig, 1926 (Hildesheim - New York: Georg Olms, 1975).

TAQAVÎ
Seyyed Nasr Allâh b. Mohammad Ridâ Taqavî (1871-1947), savant iranien, auteur, notamment, d'une édition critique du *Dîwân* de Nâsir-i Khusraw (Téhéran, 1307/1928). Pour une liste de ses publications, voir Moshâr, *Mo'allefîn*, vol. 6, col. 575-77; Borqa'î, *Sukhanwarân*, vol. 2, pp. 72-75.

TAQIZÂDE
Seyyed Hasan Taqizâde (1878-1970), homme politique et savant iranien. Voir sur lui S. Md A. DJAMALZADEH, «Taqizadeh tel que je l'ai connu», *A Locust's Leg. Studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, éd. W.B.H. Henning et E. Yarshater, Londres, 1962, pp. 1-18; «A Brief Bibliography», *ibid.*, pp. 19-20; Moshâr, *Mo'allefîn*, vol. 2, pp. 534-37. Voir aussi son autobiographie: I. Afshâr, ed, *Khâtirât-i Sayyid Hasan Taqîzâda (bar afzuda-shuda bar ân bakhsh-i payvast)*, 2ème éd., Téhéran: 'Elmi, 1372.

TOGAN
Ahmed Zeki Velidi Togan (1890-1970), savant et historien turc, président du XXIIe Congrès des orientalistes (voir *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Congress of Orientalists held in Istanbul September 15th to 22nd, 1951*, ed. Z. Velidi Togan, Istanbul, 1953, vol. 1, p. 2). Voir sur lui Fr. BERGDOLT, *Der geistige Hintergrund des türkischen Historikers Ahmed Zeki Velidi Togan nach seinen Memoiren*, Berlin, 1981; K. JAHN, «Ahmed Zeki Velidi Togan (1890-1970)», *Central Asiatic Journal* 14 (1970), pp. 309-10; G. WHEELER, «Obituary: Zeki Velidi Togan», *Asian Affairs* 58 (NS 2) (1971), p. 56.

TOLSTOV
Sergej Pavlovich Tolstov (1907-1976), orientaliste russe. Voir sur lui T.A. ZHDANKO, M.A. ITINA, «Sergej Pavlovich Tolstov (1907-1976)», *Sovestkaja etnografija* 1977 (2), pp. 11-18.

UNVALA
Jamshedji Maneckji Unvala (1888-1961), savant parsi, connaisseur de l'Iran ancien, archéologue et numismate. Voir sur lui *Dr. J.M. Unvala Memorial Volume*. Published by Kaikhusroo M. Jamaspasa for Dr. J.M. Unvala Memorial Volume Sub-Committee, Bombay 1964 («Forword,» pp. III-IV; Dr. A. SAMI, «In Memory of Professor Unvala, the famous orientalist», pp. V-VI; D.D. KAPADIA, «Dr. Jamshedji Maneckji Unvala. A Memoir», pp. VII-X; «A list of works of late Dr. J.M. Unvala», pp. XI-XII; «A list of articles of late Dr. J.M. Unvala», pp. XIII-XVIII).

WIET
Gaston Wiet (1887-1971), orientaliste français. Après un long séjour en Égypte, à partir de 1926 – date à laquelle le roi Fouad lui demanda de prendre la direction du Musée d'Art arabe du Caire —, Wiet quitta ce pays en 1951, pour rentrer à Paris, où il occupa, jusqu'à sa retraite en 1960, la chaire de langue et de littérature arabes du Collège de France. Sur sa biographie, cf. A. RAYMOND, «Bibliographie de l'œuvre scientifique de M. Gaston Wiet», *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 59 (1960), pp. IX-XXIV; Cl. CAHEN, «Notice nécrologique: Gaston Wiet», *Jesho* 14 (1971), pp. 223-26; P.-M. DUVAL, «Notice sur la vie et les travaux des M. Gaston Wiet», *Craibl* (1974), pp. 477-85; N. ELISSÉEFF, «Gaston Wiet (1887-1971)», *JA* 259 (1971), pp. 1-9; H. LAOUST, «Gaston Wiet (1887-1971)», *REI* 39 (1971), pp. 205-07; M. ROSEN-AYALON, «Gaston Wiet, 1887-1971», *Kunst des Orients* 8 (1972), pp. 154-59; *id.*, «In memoriam», *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem, 1977, pp. IX-XII.

ZARUBIN
Ivan Ivanovich Zarubin (1887-1964), spécialiste russe des dialectes tadjiks. Il a recueilli dans la région du haut Amou Darya (Shognân) un grand nombre de manuscrits, qu'il emporta à St. Petersbourg en 1916 et qui aboutirent au Musée

asiatique de l'Académie des sciences russe. Cette collection fut examinée par WI; cf. ses «Ismailitskiya rukopisi Aziatskago Museya. Sobranie I. Zarubina, 1916 g.» [Manuscrits ismaéliens au Musée asiatique de l'Académie des sciences russe, collection d'I. Zarubin, 1916], *Bulletin de l'Académie des sciences russe* 6 XI (1917), pp. 359-86. L'article de WI fut présenté et résumé par Sir Denison E. Ross dans *JRAS* (1919), pp. 429-35. Sur Zarubin, voir V.I. ABAEV, ed., *Iranskiy sborniki k semidesyatipyatiletiyn professora I.I. Zarubina*, Moscou, 1963, spécialement les articles de E.G. GAFFERBERG et N.A. KISLYAKOV («I.I. Zarubin - etnograf i muzeynuiy rabotnik,» pp. 17-21) et de V.S. RASTORGNEVA («I.I. Zarubin - lingvist,» pp. 3-16).

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