



BRILL

An Early Stage of Isma‘ili Studies: the Correspondence between Paul Kraus and Wladimir Ivanow (1934–1939, 1943)

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Abstract

This paper presents an annotated edition of the extant epistolary exchange between Wladimir Ivanow and Paul Kraus during the years 1934 through 1939, with an additional final letter in 1943. The letters not only provide new insights into the scholarly biographies of both scholars but also shed some new light on an early stage of Isma‘ili studies.

Keywords

Wladimir Ivanow – Paul Kraus – Husayn F. Hamdani – Henry Corbin – Isma‘ili Studies

Introduction¹

In the beginning of 1947, writing his first letter to Wladimir Ivanow (1886–1970), Henry Corbin (1903–1978) relates that he had spent three weeks in Cairo in

1 Thanks are due to Christine Colburn and Jordan Wright at the Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago, for providing me with digital images of some of Paul Kraus's papers, and to Cornelius von Pilgrim, director of the Swiss Institute of Architectural and Archaeological Research on Ancient Egypt in Cairo, for giving me access to the Paul Kraus Nachlass in March 2023 and for allowing me to scan Kraus's correspondence with Wladimir Ivanow on this occasion. I also thank Athina Pfeiffer (Princeton), Omer

December cataloguing the papers of Paul Kraus (b. 1904), who had committed suicide on 12 October 1944.² The papers were kept at the time at the French Institute.³ The letters exchanged between Corbin and Ivanow over the next two decades constitute an important source on Ivanow as a scholar. Corbin's first letter further connects this correspondence to another, earlier set of letters—namely, the epistolary exchange between Ivanow and the aforementioned Paul Kraus during the years 1934 through 1939, with an additional final letter in 1943.

Ivanow, Corbin, and Kraus shared an interest in Isma'ilism. Corbin and Kraus had known each other since April 1933, when Kraus, who had been forced to leave Berlin after the Nazis' rise to power, settled in Paris. Both Corbin and Kraus were interested in gnostic and Shi'i (especially Isma'ili) thought, Islamic alchemy and the sciences, and the transmission of Greek philosophy and sciences to Islamic civilization. During Kraus's years in Paris, they collaborated on an edition of a mystical Persian tract, *Risāla-yi āwāz-i par-i Jibra'īl*, by the master of illumination (*shaykh al-ishrāq*) Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī *al-maqtūl* (549–587/1154–1191); the edition was published in 1935.⁴ Kraus was furthermore granted liberal access to Isma'ili manuscripts owned by his friend and mentee Husayn Hamdani (1901–1962), the elder son of Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī (1877–1969). Husayn Hamdani had prepared his doctoral dissertation in 1931 under the supervision of H. A. R. Gibb (1895–1971). Kraus had met

Michaelis (Tel Aviv), and the anonymous reviewer for their comments on an earlier version of this paper.

- 2 See Schmidtke (ed.), *Correspondence*, p. 16 (letter 1): "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 ..." For the Corbin—Ivanow correspondence, see also Kolesnikov, "Переписка В. А. Иванова с А. Корбэном (1947–1966 гг.)". The original letters are kept as dossier no. 266 in the Archives Corbin Henri et Stella, Humathèque Condorcet, Aubervilliers; see <https://calames.abes.fr/pub/#details?id=Calames-20161011161012810195>. For Kraus, see Kraemer, "The Death of an Orientalist"; Strohmaier, "Paul Kraus und die Erforschung des Ğābirkorpus"; Šćrbačić, "Von der Semitistik zur Islamwissenschaft und zurück".
- 3 Corbin's inventory is kept as dossier no. 285 in the Archives Corbin Henri et Stella. The archives also include correspondence between Kraus and Corbin; see <https://calames.abes.fr/pub/#details?id=Calames-20161021171095078>. I thank Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi for this reference and Emmanuelle Pierron at the l'Humathèque de Paris-Centre Condorcet for providing me with digital images of the correspondence. During the winter of 1947/48 Shlomo Pines (1908–1990) and in 1988 and 1989 Pierre Lory inspected the Nachlass in Cairo; see Lory, *Alchimie et mystique*, pp. 155–162. Kraus's Nachlass was later transferred from Cairo to the University of Chicago Library; see below.
- 4 Corbin and Kraus, "Le Bruissement de l'Aile de Gabriel".

him for the first time in 1930, when Hamdani sojourned in Berlin.⁵ These manuscripts allowed Kraus to establish the relation between the Jābir b. Ḥayyān corpus and Ismaʿīli literature,⁶ and they led him to discover other texts that had been believed lost, such as the *K. al-Zumurrud* of the third/ninth-century heretic Ibn al-Rāwandī.⁷

The correspondence between Kraus and Ivanow began somewhat tensely but soon developed into a collegial exchange. Ivanow had discovered in Lucknow a copy of *Fahrasat al-kutub wa-l-rasā'il* by the Indian scholar Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Majdū' (d. 1183/1768–69 or 1184/1769–70), the earliest known comprehensive catalogue of Ismaʿīli literature according to the Da'ūdī Bohra faction.⁸ The book served as the principal basis for Ivanow's 1933 *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, which was essentially a summary of the detailed information included in al-Majdū's *Fahrasa*. Around the same time, Husayn Hamdani

5 Hamdani's sojourn in Germany and his relationships with German scholars of Islamica and Orientalia still await closer study. According to Werner Caskel (1896–1970), Hamdani was already in Berlin in 1929, when he attended, alongside Caskel, Adam Falkenstein (1906–1966) and Hans Schlobies (1904–1950), a private class on South Arabic language given by Johannes Heinrich Mordtmann (1852–1932); see Caskel, "Aus den Erinnerungen eines Orientalisten", p. 17. See also below, n. 25. Hamdani left Berlin for Paris on 18 July 1930; see letter Husayn F. Hamdani to Carl Rathjens, 23 July 1930 (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, NL Rathjens, Carl, NRA: Ba: H 140). In April 1932 Hamdani was back in India; see letter Husayn F. Hamdani to Eugen Mittwoch, Surat, 12 April 1932 (Geheimes Staatsarchiv-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA Rep. 208 A, Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Nr. 21, Bl. 92): "My dear Professor. You will be perhaps surprised to receive this after such a long time. The reason is that since my departure from Berlin, I visited Holland, Belgium, France, Egypt, Palestine and the Yemen. I have just arrived in India and resumed my work not yet finished. Herr Dr. Paul Kraus might have told you about my wanderings ...".

6 See Kraus, "Dschābir ibn Ḥajjān und die Isma'īlija", esp. pp. 28–29: "Allerdings wäre es nicht möglich gewesen, die Unechtheit des ganzen Dschābir-Corpus zu beweisen und positiv zu erfahren, was die Schriften wirklich darstellen, wenn ich nicht durch die Güte und Bereitwilligkeit von Herrn Husain F. Hamdani Gelegenheit gefunden hätte, eine ganze Reihe von Schriften der Isma'iliten näher kennenzulernen. Es handelt sich zum größten Teil um Schriften, die, in der frühen Fatimidenzeit verfaßt, noch heute bei den Isma'iliten als Lehrbücher verwendet werden. Viele von ihnen sind in Europa noch unbekannt, andere werden unter den isma'ilitischen Handschriften der Sammlungen Griffini [cf. Griffini, "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften"] und Ivanov genannt und sind von L. Massignon in seinem *Esquisse d'une Bibliographie des Carmathes* verzeichnet worden. An ihrer Echtheit und ihrem Alter zu zweifeln, besteht kein Grund, da sie in vielen alten Schriften der gleichen Sammlung häufig zitiert werden. Ich hoffe, in einem anderen Zusammenhang auf diese Dinge zurückkommen zu können."

7 See below, n. 21. Scholars have discussed Ibn al-Rāwandī's *K. al-Zumurrud* intensively, at times with controversy, over the past decades; see, e.g., Stroumsa, "The Blinding Emerald".

8 For al-Majdū', see Poonawala, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 204–205; Poonawala, "Majdu', Esmā'il". Al-Majdū's *Fahrasa* was published in 1966 in an edition prepared by 'Alī Naqī Munzawī.

and Paul Kraus were also preparing a comprehensive bibliography of the surviving Isma'ili literature. Unlike Ivanow's work, whose point of departure was a twelfth/eighteenth-century inventory of the Da'udi Bohra *da'wa* library, Hamdani and Kraus's bibliography was based on a familial library, the Hamdani family manuscript collection (al-Khizāna al-Muḥammadiyya al-Hamdāniyya).⁹ Hamdani outlined the bibliographical project in his 1933 publication "Some Unknown Isma'ili Authors and Their Works", and in the same year Kraus published a critical review of Ivanow's *Guide* in the *Revue des études islamiques*.¹⁰ Although Kraus applauds Ivanow's achievement, he also offers an extensive list of additions and corrections and refers to his own familiarity with the Isma'ili literary tradition thanks to his access to the library of the Hamdani family. The overall style of Kraus's review is polite, but he is much more outspoken in his criticism of Ivanow's *Guide* in his private correspondence with Husayn Hamdani, where he describes the *Guide* as "simplistic and superficial" (*summarisch und oberflächlich*). In another letter to Hamdani, Kraus writes, referring to his review of the *Guide*,

I have not said too much, but after a few introductory "appreciative" remarks I have given a long list of improvements in the style of his own notices. I think there is no point in criticising the old man sharply. He has done his best as far as his intellectual capacities go (*Er hat seinen geistigen Kapazitäten entsprechend das beste getan*). And to say that he has only listed numbers and names instead of detailed descriptions of the works has no point unless one does it better oneself.¹¹

9 For the history of the Hamdani family and its library, see A. Hamdani, "History of the Hamdani Collection of Manuscripts", pp. xxv–xxxiv; Akkerman, *A Neo-Fatimid Treasury of Books*, pp. 148–149, 234–236, and *passim*. Husayn Hamdani's son Abbas (1926–2019) donated his father's manuscript collection after the latter's death to the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. Some manuscripts from the family's collection are nowadays kept in Tübingen, Paris, and Leiden.

10 Kraus's review was published in fascicle 4 of the 1932 volume of *Revue des études islamiques*, which appeared in print during the late summer or early fall of 1933. The same fascicle included Ivanow's "Notes sur l'Ummu l-Kitāb' des ismaéliens"; see letter Wladimir Ivanow to Louis Massignon, Bombay, 27 October 1933 (Fonds Louis Massignon, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, NAF 28658), confirming that he had just received the fascicle.

11 The Hamdani–Kraus correspondence, which is preserved at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London, was not accessible to me, and the quotations are taken from de Blois, "Husain Hamdani, Paul Kraus, and a Suitcase Full of Manuscripts". François de Blois is preparing a critical edition of this correspondence. See *ibid*.

Despite the work's perceived weaknesses, the publication of Ivanow's *Guide* prompted Hamdani and Kraus to discontinue their own bibliographical project. In some of his earliest letters to Kraus (letters 1 and 5), Ivanow, in turn, conveys his low opinion of the holdings of the Hamdani manuscript collection and warns Kraus repeatedly against engaging too closely with Husayn Hamdani, whose family had been excommunicated by the fifty-first *dā'ī* of the Da'ūdī Bohras, Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (1888–1965).¹²

- 12 For Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn, see Toorawa, “Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn”. Ironically, the *da'wa* also cast doubt on al-Majdū', as he supported the claim of his son Hibat Allāh to the leadership. The son did not win and got his nose cut in the process. According to Poonawala (*Ismaili Literature*, p. 203), the name “al-Majdū'” originates from this incident. Ivanow also expresses a low opinion of Husayn Hamdani and his family repeatedly in his letters to Louis Massignon; see letter Ivanow to Massignon, 14 May 1932 (Fonds Louis Massignon): “The Zahru'l-ma'ānī is one of the most secret philosophical works, and it is very difficult to get a copy of it, even for photographing. Besides, there is a young man, called Hamdani, whom you know, who intends to edit it. Of course, he intends to edit almost every Ismaili book (the Zahr, secret parts of R. Ikhwanu's-safa, Sirat al-Mu'ayyad, Hidāya al-Amiriyya, and what not), so you may sometime have it in a printed form, perhaps. As you know, there is a continuous quarrell [sic] amongst the priestly families of the Bohras, each fighting for the control of the baytu'l-mal and authority. The family of Hamdanis are notorious for their greed and jealousy; therefore they were in the head of all sorts of intrigues and scandals intended against the High Priest, were excommunicated, etc. The purpose of sending the young Hamdani to Europe was to get an instrument for better fighting the Mullaji. Nothing good comes out of this except shaking the authority of the High Priest in general, and doing immense harm to this remarkable community, its spirit and unity. But being powerless [t]o get wrestled the authority from Mullaji, this party is now openly out for greater mischief, by scandalising the religion itself, and the intended publication of the texts is a part of this vengeance. Hamdani himself appears to me a man of no brain or energy; all his intended publications are prepared here for him by local learned men, and the young Hamdani's greed, in view of the hopelessness of wrestling something from Mullaji, has now taken the form of a desire to advertise himself as a “great Yamanite scholar”, as he calls himself, and thus to get a well-paid post in educational service. The whole affair is very unattractive, and their promises are to be taken with a good deal of caution. ... All this I would ask you very much to keep entirely private, and not to tell anybody about my getting books for you, or intending to write anything, especially to Hamdani, if you are in correspondence with him, because the rumours will spread at once among the Ismailis, and those people through whom I get the books may suffer very seriously, and we will be unable to get more books from the same sources. Thus almost a year's work of organisation of this book-supply may be wrecked.” See also letter Ivanow to Massignon, Bombay, 8 July 1932: “With regard to Mr. Hamdani I do not think we can expect much,—do you? I know his father and some other relatives, all of them have a not very enviable reputation of people whose words and actions are different things. I wish this to be only a mistake. With regard to the bibliography of Ismailism I have already collected, as I wrote to you before this, some information, from the Fihristu'l-Majdū' and from other sources. The list of these I have already sent some time ago to the R[oyal] A[sianic] S[ociety], and wish they may publish it. I have compiled it before I heard about

Despite this awkwardness in the beginning of their exchange, the correspondence between Ivanow and Kraus is characterized by mutual respect and collegial support for each other's work. The two scholars regularly sent each other offprints and copies of their publications. Kraus received from Ivanow valuable information on the manuscript tradition of the *A'lām al-nubuwwa* of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934), which he was working on in the early years of their correspondence (letters 3–6), and in turn he helped Ivanow in the preparation of editions of the *Istīṭār al-imām wa-tafarruq al-du'āt fi l-jazā'ir li-ṭalabihī* by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī (d. after 386/996) and of the *Sīrat al-ḥājib Ja'far b. 'Alī wa-khurūj al-Mahdī min Salamīyya* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Yamānī (fl. 4th/10th century), which were published in Cairo.¹³ The correspondence shows that the role played by Kraus and the latter's friend and colleague, the Indian scholar Muḥammad Ḥasan al-A'zamī, in the publication of these two texts was far more substantial than the published editions themselves indicate.

The correspondence between Kraus and Ivanow that is given here in an annotated edition provides new insights into the scholarly biographies of both. A considerable portion of Paul Kraus's Nachlass has been lost; what remains is mostly housed in Chicago, with additional materials, including his epistolary exchange with Ivanow, dispersed in other archives.¹⁴ For the study of Ivanow's life, we possess, beyond this and other sets of correspondence,¹⁵ Ivanow's

Mr. Hamdani's intentions; besides, I am sure, a mere list in no way can prevent publication of a real history of the Ismaili literature (which, as I heard, he plans on the style of the late E. Browne's 'admirable' Persian Literary History,—the most unadmirable, indeed). Any how, Ismailism is such a large field to work in that if we all will plunge into this sea, and will have nothing to do but to study it, we may exhaust only a small fraction of the whole matter."

13 Ivanow, "Mudhakkirāt fi ḥarakat al-Mahdī al-Fāṭimī".

14 See Kraemer, "The Death of an Orientalist", pp. 208–210; Lory, *Alchimie et mystique*, pp. 155–162.

15 Apart from these two sets of letters, only few of Ivanow's letters seem to have been preserved. See, for example, Ivanow's letter to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, 19 October 1922 (Leiden University Library, OR 8952A), as well as a copy of Rudolf Strothmann's (1877–1960) letter to Ivanow, 18 May 1934 (Strothmann Family Archive, SFA-D-Ivanow); see below, Appendixes 2 and 3. From Ivanow's writings it is evident that he was in regular contact with Louis Massignon (1883–1972), and their correspondence, consisting of thirty-two letters from Ivanow to Massignon (1922–1961) and eight letters from Massignon to Ivanow (1932–1959), is preserved in the Fonds Louis Massignon (see <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc946831>). I thank Thomas Cazentre (Département des manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale de France) for details on the correspondence between Massignon and Ivanow and for having made this correspondence available to me. I will write about the Ivanow-Massignon correspondence on a later occasion. For Massignon's letter to Ivanow of 9 September 1956, see Schmidtke (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp. 144–146 no. 62.

memoirs, which he wrote in Russian in the last years of his life and completed in March 1968. An annotated English translation based on Ivanow's personal copy was prepared by Farhad Daftary and published in 2015.¹⁶ Ivanow sent another copy of his memoirs to St Petersburg, and this copy was used for the Russian edition of the memoirs, also published in 2015, with annotations by Boris V. Norik.¹⁷ A small portion of Ivanow's Nachlass, including material from Ivanow's early life and the St Peterburg copy of his memoirs, is preserved in the Archives of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences.¹⁸ The bulk of his diaries, correspondence, and research notes were lost when he died on 19 June 1970 in Tehran, where he had spent the final eleven years of his life.

What has come down to us is only a portion of Kraus and Ivanow's correspondence. Letter 1, by Ivanow, is a reply to an earlier letter by Kraus, which was perhaps the letter that initiated the exchange. That letter had accompanied an offprint of Kraus's 1933/34 article "Beiträge zur islamischen Ketzergeschichte", which reconstructed Ibn al-Rāwandī's otherwise lost *K. al-Zumurrud* on the basis of quotations included in the *Majālis Mu'ayyadīyya* by al-Mu'ayyad fī l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1078). Further, Ivanow's last letter to Kraus, written in 1943 (letter 15), shows that the two had written to each other between 1939 and 1943 although no letters from this period survive. Copies of Ivanow's journal articles and books in Kraus's possession (see below, Appendix 1) further indicate that the contact between the two scholars was more extensive than is attested by the letters. They met at least once in person, when Ivanow visited Cairo in the spring of 1937.¹⁹ How much of their correspondence has been lost cannot be established.²⁰

The following edition of the Kraus-Ivanow correspondence aims to reproduce the original letters faithfully. Minor spelling errors have been silently corrected, but any errors of syntax, grammar, and vocabulary have been retained.

Among Russian orientalists, Ivanow regularly corresponded with Ignatij J. Kratchkovsky (1883–1951); see, for example, Dolinina, *Sklave der Pflicht*, p. 363. The Ignatij J. Kratchkovsky papers that are held at the Archives of the Russian Academy of Science in St Petersburg (see <https://ranar.spb.ru/en>) include one letter from Kratchkovsky to Ivanow, dated 1938, and twenty-eight letters from Ivanow to Kratchkovsky, dated 1922 through 1951; I thank Grigory Kessel for this information. A systematic search of relevant archives would certainly bring additional material to light.

16 Ivanow, *Fifty Years in the East*. Yahia Baiza's paper "Wladimir Ivanow and Ismailism" is largely based on Ivanow's autobiography without offering any new perspectives.

17 Ivanow, Воспоминания о Востоке 1918–1968.

18 Norik, "Материалы фонда В. А. Иванова в Архиве востоковедов ИВР РАН".

19 Ivanow, *Fifty Years in the East*, pp. 126–131.

20 Some of the mail addressed to Kraus in Cairo got lost; see Kraemer, "The Death of an Orientalist", p. 198.

The edition further reflects Kraus's and Ivanow's respective spelling conventions and ways of transcribing Arabic names, book titles, and terms, as well as their other particularities and writing habits in terms of the use of capital letters, punctuation, paragraph division, and the like.

The Correspondence

Letter 1

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Bombay, 1 June 1934

(Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research on Ancient Egypt, Cairo, Archive E. Combe, Paul Kraus Correspondence; henceforth Swiss Institute)

The 1st June 1934.

W. Ivanow, Esq., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, India.

Dear Dr. Kraus,

Thank you very much for your kindness in having sent to me a reprint of your interesting article on the Kitabu'z-zumurrudh.²¹ I enclose here a list of my publications, and will be glad to post to you those of them which you may like to have, and which are still available. Those marked with red, unfortunately, are no longer available.²²

I have to thank you for a very thorough-going review of my "Guide" in the R[evue des] E[tudes] I[slamiques].²³ Some statements, however, are not quite correct,—you probably were misled by your informers,—and I will correct them in the "Addenda" which I propose to publish soon.²⁴

21 Kraus, "Beiträge zur islamischen Ketzergeschichte". For the work, see also below, n. 26.

22 The list of publication, with some titles marked with a red cross, is preserved as Kraus-Meyerohof-offprint collection (AUC), Kraus 46, Ismaelitica. Pamph. 24; see below, n. 29.

23 Kraus, "La bibliographie ismaélienne de W. Ivanow", being a review of Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*.

24 Ivanow complained about Kraus's review is more detail in a letter to Massignon, repeating his low opinion of Husayn Hamdani; see letter Wladimir Ivanow to Louis Massignon, Bombay, 27 October 1933 (Fonds Louis Massignon): "Please convey my best thanks and compliments to Dr. P. Kraus for his interesting review. I must tell, however, that some of his statements also are not quite as reliable as they should be. The Fihristu'l-Majdû' is not the truth itself, very often, indeed; and there is a great deal of the difference of opinions amongst the learned, especially about the authorship of different works, or even about the way to read the titles (cf. Musliyat or Musalliyat etc.). In all cases in which I differed from the Majdû' I had the authority of a recognised local 'authority', whom, however, I could not mention. The corrections of Dr. Kraus, though he does not mention this, come

I am glad to see that so many people are now taking interest in Ismailism, on which I was working for the last twenty years.

By the way, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that in the local Ismaili circles much mirth and amusement is caused every time that in the works of some European scholar references are made to Ismaili MSS in Mr. Hamdani's collection.²⁵ There is in fact no monopoly belonging to Mr. Hamdani, and the majority of these works are very common. For instance, the Majālis of Sayyid-na Mu'ayyad,—there is scarcely any collection in private possession of any well-to-do Bohra in which at least two or three volumes of it would not be found.²⁶ In fact, I do not think it will be an exaggeration to tell that there are in existence at least several thousands of complete sets. It is really difficult to understand why Mr. Hamdani tried to impress his European

from the circles which are the source of Mr. Hamdani's information, and their authority is of just the same value as that of my friends, as it is based chiefly, or entirely on oral tradition. In many manuscripts the passages referring to bibliography differ considerably, and it is necessary to have not only the original MSS at one's disposal, but even several copies of each work to be able to collate. I hope this work will be done in the future." It was only in 1963 that Ivanow published the revised second edition of his work as *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliographical Survey*. In it, Ivanow occasionally refers to the comments and additions made by Kraus in his review of the *Guide*; see Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 21 (on nos 12, 18), 22 (on no. 19); see also *ibid.*, p. 26.

- 25 Ivanow's remark refers to Kraus's exclusive dependence on Hamdani's manuscripts. See Kraus, "Beiträge zur islamischen Ketzergeschichte", p. 110: "Mu'ayyad, dessen Schriften längst verloren geglaubt, vor kurzem in der indischen Privatsammlung Hamdānī in grossem Umfang zutage getreten sind, ist eine der hervorragendsten Erscheinungen innerhalb der fātimidischen Literatur." Hamdani made many of his manuscripts available to Kraus, and Kraus published a series of studies based on these manuscripts over the following years, the first ones being Kraus, "Dschābir ibn Ḥajjān und die Ismā'īliyya" and Kraus, "Hebräische und syrische Zitate". In the latter, Kraus writes (p. 243): "Durch die Güte von Herrn Ḥusayn Hamdānī habe ich eine Reihe von ismā'īlitischen Schriften kennen gelernt, aus denen ich im folgenden einige Zitate mitteile" (citing three books by Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī plus a passage from another one of Kirmānī's books quoted in the *Uyūn al-akhbār* by 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs [d. 872/1468]).
- 26 Referring to the collection of eight hundred lectures delivered by al-Mu'ayyad fi l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya* (see also above, n. 21), which is transmitted in eight volumes of a hundred lectures each. The Hamdani collection includes volumes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8 of the work; see de Blois, *Arabic, Persian and Gujarati Manuscripts*, pp. 70–74 (MSS 1464 through 1470). For two copies of a full set of the work in the library of the Institute for Ismaili Studies, London, see Gacek, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*, pp. 59–64 no. 77. For copies of the work or parts of it in other libraries, see Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 106–107 no. 1. By comparison, the collection of Zāhid 'Alī (on whom see below) includes volumes 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6; see Cortese, *Arabic Ismaili Manuscripts*, pp. 93–96 no. 76. The A. A. A. Fysee manuscript collection includes volumes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (incomplete); see Goriawala, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 57–61 nos 66–72. For the author and the work, see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 130–131; Klemm, *Die Mission*; Klemm, *Memoirs of a Mission*.

acquaintances in this way, suppressing the truth about these books' being available elsewhere.²⁷

Do you know what Ismaili text is Dr. Strothman[n] editing now? He wrote that he is going to publish one but omitted to mention what it is.²⁸

With my wishes of success, and compliments, I remain,
Yours faithfully,
W. Ivanow

Letter 2

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Bombay, 8 June 1934

(Swiss Institute)

The 8th June 1934.

W. Ivanow, Esq., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, India.

Dear Dr. Kraus,

Please excuse me my absentmindedness in having forgotten the list of my publications, which I ultimately left, by an overlook, on my table, instead of enclosing into my preceding letter. I am enclosing it to-day.²⁹

With my best wishes and compliments, I remain,
Yours sincerely,
W. Ivanow

27 Ivanow writes similarly but in a more detailed manner to Massignon in his letter of 27 October 1933 (Fonds Louis Massignon): "One particular thing I do not like: Mr. Hamdani tries to create amongst his friends in Europe, and in his own writings, the impression that he is the sole possessor of the Ismaili MSS, of the 'khizana al-Muhammadiya al-Hamdâniya'. In reality, several members of his family do really possess a number of MSS, which he himself estimates as 'over 200'. But this is by no means anything exceptional. There are probably hundreds of Bohras who possess much larger collections. I personally know several. It is quite common that a pious man, even not a scholar himself, keeps some fifty or so volumes. But the chief collections, containing most precious ancient MSS and autographs are collected in the library of the Head Priest of Dau[d]is, in Surat. The lieutenant of the Sulaymani dâ'î at Bombay, and his central office, also possess a most fine collection, which, however, may be probably smaller than that of the Daudi High Priest. There are large collections also in other cities of India, and a fine collection of MSS in the Yaman, in the possession of the Sulaymani High Priest. For all these reasons there is not the slightest ground for claims of monopoly etc."

28 See below, n. 40 and Appendix 3.

29 The four-page list is preserved in the Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection at the American University in Cairo Library as W. Ivanow, "List of Publications by W. Ivanow, up to the 31st December 1933" [Kraus 46. *Ismaelitica*. Pamph. 24]. See also below, Appendix 1. I thank

In my preceding letter I asked you whether you know what text Prof. Strothman[n] is preparing for publication. I just received a letter from him in which he gives full particulars, so that now the matter is finished.³⁰

Letter 3

Paul Kraus to Wladimir Ivanow, Paris, 17 June 1934

(Swiss Institute)

Paris, the 17th June 1934

Paul Kraus, 9 Square de Port-Royal, Paris XIII

Dear Professor Ivanow,

Many thanks for your letter and your kind offer to send me some of your publications. Let me tell you that I do not possess anyone of them except your *Guide to Ismaili Literature*³¹ and your analysis of *Ummu'l-kitāb*.³² I should be very glad if you could afford it to send me some of them, especially your studies in Shi'ite literature. Unfortunately you forgot to enclose the list which you mention in your letter.³³

By the way please allow me to put you some questions which are in connection with my present work. You know perhaps that I am occupied since several years with the writings of Jâbir ibn Hayyân. I have almost finished my work and hope to print it soon. The first part of the second volume of my study will contain a critical bibliography of all the writings attributed to Jâbir and yet extant in manuscripts or of which quotations are preserved in the writings of Jâbir himself and in books of later date. I have collected the notes on the

Irina Schmid of the Rare Books and Special Collections Digital Library at the American University in Cairo for providing me with a scan of this item. The list includes fifty-three items arranged according to topic: I. Ismailism (nos 1–13), II. Sufism (nos 14–20), III. Manuscripts, Persian and Arabic (nos 21–31), IV. Ethnology (nos 32–35), and V. Persian Philology (nos 36–53).

30 Ivanow refers here to Strothmann's letter of 18 May 1934, a copy of which is preserved in the Strothmann Family Archive; see also below, Appendix 3, and below, n. 40. Contact between Ivanow and Strothmann was established through Arent Jan Wensinck (1882–1939).

31 Ivanow, *Guide*.

32 Ivanow, "Notes sur l'Ummu l-Kitāb' des ismaéliens". For Ivanow's thoughts about the book in 1922, see his letter to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (Appendix 2). For the *Umm al-kitāb*, an anonymous work of the second/eighth century that was preserved by the Nizārī Isma'īlis of Central Asia, see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 165.

33 That Ivanow regularly dispatched offprints of his publications to Kraus from this time onwards is corroborated by the relevant entries in the indexes to the Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection at the American University of Cairo; see Appendix 1.

mss. of almost all Arabic collections in Europe and Asia. Only the mss. of the libraries of Persia (except Tehran) and India (except Hyderabad) are unknown to me. I would be very grateful to you if you could tell me, if you did not find in your exhaustive researches on Persian and Indian manuscripts some writings of Jâbir which I could incorporate in my Bibliography. I am sure that especially in India there are many of them, for a great deal of the European mss. (in Paris and London) are originated of India.³⁴

As I wrote in my Notes on your "Guide" I have the intention to publish as soon as possible the a'lâm al-nubûwat of Abû Hâtim al-Râzî³⁵ with preliminary notes on the literary activity of this author and a detailed study on the philosophical works of Muhammad b. Zakariyyâ al-Râzî which is the adversary refuted in Abû Hâtim's book.³⁶ The manuscript of the Hamdani-collection which I copied some years ago is rather good and the few mistakes of the copyist can be corrected without great difficulty. But I should be very glad if you could procure me, for some weeks only, another manuscript of this writing, especially because in the one at my disposition the first leaf is not preserved.³⁷

34 This portion of Kraus's study on Jâbir was published as Kraus, *Jâbir ibn Ḥayyân*, vol. 1: *Le corpus des écrits jâbiriens*. Ivanow had apparently no relevant information for Kraus, as he is not included among those Kraus thanks in his acknowledgements (ibid., p. xiii). Of Jâbir manuscripts in Iranian libraries, Kraus mentions only one in Mashhad (p. 183) besides those in Tehran (p. 186); in Indian libraries, he lists items in Lahore (p. 183) and Rampur (p. 185) alongside Hyderabad (pp. 176–177). For the Aṣafiyya in Hyderabad, it was 'Alī Ḥasan al-A'ẓamī who provided Kraus with the relevant information and excerpts; see ibid., pp. xiii, 176.

35 Kraus, "La bibliographie ismaélienne de W. Ivanow", p. 485: "Abû Hâtim ar-Râzî: 19. k. a'lâm an-nubûwa ... Je prépare l'édition de cet ouvrage."

36 Abû Hâtim al-Râzî's *A'lâm al-nubuwwa* is a record of a public disputation between the physician and philosopher Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyâ al-Râzî (d. 313/925) and the Isma'ili *dā'ī* Abû Hâtim al-Râzî (d. 322/934) held in Rayy; for the work, see Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 39 no. 3; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 147–148. Kraus's interest in al-Râzî was prompted by his mentor Julius Ruska's (1867–1949) engagement with the author, and it was shared by Kraus's close friend Shlomo Pines, resulting, for example, in Kraus and Pines's jointly written entry on al-Râzî in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; see Meyerhof, "The Philosophy of the Physician, ar-Râzî", pp. 45–46.

37 Kraus's principal studies on Abû Hâtim al-Râzî and editions of some of his works were published as "La conduite du philosophe (Raziana I)", "Extraits (Raziana II)", and *Opera philosophica*. For the latter, see also Meyerhof, "The Philosophy of the Physician, ar-Râzî". For the *A'lâm al-nubuwwa* and other works by Abû Hâtim al-Râzî that Kraus again accessed through Hamdani, see, e.g., Kraus, "La conduite du philosophe (Raziana I)", p. 301 n. 7; and Kraus, "Extraits (Raziana II)", p. 35: "De ses ouvrages plusieurs existent encore dans les diverses collections Bohra de l'Inde. Je dois à mon ami Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī de Surat de m'avoir fait connaitre le k. al-zīna, le k. al-iṣlāḥ et le k. a'lâm al-nubuwwa d'Abû Hâtim al-Râzî." The Hamdani collection contains two copies of *A'lâm al-nubuwwa*; see de Blois, *Arabic, Persian and Gujarati Manuscripts*, pp. 17–18 (MSS 1408 and 1409). For his edition,

I would also ask you if you have not found in some arabic or persian books fragments of the philosophical writings of M[uhammad] b. Z[akariyyâ] Razi. I would be very interested in a work of Nasir-i-Khusraw entitled *bustân al-‘[a]ql* or *bustân al-‘uqûl* (quoted in *zâd al-musafir* p. 52 and 339³⁸) which surely contained long extracts of Râzî’s writings.³⁹

With regard to the ismaili text, prepared by Dr. Strothmann I only know that it is a ms. which he brought from Yemen. If I do not mistake it is not an original ismaili work but a zaidi refutation of Ismailis.⁴⁰

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- Kraus consulted MS 1409, which had been completed on 16 Dhû l-Ĥijja 1306/9 August 1889; see Kraus, “Extraits (Raziana 11)”, p. 37: “Le manuscrit de la collection Hamdâni qui est à la base de cette édition est très moderne (daté 1306 H.), et tout de même excellent.” Ivanow did confirm for Kraus that the beginning of the text was missing in all manuscripts; see Kraus, “Extraits (Raziana 11)”, p. 36: “Malheureusement les premières lignes du manuscrit à notre disposition ainsi que des autres manuscrits que M. W. Ivanow a bien voulu consulter pour nous sont perdues.” Kraus’s plans for further publications about al-Râzî were never realized; see Meyerhof, “The Philosophy of the Physician, ar-Râzî”, pp. 46, 58.
- 38 Kraus had consulted the edition of *Zâd al-musâfirîn* by the Isma‘îli *dâ‘î* and poet Nâṣir-i Khusraw (d. after 461/1070) prepared by Muḥammad Badhl al-Raḥmân (Berlin: Kawiani, 1341/1923). For the author and the work, see Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 120 no. 5; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 134–140. Kraus used the *Zâd al-musâfirîn* extensively in the preparation of his *Opera philosophica*; see Meyerhof, “The Philosophy of the Physician, ar-Râzî”, *passim*. Nâṣir-i Khusraw’s *Bustân al-‘uqûl*, mentioned in some of his other works, has not come down to us; see Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 122 no. 15. For Nâṣir-i Khusraw, see also De Smet, “Nâṣir-i Khusraw”.
- 39 See also Kraus, “La conduite du philosophe (Raziana 1)”, p. 301. Kraus posed a similar question to Hellmut Ritter (1892–1971) in early August 1934; see letter Kraus to Ritter, 8 August 1934 (Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, Familienarchiv Ritter [1834–1967], Nachlass 340 Ritter b, correspondence Hellmut Ritter with Paul Kraus): “Betreffs meiner Arbeit über Râzî, zu der ich schon reiche Materialien habe (in London habe ich eine Autobiographie gefunden) wollte ich Sie noch etwas fragen: Nâṣir-i Khosraw erwähnt in seiner Risâla (gedruckt am Ende der neuen Ausgabe des *Dîwân* [perhaps referring to the 1929 print in Tehran; see Fyze, “Materials”, p. 62 no. 18]) daß er im *کتاب بستان العقل* (anderswo *بستان العقول*) ausführlich über die philosophische Lehre Râzîs gehandelt habe. Vor längerer Zeit hörte ich irgendwo, daß Sie in Stambul eine neue Schrift des N.Kh. gefunden haben und ich bilde mir ein, daß der Titel *بستان العقل* bei dieser Gelegenheit fiel. Ist das ein Irrtum? Sollte ich Recht haben, hätte die Schrift eine ungeheuere Bedeutung für mich.” Ritter’s reply has apparently been lost.
- 40 During his sojourn in Ṣan‘â’ in spring 1930, Rudolf Strothmann was given access to a copy of the *Kitâb Qawâ'id ‘aqâ'id al-Muḥammad* by the Zaydi author Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamî (d. 711/1311–12) from the imam’s library. The work includes a lengthy refutation of Isma‘ilism. Strothmann transcribed this and possibly other parts of the book and published it as Strothmann (ed.), *Die Geheimlehre der Batiniten nach der Apologie “Dogmatik des Hauses Muhammed” von Muhammed Ibn al-Hasan ad-Dailami*; see also Appendix 3. For the work, see also Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 176.

Please allow me to send you with the same mail two articles on Jâbir b. Hayyân which I published some years ago.⁴¹

With my best thanks for your kind answer and compliments
I remain,
Yours faithfully

Letter 4

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Bombay, 27 July 1934

(Swiss Institute)

The 27th July 1934.

W. Ivanow, Esq., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, India.

Dear Dr. Kraus,

Thank you for your letters. I am trying to get a copy of the *A'lâm u'n-nubuwwat*, which you require, but so far I could not succeed to get one on loan for a sufficient time to be able to send it to you. The Ismailis are usually very peculiar people,—they give me their books, and have no objections to my reading them. But as soon as I mention that I want to send it to Europe, they positively refuse to give it. I am trying to tap yet another source, and will send it, together with my printed works, probably with the next mail. In any case, I can get the first three or four pages of the book copied for you.

Are you giving a complete translation of the *A'lâm*, or only the text? I have seen a magnificent old copy, dated 723 Hijri, and exceptionally well preserved. But it is impossible to copy the initial pages from it, because the owner does not lend it out to any one.⁴²

With my best wishes, I remain,
Yours sincerely,
W. Ivanow

41 Kraus, "Dschâbir ibn Ḥajjân und die Ismâ'îlija"; Kraus, "Studien zu Jâbir ibn Ḥayyân".

42 Compare Kraus, "Extraits (Raziana II)", p. 37: "M. W. Ivanow, auquel nous devons des informations précieuses sur l'existence de plusieurs autres manuscrits dans l'Inde (parmi eux un daté de 693 H.), a bien voulu faire copier pour nous le début du texte d'après le manuscrit en possession d'un des ses amis ismaéliens." Kraus perhaps refers here to the AH 723 witness mentioned by Ivanow (though giving the date wrong), unless Ivanow had unearthed another seventh/thirteenth-century witness of the work and told Kraus about it in another letter, which has not come down to us.

Letter 5

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Bombay, 12 October 1934

(Swiss Institute)

The 12 October 1934.

W. Ivanow, Esq., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Hornby Road, Bombay, 1. India.

Dear Dr. Kraus,

My inquiries from different friends among the Ismailis brought to light the matter as follows:

the A'lâmu'n-nubuwwat most probably contained a muqaddima but, so far as I could obtain the information, the usual copies do not contain it, and the work begins abruptly with the first faṣl. Sixteen pages of it are copied for me, and I am posting them to you, if possible, to-day, or, as it is already late, by the next mail.⁴³ The work is rather rare, and only three friends of mine have copies. All of them refuse to give their copies to be copied for me, but promise to make a copy for me by their own hand. This means either nothing, or a very long time before a copy can be obtained. Anyhow, I asked all three to make a copy for me, and let us see whether it will be possible to have any. I also asked some other people to get a copy for me, just to have a look.

I must tell you that this moment is rather not quite opportune. The High Priest,⁴⁴ who was not long ago on pilgrimage in Kerbela, on his return, excommunicated several influential Bohras in Karachi, and on his return to Bombay won two important law suits.⁴⁵ Thus the orthodox party are triumphant and aggressive, while the more liberal are depressed and afraid to risk. After some time the things will most probably revert to the earlier order, and it will be easier then to get the book.

I am very sorry that it took such a long time to get the information, but it was not a bit longer than usual. Things take a long time here generally.

With my best compliments, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

W. Ivanow

43 For Kraus's usage of these materials, see above, n. 37.

44 Perhaps a reference to the fifty-first *dā'ir* of the Da'ūdi Bohras, Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn; on him, see above, n. 12. Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn was involved in a great number of lawsuits in his attempts to repress dissident movements within the community that disputed his authority; see O'Sullivan, "The Multiple Registers of Arabic in the Daudi Bohra Da'wa".

45 For examples, see <https://indiankanoon.org/doc/510078/> and <https://indiankanoon.org/docfragment/1278382/?formInput=dawoodi%20bohra%201934> (accessed 2 April 2024).

Please do not mention about my sending to you a copy of these few pages of the book to Mr. Hamdani, and do not show it to him, as otherwise the man who has given it to me may get into very serious troubles.

Do you know Dr. Otto Spies, who is now teaching Arabic in Aligarh? If so, what sort of man he is? He recently submitted some of his work to our Association for publication.⁴⁶ I never read in my life something so stupid, idiotic, and helplessly amateurish than his stuff, which I rejected unhesitatingly. Even an *Indian* student, a beginner,—a creature which is not generally supposed to possess any brains at all,—would do this incomparably better. And this is the Professor, specially imported to teach the “last word of the Western methods”. I cannot understand how such rubbish could get through.⁴⁷

46 The content of Otto Spies's (1901–1981) submission to the Islamic Research Association is unknown. He never published anything in the Islamic Research Association series, for which see Daftary, “Publications of the Islamic Research Association”. Spies taught at Aligarh Muslim University beginning in the winter term of 1932/33, and his appointment as professor and chairman of the Department of Arabic in Aligarh was renewed in the autumn of 1935 for another two years. Upon returning from India, Spies was appointed Carl Brockelmann's (1868–1956) successor at Breslau on 1 October 1936. After World War II, between 1 January 1946 and 1951, Spies served as visiting professor at Bonn University and in 1951 was appointed Ordinarius, a position he retained until his retirement in 1968. During his time in India, Spies published repeatedly in Indian journals; see “Veröffentlichungen von O. Spies”, pp. 743–744. Kraus shared Ivanow's critical attitude towards Spies's work; see, for example, Kraus's final remarks in his otherwise positive review of Spies's *Three Treatises of Mysticism*: “Leider ist es dem Rezensenten nicht möglich, die vorliegende Publikation mit uneingeschränktem Beifall zu begrüßen. Die Übersetzung wird oft dem Wortlaut des Originals nicht gerecht und enthält eine Reihe von groben Versehen. Auch der persische Text ist nicht immer mit der nötigen Sorgfalt hergestellt worden. Ich beschränke mich zur Begründung dieses Urteils auf eine kleine Auswahl von offenkundigen Fehlern ...”.

47 At some point in May 1932 Kraus was also offered an appointment in Aligarh, but for some reason the appointment never took place; Massignon's letter of recommendation for this purpose, dated 3 June 1932, is preserved in the Fonds Louis Massignon, and it reads as follows: “Prof. Dr. L. Massignon ... is of opinion that the exceptional gifts and rare preparation, as Arabist & as Islamicist scholar, of Dr. Paul Kraus (Forschungsinstitut für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften in Berlin) could give a remarkable impulse to the intellectual rena[i]ssance of Moslem India, if an opportunity was given to him to work in Aligarh, as University professor.” The Berlin Ordinarius and Director of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942), also recommended Paul Kraus for the position at the time; see letter Eugen Mittwoch to an unidentified recipient, Berlin, 20 June 1932 (Geheimes Staatsarchiv-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA Rep. 208 A, Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Nr. 21, Bl. 100a): “Hochgeehrter Herr. Auf die unter dem 12. April d. J. an mich ergangene Aufforderung der Aligarh Muslim University, Kandidaten für die dortige Professur des Arabischen zu benennen, habe ich Herrn Dr. P. Kraus nahegelegt, sich um diese Professur zu bewerben. Ueber diesen Kandidaten erlaube ich mir, das Folgende zu bemerken: Dr. Kraus, tschechoslovakischer Staatsangehöriger, hat seine

Letter 6

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Bombay, 1 June 1935

(Swiss Institute)

The 1st June 1935.

W. Ivanow, Esq., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Hornby Road, Bombay 1, India.

Dear Dr. Kraus,

Thank you for your kind letter and the pages from the *A'lamu'n-nubuwwat*. Surely, I will do my best to collate them with the copy which I can get. Only I must tell you that this will take some time, because the owner is gone on business to East Africa,⁴⁸ and is expected back in the end of June or the beginning of July. As soon as he is back, I will ask him to lend me the book, and will try my best to settle all the questions.

I am trying my best to induce some of my local Muhammadan friends to subscribe to your book on Jabir, but this also is a lengthy matter. Whenever the question is of paying money the people do not make special hurry.

With regard to your desire to have the *A'lam* to be published, I think it would be very valuable and interesting, but a very difficult proposition. The Bohras will never like the idea of having this book published. The Khojas will simply smile,—this is not their book, and they do not care about such antiquity. Ordinary Muhammadans of India are so hopelessly degenerated, stupid, deprived of the last vestige of any culture and intellectual interests that it is

Studien in Prag begonnen und in Berlin zum Abschluss gebracht. Er war ursprünglich Assyriologe, hat sich aber auch mit den anderen semitischen Sprachen, besonders Hebräisch, Arabisch und Aramäisch von vornherein intensiv beschäftigt. In den letzten Jahren hat er sich vollständig der Arabistik und Islam-Wissenschaft zugewandt. Auf diesem Gebiete hat er eine Reihe von Arbeiten gemacht, und es sind ihm hierbei Entdeckungen gelungen, die ihn mit einem Schlage in die vorderste Reihe der jüngeren Orientalisten gestellt haben. Diese Arbeiten gelten besonders dem Alchimisten Jabir, dem Ketzler Ibn Rawandi und dem grossen Arzte Ar-Razi. Bei der ausserordentlichen Begabung und dem immensen Fleiss von Dr. Kraus sind auch für die Zukunft äusserst wertvolle Arbeiten von ihm zu erwarten. Er ist Privatdozent an unserer Universität und besitzt ein ausserordentliches Lehrgeschick. Seine menschlichen Eigenschaften sichern ihm die dauernde Sympathie seiner Lehrer, Kollegen und Schüler. Er besitzt eine ausserordentliche Sprachbegabung. Es wird ihm daher leicht fallen, Vorlesungen in englischer oder auch in einer orientalischen Sprache zu halten. Mit ausgezeichnete Hochachtung Ihr ganz ergebener Mittwoch." Cf. also Kraemer, "The Death of an Orientalist", p. 194; Šćrbačić, "Von der Semitistik zur Islamwissenschaft und zurück", p. 408.

48 For the Isma'ili presence in East Africa since the mid-nineteenth century, see Teipar, "The Migrations of Indians to Eastern Africa".

quite hopeless to start speaking to them. They are *filth*, with the rarest exceptions. In case any possibility presents itself, I will surely inform you, but at present I do not foresee any.

The full text of the Ummu'l-kitab is accepted for "Der Islam". Prof. Strothmann was very much interested in it, and hopes to have it ready very soon. Everything is already with the publishers.⁴⁹

I am at present working over some Nizari works in Persian.⁵⁰ It is very difficult to work in a place like Bombay in which the libraries are miserably poor, and contain only very few modern books, and a very incomplete set of periodicals.

With my best wishes and compliments, I remain,
Yours sincerely,
W. Ivanow

Letter 7

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Tartoons, 9 July 1937

(Swiss Institute)

Tartoons, the 9th July 1937.

W. Ivanow, Esq., c/o P. Mashmeer, Esq., Iraq Railways, Bagdad, Iraq.

Dear Dr. Kraus,

Thank you very much for your kind postcard informing about your departure from Egypt. I hope that by now you are already settled, and working full speed over your new publications. Please convey my best compliments to Mrs. Kraus.⁵¹ I hope that she is now feeling much better in the cooler air of Europe.

I visited Damascus, Hama, Hums, Halab, Salamia, Masyaf, Qadmus, Banias, Lattaquie, and now am in Tartoons, where I was so kindly met by your pupil, Mr. Muhammad Hadj Hussein.⁵² We are now planning with him a tour in the

49 The edition was published as Ivanow, "Ummu'l-kitāb".

50 I was unable to identify the works in question.

51 I.e., Bettina *née* Strauss, the sister of Leo Strauss (1899–1973). Kraus married Bettina, his second wife, on 20 December 1936 in Cairo. Bettina died on 23 January 1942 giving birth to their daughter Jenny. See Kraemer, "The Death of an Orientalist", p. 198.

52 Ivanow is probably referring to Muhammad Tartusi, whom he mentions in Ivanow, *Fifty Years in the East*, p. 137 as follows: "I remember that before my departure from Cairo, Dr P. Kraus, mentioned above, introduced me to one of his students, Muhammad Tartusi,

village of al-Khawabi, from where, most probably, I will come back to Tartoos, then to Safita and Tell Kalakh, and thence to Damascus via Baalbek, in order to take the bus for Bagdad,⁵³—most probably in the first week of August.

I made inquiries about the supposed autograph of Qadi Nu'man's Da'a'imu'l-Islam⁵⁴ in possession of one of Kamil Husayn's⁵⁵ students, about whom he wrote to me in Bombay. All this proved to be, as I supposed from the beginning,—a fruit of the fiery imagination. In reality the local Ismailis have only a fragment of the Da'a'im, and even this comes from India, from where it was brought some forty years ago. I was very glad to see all their books,—I am publishing a note on this,⁵⁶—but found nothing of special interest. It is said that quite a number of Ismaili books is in the possession of various Nusayri shaikhs. I tried my best to get access to them, but, unfortunately, so far without any success. The Nusayris are singularly uncommunicative, and although I am quite sure that it will be possible to find all their secrets, it is necessary to approach them from an unofficial side. I, however, saw only notables and Nusayri Qadis, to whom I was introduced by my Ismaili and other friends, and these are, and must be expected to be, quite hopeless.⁵⁷ I wish I could spare some weeks for this purpose,—there are indications that the matter is not so difficult. The local Ismailis are famous for their love for secret,—they defied all the attempts of travellers so far to find the truth about them.

But, strangely, I had not the slightest difficulty with them and after a few minutes of “official restraint”, I was talking to them, in my horrid Arabic, as an old friend. It is not their fault that they have not much to show,—they were so often looted, and so many of their books perished in the process of hiding, that it is really admirable that they possess any books at all.

Syria is fascinating, but in the interior and in the hills. I am not very fond of sea and the humid air near it, but have to stay a couple of days in Tartoos in

who was a native of this place and owned a village in the vicinity. He spoke plausible English and he rendered a great service to me; without him I would have been rather helpless.”

53 In the end, Ivanow travelled to Baghdad by car when two Syrian merchants offered him a ride; see Ivanow, *Fifty Years in the East*, p. 139.

54 For *Da'a'im al-Islām fī ma'rīfat al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām wa-l-qaḍāyā wa-l-aḥkām al-ma'thūra 'an ahl al-bayt* by the Fatimid chief *qāḍī* Nu'mān b. Muḥammad b. Mansūr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥayyūn al-Maghribī al-Miṣrī (d. 363/974), see Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 56–57; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 142–143.

55 For Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, see below, n. 69.

56 This note was apparently never published.

57 Compare Ivanow's account of his visits to Shaykh Muḥammad and Shaykh 'Abd Allāh in Ivanow, *Fifty Years in the East*, pp. 137–138.

order to get my letters and to bring my correspondence up to date. I am very much obliged to Mr. M[uhammad] Hadj Hussein,⁵⁸ who was so kind as to find a room for me, which is quite good for the purpose. Without him I would most probably go to one of the few local unspeakably dirty “hotels”, in which every touch to things around pollutes body and soul. It is sad that here in Syria there is nothing like Indian dak-bungalows, kept by the government, in which you may put up, and in which cleanliness is sure.⁵⁹

If you go to Syria, and if you like to glance at what Arab life was about five centuries, or earlier, ago, come for a couple of days to Lattaquie.⁶⁰ Jerusalem, Damascus, and even Halab are nothing compared with it in regard to preservation of the mediaeval style and air. The modern hybrid and levantine part of the town is nauseatic, but the old town is a revelation,—I have not seen yet anywhere in the East such impressingly old pieces of human habitation. The architecture, stones, streets, everything is breathing with the time of the Crusaders, and even, perhaps, you may feel the air which Nasir Khusraw [394–453/1003–1061] and Hasan Sabbah [430–518/1037–1124] were breathing. I came there in order to see a Nusayri shaikh, and was sadly disappointed to find that he has gone to Beirouth. But my walks in the old town compensated me for this sad disappointment.

I will be glad to hear from you soon. My address as above will be good till the middle of August, approximately,—and later it will be c/o Imperial Bank of Iran, Tehran. I will get to Tehran, most probably, towards the beginning of September, and if you want anything there in the way of books, etc., please write to me. I do not expect to stay in Tehran long, and will be off as soon as the necessary arrangements are made for my further tour.

Please convey my best compliments to Prof. L. Massignon. I was again and again most pleasantly surprised to see how well known is his name generally in Syria and Egypt. I hope I will find the same in Iraq and Persia.

With my best thanks and wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

W. Ivanow

58 See above, n. 52.

59 For the history of the dak bungalows and the network of travellers' guest houses in British India since the 1840s, see Bhandari, *The Raj on the Move*.

60 Compare Ivanow's much briefer mention of Latakia in Ivanow, *Fifty Years in the East*, p. 138.

Letter 8

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Baghdad, 20 August 1937

(Swiss Institute)

Baghdad, the 20th August 1937.

W. Ivanow, Esq., c/o Imperial Bank of Iran, Tehran, Iran (Perse).

Dear Dr. Kraus,

I hope by this time you are long since settled in Paris, studying at full speed, and profiting yourself by the great Paris libraries and the company of the learned men. Please convey my best compliments, to Mrs. Kraus, and to Prof. L. Massignon.

I have completed my tour in Syria, which was rather quite successful. Syria is a nice and pleasant country, and although there are spots even on the sun, yet their number and size are rather very small there as compared with many and many other places. I left it on the 3rd of this month, and arrived in Baghdad, where I am still waiting for the Persian visa. It seems that the government of this ancient country is rapidly falling into absolute imbecility, and in its hopeless incapability of managing their affairs, is doing all sorts of the most idiotic things. Their consuls everywhere are perfectly ignorant of their own duties and regulations, are stupid beyond all measure, and lazy to the utmost. When I applied to the Persian consul in Bombay, whom I knew for some time, for a visa, he told me that as the visa is given only for a month, and as I am going not directly there, it is better to get it in Baghdad. Now, when I applied here, the filthy and ignorant clerks in the Baghdad consulate at once raised the question, why I did not get the visa in Bombay. As in my passport it was written that my profession is that of a "journalist", they said that they have to refer to the Tehran centre, for a special permission. In all sorts of talk about a week passed, and now it is 11 days since Tehran was requested by a wire, which cost me about two pounds. Thus instead of remaining in filthy Baghdad for three or four days, I am already staying for 17 days, and still only God knows when I will be able to start. Really all this is irritating to the utmost. And these scoundrels advertise widely, inviting tourists to visit their country! I think the widest publicity should be given to all cases such as this in order to warn those who are simple enough to believe all their lies. I will try my best in this direction, of course, and will repay all their nonsense thousandfolds. You realise quite well how irritating it is to waste time and money for absolutely no reason whatever, simply because of stupidity of all such rogues.⁶¹

61 Ivanow briefly mentions his difficulties in getting a visa to Iran in Ivanow, *Fifty Years in the East*, p. 139.

Baghdad at this time of the year is one of the most unpleasant imaginable places to stay in. Temperature varies from 100 to 120 Fahrenheit, and this is simply dismaying. When you walk in the streets, the wind resembles the breathing of a steel-melting furnace. I visited Baghdad in January 1914, and at that time it was rather cold, cloudy, and mud was deep everywhere instead of dust. But at that time it looked more genuine, picturesque, and attractive. In spite of the heat, I visited Kerbela and Najaf, but found not much interesting there, because,—of course—it was impossible to enter the shrines, and the cemeteries are astoundingly new: graves dating from before 1300 are rare exceptions. And, from the point of their size, these cemeteries are insignificant as compared with the Qarafa of Cairo,⁶²—that is as royal and grand as everything there.⁶³

There are a few private libraries which contain a few interesting MSS. But Baghdad is not the place for books. The only official library, that of the department of waqfs, is very small. It contains only ... 69 MSS, of which none is interesting.⁶⁴

Shaykh Hibatu'l-lah Shahrastani in a conversation wondered why did not you write to him, and acknowledge the notes on Jabir Ibn Hayyan which he sent to your more than a year ago, more than thirty pages. I promised to him to write to you. As you have not received my papers last year, is it possible that his letter was also lost?⁶⁵

I hope, however, that at last all this nonsense with my visa will come to an end, and I will immediately start for Tehran, where I will try to get some sense

62 The Qarāfa al-kubrā cemetery is located east of Fustāt in Cairo; see Bloom, "The Mosque of the Qarafa in Cairo".

63 See the equally negative report about his 1937 visit to the 'Aṭabāt cities in Ivanow, *Fifty Years in the East*, pp. 139–140: "But my time in Baghdad had not been wasted. I made a tour of the Shi'i sacred places in southern Mesopotamia, Karbala and Najaf. There was nothing exciting there; they cannot be compared to the religious buildings in Meshhed and Qum in Iran. I walked in the cemeteries of Najaf and read inscriptions on tombstones, but there were no old dates. Graves are rented out here and when the relatives of the deceased stop their payments, the headstones are removed and the place is rented out to somebody else. Thus it is hopeless to look for any historical materials there."

64 Probably referring to the *Maktabat al-Awqāf*. For the library, its holdings, and published catalogues, see Roper, *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pp. 7–9; vol. 4, pp. 216–217.

65 For Shaykh Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī (1884–1967), who was in close contact with a number of German orientologists, including Hellmut Ritter, see al-'Alawī, *Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī*; al-Ḥasanī, *al-Sayyid Hibat al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn al-Shahrastānī*. Ritter's correspondence with al-Shahrastānī is preserved in Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg (Bestand 340 Ritter b, Nr. 308). Since Kraus does not mention him in his acknowledgements (Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, vol. 1: *Le corpus des écrits jābiriens*, p. xiii), the information al-Shahrastānī had gathered on Jābir probably never reached Kraus.

at the central offices, in order to be able to do my work undisturbed. If this is impossible, then I may try to return to Syria for a short while again, and go back to Bombay via Egypt or Basra.

Please write to me to the Tehran address; I will write to you as soon as everything settles, and I am in Persia. I hope Prof. L. Massignon is in good health, working over his new and interesting materials.

With my best wishes and compliments, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

W. Ivanow

Letter 9

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Tehran, 29 October 1937

(Swiss Institute)

Tehran, the 29th Oct. 1937.

W. Ivanov, Esq., c/o British Consulate, Kerman, Iran (Persia).

Dear Dr. Kraus,

I was very glad to receive your kind letter, and to see that you are safely back in Cairo. Please convey also my compliments to Mrs. Kraus. I hope you will have out your second vol. of *Jabir* before long.

My tour proceeds normally, although not without various complications, and I hope to be back in Bombay by the beginning of January. At present it is too early still to sum up its results, and I will do this on my return. I am very busy now with preparations for finally leaving Tehran, and taking up the journey towards the Persian Gulf.⁶⁶

Although I am always at your service, and will always be only too glad to repay your kindness by doing some commissions for you, I am obliged to tell you that it is now not a proper time to buy books here: for the *Rawdatu'l-jannat*⁶⁷ they demand more than £ 3 ½, and so on, in the same strain, plus the difficulties

66 Ivanow may eventually have taken a different route from Tehran back to Bombay; see Ivanow, *Fifty Years in the East*, p. 140: "A few weeks later, I went by bus from Tehran to Meshhed and then to Duzdap, which had not yet been renamed Zahidan, and from there by train to Bombay for the new year of 1938."

67 *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī ahwāl al-'ulamā' wa-l-sādāt* by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Kh'wānsārī (d. 1313/1895). In 1937, the work was available only in a lithograph edition printed in Tehran in 1307 [1889].

to get these books out through custom houses. It is much better to get all this from Najaf, and I hope to get my supply of books from there.

I know Persia for almost thirty years,⁶⁸ and I am sorry that my visit was postponed for such a long time. Formerly it would have been much easier to do all commissions about books, etc. Tehran is quite different from Cairo, in every respect, and I am sure, you would not be very enthusiastic about it, especially about its atmosphere,—Cairo is a corner of Europe, and here it is about three thousand kilometres far from it.

Prof. Kamil Husein writes to me that he is going to Europe, definitely, and leaves my little text in your hands.⁶⁹ I will be very glad, indeed, if it would be possible to find a publisher, but I am afraid that it requires some “deciphering”, as it appears, in the form as it is, rather a fairy tale. I have prepared a complete translation and an historical analysis, and its value became apparent to me only after this work: in the beginning I also was rather inclined to treat the booklet as rubbish.

There seem to be no changes in Bombay since I left. Fyzee writes that the book of Arberry will be out soon, perhaps even already is out.⁷⁰ There is still no movement with other proposed publications, by Strothmann,⁷¹ Margoliouth,⁷² and Fyzee⁷³ himself.

68 For Ivanow's sojourn in Iran between the end of 1911 and the beginning of 1914, see Ivanow, *Fifty Years in the East*, pp. 54–56.

69 Ivanow's “my little text” evidently refers to his edition of the *Istitār al-imām wa-tafarruq al-du'āt fi l-jazā'ir li-ṭalabihī* by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nisābūrī (d. after 386/996); see below, letter 10 and n. 77. The Egyptian medical doctor, professor of orthopaedic surgery, and rector of 'Ayn Shams University from 1951 to 1954 Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn (1901–1977) was also active as a scholar, writer, and editor. On him, see Heshmat, “Ḥusayn, Muḥammad Kāmil”; Expert-Bezancon, “Notes biographiques”. For Kāmil Ḥusayn's studies on Ismailitica, see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 299.

70 Referring to Arthur J. Arberry's (1905–1969) edition of Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Shahriyār 'Irāqī's (d. 688/1289) poem *Ushshāq-nāma*, published as the eighth volume in the Islamic Research Association series; see Arberry (ed. and trans.), *The Song of Lovers ('Ushshāq-nāma) by 'Irāqī*. Julian Baldick has shown that the attribution of the poem to 'Irāqī is incorrect and that it was rather composed by one 'Aṭā'ī, writing some thirty years after 'Irāqī's death. See Baldick, “The Authenticity of 'Irāqī's *Ushshāq-nāma*”. For 'Irāqī, see also Feuillebois, “'Irāqī, Fakhr al-Dīn”.

71 Referring to Rudolf Strothmann's edition of the *Kitāb al-Kashf* of Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman (d. ca. 346/957), ultimately published in 1952 as no. 13 in the Islamic Research Association series. For the author and the work, see also Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 70–75, esp. 73 no. 5; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 121–122; Gillon, *The Book of Unveiling*.

72 See below, n. 110.

73 See below, n. 80.

Please convey my compliments to all our friends, whom I remember with great pleasure and gratitude for the time they wasted on me. I hope that Dr. Kamil Husein does some more work on the *Diwan* of Sayyid-na al-Mu'ayyad.⁷⁴ By the way, it seems that I have solved the strange fact that Persian authors regard the *Da'a'imu 'l-Islam* as an Ithna-'ashari book: a copy was produced to me, and it proved to be a much later, and purely Ithna-'ashari work on Shi'ite tradition. Its author is unknown.⁷⁵ But even if the book is by some one else, it is extremely puzzling,—from where comes the idea that it is by Qadi Nu'man, and how his name, and the titles of his other writings came into the works of the pious Ithna-'ashari scholars?⁷⁶ I am very sorry that I was unable to procure a copy of it,—its copies are rare, and it is hopeless to ask the owners to arrange about transcription,—nothing but most definite and binding promises will be all that you receive. I am trying, however, to do something in this direction, although without much hope.

My address as above will be most probably valid as long as the middle of December. After this—Bombay. I think, it would be wise to write to me to the Kerman address only before the end of November, as letters take a lot of time to reach there.

With my best wishes and compliments, expecting to write you much more after my return to Bombay, I remain,
Yours very sincerely,
W. Ivanow.

74 Muhammad Kāmil Ḥusayn's edition of the *Dīwān* of al-Mu'ayyad fī l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1078) was published in Cairo in 1949. See also Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 107 no. 3; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 130.

75 In his *al-Dharī'a ilā taṣānīf al-Shī'a*, Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihirānī (d. 1389/1970) lists two works by this title by Imāmī authors, either of which might be meant here; see Āghā Buzurg, *Dharī'a*, vol. 8, p. 197 nos 768 and 769. An abridgement of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Da'ā'im al-Islām* was composed by the Imami scholar Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Karājīkī (d. 449/1057), but this does not survive; see, e.g., Wilferd Madelung's review of Hamdani's *Between Revolution and State*.

76 For the question of *al-qāḍī* Nu'mān's religious affiliation and the assumption that he was an Imami before converting to Isma'ilism, see Poonawala, "A Reconsideration of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Madhhab*".

Letter 10

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Bombay, 3 August 1938

(Swiss Institute)

The 3rd August 1938.

W. Ivanow, Esq., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Bombay, 1. India.

Dear Dr. Kraus,

Thank you very much for the proofs of the *Istitar*, which I found awaiting me as I returned from a short outing.⁷⁷ It is very kind of you, indeed, but, at the same time, there are many questions which arise. First of all you do not mention whether I have to read and return the proofs. In the English portion there are a few misprints. I just had time to glance at the introduction and a couple of pages of the text. Really, it is a very hard thing to me to acquiesce in seeing the article printed under my name. I had only once something of this kind, when Massignon published under my name a collection of quotations referring to al-Hallaj which I gradually sent to him from Calcutta.⁷⁸ But this really was my work. Here, however, your and A'zami's share is much greater, and I would like immensely,—if there is still time to change,—if my name would be struck off.

77 Eventually published as Ivanow, "Mudhakkirāt fi ḥarakat al-Mahdī al-Fāṭimī", with editions of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nisābūrī's *Istitār al-imām* (pp. 93–107) and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Yamānī's *Sīrat al-ḥājib Ja'far b. 'Alī* (pp. 107–133). Ivanow's introduction (pp. 89–92) was translated by Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn. In it, Ivanow thanks Paul Kraus, Muḥammad Ḥasan al-A'zamī, and Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn for their help in getting the texts published. Ivanow included a more detailed analysis of the two texts, together with English translations, in Ivanow, *Ismaili Tradition*, pp. 7–12, 157–223. Here, he again thanks Kraus, A'zamī, and Kāmil Ḥusayn for their help (p. 7). For the two works, see also Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 81–82 no. 1, 92 no. 2; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 140, 159.

78 Ivanow had sent this material to Massignon in English, intending it to complement the latter's "Bibliographie hallagienne", which was included in Massignon's 1922 *Passion d'al-Hallāj*. Massignon summarized Ivanow's material in French and published it under the latter's name with an explanatory note at the beginning; see Ivanow, "Nouveaux documents persans concernant al-Halladj", pp. 261–262: "Au cours d'un inventaire analytique des manuscrits persans conservés dans l'Inde, spécialement à Calcutta, VI. Iwanow a réuni les 'addenda' suivants à la 'bibliographie hallagienne' publiée en 1922; nous le remercions de nous en avoir communiqué la liste et l'analyse [sommaire entre crochets]; elles sont publiées ici, de façon très résumée, suivant les nos de classement dont elles comblent les lacunes; pour montrer, sur un exemple précis, l'enrichissement documentaire que l'islamologie peut attendre de catalogues, sérieusement dressés, après lecture du contenu, des manuscrits persans de théologie islamique, conservés en Orient"; and p. 267: "Trad. résumée de l'anglais de VI. Iwanow".

As perhaps you may remember, my idea was to publish the work as a small booklet, with an introduction in Arabic. If I would know that the latter is to be printed in English, I would write it slightly differently. I am sure, you quite realise my apprehensions, and feelings of a certain uneasiness. Something must be done, but I cannot see from here what is practicable. Please be so kind to act on my behalf. I realise better than any one that my text, in the form in which it was handed to you, was in a poor state, in spite of its being read by a Bohra specialist in Arabic, a professor in their madrasa. My MSS were hopelessly bad, and my search for a better one was interrupted by my departure on my tour. I think, at least a paragraph may be added, from the publishers, to the effect that my text was in an unsatisfactory state as based on bad MSS, but you and A'zami have found a better copy,⁷⁹ and revised what was prepared by me. Please do what you can, saving me the tortures of the conscience, and possible accusations in using “ghosts” in future.

I would be very much obliged if you may let me know what is intended in Egypt for the approaching celebrations of the millennial anniversary of the foundation of Cairo, and when exactly such celebrations are going to take the place. I asked all this from Kamil Husain, but, unfortunately, my letter to him was returned undelivered.

I am glad to inform you Fyzee's edition of the Amiriyya will be out very soon, probably within a month or so.⁸⁰ I have sent a few papers dealing with some of my Ismaili finds in Persia. So far I had no time to take up the Syrian questions. I think I have sent to you a copy of the reprint of my paper in the J[ournal of the] R[oyal] A[sianic] S[ociety], on the sect of the senior Nizari line.⁸¹ I am sorry to tell you, that this most interesting discovery, of the split, and its effects,

79 In Ivanow, “Mudhakkirāt fi ḥarakat al-Mahdī al-Fāṭimī”, no details are given on the witnesses on which the edition is based. Ivanow most likely refers here to a manuscript of the *Istitār* in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo; for details on the Cairo manuscript, see Poonawala, *Bibliography*, p. 92.

80 Referring to Asaf A. A. Fyzee's (1899–1981) edition of two epistles attributed to the tenth Fatimid caliph and Musta'li imam, al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh, Abū 'Alī Manṣūr (d. 524/1130). The first, *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya fi ibtāl da'wat al-Nizāriyya*, is based on a meeting held in Cairo at the Fatimid court in Shawwāl 516/December 1122 and was written down by Ibn al-Ṣayrafi (d. 542/1147); the text is directed against the claims of Nizār b. al-Mustaṣir (d. 488/1095) to the Ismaili imamate. The second epistle, *Risālat iqā' sawā'iq al-ighrām*, is a refutation of a Nizārī reply to *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*, and it was published as *Al-Hidayatu'l-Amiriya, Being an Epistle of the Tenth Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir bi-aḥkāmī'l-lāh, and an Appendix, Iqā' sawa'iqi'l-irgham*. For the *Hidāya's* historical context, see Stern, “The Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir”. See also Poonawala, *Bibliography*, pp. 130–131 no. 1; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 109–110.

81 Ivanow, “A Forgotten Branch of the Ismailis”; cf. Daftary, “Bibliography”, p. 194 no. 82.

is a subject which pre-occupied me for the last months, since my return, but which I cannot at present make into a paper. The reason is that my Ismaili friends, to whom I communicated my finds, became horrified by the implications of the documents, and asked me not to publish anything without first letting them to consult the opinion of the Agha Khan.⁸² And this, as you may realise, is a hopeless thing, as Agha Khan never has time, inclination, or knowledge to deal with such historical and theoretical questions. So several months of my work were practically wasted, at least for the present.

I think I wrote to you that the Haydarabadi Bohra scholar, Zahid Ali,⁸³ who visited Egypt, and edited the Diwan of Ibn Hani,⁸⁴ has produced a lengthy compilation on the history and religion of the Fatimids, in Urdu. He brought it to show to me, and I had a chance to glance through it, very superficially, indeed, as I had only two days at my disposal. It seems to be the usual Oriental compilation, with very little of what is new. The section on the religion obviously was quite beyond the capacities of the author, who produces a rather dull impression. As usually is the case with the "great" Arabic scholars in India, 95% of their mental energy is consumed by memorizing and keeping fresh in the memory all sorts of rare words, etc. leaving nothing to reasoning and common sense. It will be good if it is printed by the Da'ira of Haydarabad.⁸⁵ But matters usually move there so slowly and God knows when it will be out.⁸⁶

Please write about yourself, and convey my best compliments and wishes to Mrs. Kraus, if she still remembers me. Fyzee, who is now made the Principal of the Law College, intends to go on a tour to Europe next spring, and wishes to

82 I.e., Sir Muḥammad Shāh, Aga Khan III (1877–1957), the forty-eighth Nizārī imam.

83 Zāhid 'Alī (1888–1958) was born in Hyderabad and received his education in Hyderabad, Surat, Lahore, and Oxford, where he earned his DPhil in Arabic literature for a thesis prepared under the guidance of D. S. Margoliouth (on whom see below, n. 110). From his return to India in 1926 until his retirement in 1945, 'Alī taught as professor of Arabic at the Nizām College in Hyderabad and also served at some point as vice-principal of that institution. His son 'Abid 'Alī donated his collection of 226 manuscripts to the Institute of Ismaili Studies in 1997; see Cortese, *Arabic Ismaili Manuscripts*.

84 Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī, *Tabyīn al-ma'ānī*. The publication was based on the research 'Alī had undertaken for his DPhil at Oxford. For the Isma'ili Maghribī poet Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Hānī' al-Andalusī (d. 362/973) and his *Dīwān*, see Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 47–48; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 116–117.

85 I.e., Jam'iyyat Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyya, founded in 1308/1891 in Hyderabad. For the publishing house, see Khalidi, "Dā'irat Al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyah"; Baig, "Editing and Printing the Arabic Book", p. 6 and *passim*.

86 Published in 1948 as 'Alī, *Tārīkh-i Fāṭimīyyīn-i Miṣr*. An English translation was prepared by 'Alī's son, 'Abid 'Alī, but the plan to publish it was apparently never realized; see Cortese, *Arabic Ismaili Manuscripts*, p. xv.

visit Cairo. I hope you will be there at that time, and will make your acquaintance with him and his wife, who is quite an intelligent lady.

With my best wishes, awaiting for a reply, I remain,
Yours very sincerely,
W. Ivanow

Letter 11

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Bombay, 15 August 1938

(Swiss Institute)

The 15th August 1938.

W. Ivanow, Esq., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Bombay, 1. India.

Dear Dr. Kraus,

I am sending to you the indexes to the text of the *Istitar*, and will be very happy if it is still possible to add them in the paper. I would prefer to have them in English, small type, as this would occupy much less space, but, as the text originally was intended as a purely Arabic publication, let it be in Arabic letters also.⁸⁷

I shall be very much obliged if you would not object to your name being also included in the title. I am not certain whether it will be good for A'zami to show his connection with the publication, as his fanatical co-religionists in India may be annoyed. But if he himself regards this all right, then let it be so.

I think, the text was done by you quite well, and the only suggestion which I have is that on the first page of the text, line 7 from the bottom, it should be *السقط* and not *السفت*.⁸⁸ This term is still in much use all over Persia, signifying exactly this type of trade.

The introduction needs corrections, and I, on the whole, dislike it. It would be quite all right if translated into Arabic, as originally planned, because it is very difficult to go into details in Arabic. But as it is, in English, it is meagre and almost useless. However, it is too late now.

87 See above, n. 77. The published Arabic text does not include any indexes; see also below, n. 95.

88 See Ivanow, "Mudhakkirāt fi ḥarakat al-Mahdī al-Fāṭimī", p. 93 (sixth line from the bottom): . . وما يصلح للنساء من اصناف السقط . .

I am waiting for the reply to my first letter, and will be glad to find that you are in good health. Where is now Kamil Husain? As I probably already wrote to you, a letter sent by me to him to Paris, returned undelivered.

Please convey my best compliments to Mrs. Kraus. I hope she enjoys her Cairo life.

With my best compliments and wishes, I remain,
Yours very sincerely,
W. Ivanow

Letter 12

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, [n.p.], 30 September 1938

(Swiss Institute)

The 30th September 1938.

Dear Dr. Kraus,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. I was very glad to hear that your work on Jabir is completed and is now going to the press. Please accept my sincere congratulations. I am impatient to read it, and expect it to be extremely important as a contribution to the study of the schismatic Islam.

I hope you are now feeling well. Please convey my best wishes and compliments to Mrs. Kraus.

Everything is now so much preoccupied with the question of whether there will be war, or not, and many things are in suspense. Let us hope that after all there will be no war. Of course, if it breaks out, I will have to join the military. It may be interesting, but my work will not proceed fast. It is amusing how things are relative in this stupid world. How many people who regard Hitler as a rabid dog, a lunatic who by a caprice of chance happened to get at the head of a large and the most stupid nation,—how many at the same time, in the same breath, would admire the great liberator of Russia Lenin or Stalin, and especially this vermin—Gandhi. But all these are exactly the same. If permitted to carry on, these poisonous parasites would do irreparable harm to humanity.

I will send to you the reprints of my papers published in this year, probably very soon. I have a great thing to request you. Please, if it is not too late, ask the publishers of the *Istitar*⁸⁹ to give me *one hundred* extra copies or reprints, on the usual terms, of paying for paper and printing only. This, of course, is in

89 See above, n. 77.

addition to the normal number,—I do not know how much they usually give. I am so sorry for all these misunderstandings, but quite realise that the East is the East, and unless you watch them carefully, they will always make a mess. I have here enough of this kind of things. When you receive the Amiriyya,⁹⁰ you will see the things which were introduced by Fyzee, who is by all means one of the most superior amongst the local “intellectuals”.

I shall be very much obliged if now, when you are back in Cairo, you may tell me something about the proposed celebrations of the 1000 anniversary,—the matter which you have not touched in this letter. We all here are very much interested to know, and it seems that it is really [difficult]⁹¹ to get any information.

I am expecting soon to receive reprints of two of my latest articles, and will send them together with the paper on the “Forgotten Branch”.⁹² On this latter question I have very interesting materials, both from Persia and Syria, but for some reasons I cannot publish them just now.⁹³ I am very much preoccupied with my dialectological work, and there are many other things to do.

If nothing serious happens in the political world, I hope to go for ten days to the hills, in the Ghatas, as a guest of Fyzee’s family.

So, I shall be waiting for your news. I hope it is still time to ask for extra reprints. How many copies they usually give?

With my best wishes and compliments, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

W. Ivanow

Letter 13

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Bombay, 22 November 1938

(Swiss Institute)

The 22nd November 1938.

W. Ivanow, Esq., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Bombay, 1. India.

Dear Dr. Kraus,

Just had a bad shock, over the Arabic text of the Istitar:⁹⁴ when I prepared the index which I posted to you a long time ago, I did not notice that there is a

90 See above, n. 80.

91 Ivanow evidently skipped a word here; the addition in square brackets is tentative.

92 See above, n. 81.

93 See also above, letter 10.

94 See above, n. 77.

mistake in pagination, *of four pages!* To-day, when correcting the translation, I quite accidentally noticed that the *Istitar* begins with page 5 and goes up to 19, and the next text, the *Sira*, begins not with page 20, but with 16, and so on. Damn it! Now it appears that the whole of the index is useless. The error crept in in quite an ordinary way: I completed the index to the *Istitar* on one day and on the next day started the work with the *Sira*, quite trusting the pagination,—it is for the first time in my practice that such an error is found. This is most irritating. So, I am hurrying to write to you, and to ask you, if you may be so kind as to inquire whether the index is already printed. If not, and if there is no time to remodel it, better not to print it at all.⁹⁵

I hope, you are feeling well, and your work in Cairo goes well. Please convey my best compliments to Mrs. Kraus. Fyzees are determined to go in March, calling at Cairo for a week or so, and I hope there will be no war or anything of the kind to interfere. Anyhow, we are really glad that you are safe in Cairo: the German famous “Kultur” shows its real face, which looks quite familiar, resembling our dear Bolshies.

Please let me know, what ultimately has happened with the index,—I am so worried about this.

With my best wishes, I remain,
Yours very sincerely,
W. Ivanow

Letter 14

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Bombay, 14 June 1939

(Swiss Institute)

The 14th June 1939.

W. Ivanow, Esq., P.O.Box 585, Bombay, 1. India.

Dear Dr. Kraus,

It is a long time since I heard from you last. I hope that “no news are good news” in your case, and that you are feeling well. Please convey my best wishes and compliments to Mrs. Kraus, if she still remembers me.

95 See above, n. 77. Although the Arabic text was published without any indexes, Ivanow included indexes for the two texts in the general index to Ivanow, *Ismaili Tradition*, pp. 316–337; see p. 316: “figures in heavy type and in square parentheses refer to the pages of the *Istitāru'l-Imām* and *Sīrat Ja'far al-Hājib*, edited in the ‘Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Egyptian University’, 1936 (1939), pp. 93–133.”

I am at last able to post to you some reprints of my latest articles, published during the last eighteen months or so. I never had such a bad experience with periodicals as this time: every one seems to be so lazy and negligent, and even cannot do such a simple thing as prepare reprints of the articles printed in his paper. I have at last received the reprints from your Cairo [publisher],⁹⁶—they are remarkably good, I was surprised to see them. I must first of all thank you for the troubles you have taken in connection with this publication. Without you, I am sure, I would have never ventured to print something in Arabic. I am now preparing a translation and comments on these two opuscles, and hope to publish it separately, here in Bombay.⁹⁷ I just completed an article on the qualifications and duties of the Fatimid da‘i, according to al-Mûjizatu’l-Kâfiya, preserved in an extract in the Tuhfatu’l-qulûb. This article, I hope will be ready in the end of October.⁹⁸

I also post to you my article in the “Islamic Culture” of Hyderabad, on Alamut und Girdkuh.⁹⁹ The article has a long history behind, unfortunately: in spite of the temptation to earn some money, paid by this Hyderabad periodical, I always avoided it, as it was badly composed, and badly printed. When in the beginning of the last year the editorship was given to Leopold Weiss, alias Mohamad Asad, an Austrian Jewish renegade, a journalist by profession, and the owner of a press,¹⁰⁰ the appearance of the I[sLAMic] C[ulture] improved

96 After “Cairo” a word is missing in Ivanow’s letter; the addition of “publisher” is tentative. For the context, see above, n. 77.

97 These were included in Ivanow, *Ismaili Tradition*; see Daftary, “Bibliography”, p. 196 no. 104.

98 Ivanow, “The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda”. Ivanow refers here to *al-Risāla al-mūjaza al-kāfiya fī adab al-du‘āt* by the Persian Isma‘ili dā‘ī and author Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (or Muḥammad) al-Nisābūrī (d. after 386/996), preserved as an appendix to the anthology *Tuhfat al-qulūb wa-furjat al-makrūb* by the Yemeni dā‘ī Ḥatīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī (d. 596/1199). Unbeknown to Ivanow, the text is also preserved in another anthological work, *K. al-Azhār wa-majma‘ al-anwār al-malqūta min basātin al-asrār majāmi‘ al-fawākih al-rūḥāniyya wa-l-thimār* by the Ṭayyibī Bohra author Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Barūchī (d. 939/1533). For *Tuhfat al-qulūb*, see also A. Hamdani, “The Dā‘ī Ḥatīm Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī”. For critical editions of both anthologies on the basis of selected manuscripts, see Klemm and Walker (eds and trans), *A Code of Conduct*. See also Klemm, *Die Mission*, pp. 64–83, 205–277. Besides *al-Risāla al-mūjaza*, Ivanow consulted for his study al-Qāḍī Nu‘mān’s *K. al-Ḥimma fī ādāb atbā‘ al-a‘imma* and a few other pertinent works. For *al-Risāla al-mūjaza* and its editions, see Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 92 no. 3; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 144.

99 Ivanow, “Some Ismaili Strongholds in Persia”; see Daftary, “Bibliography”, p. 193 no. 79.

100 Arafat Publishing House in Lahore; see letter Husayn F. Hamdani to Hedwig Klein, Bombay, 28 February 1939 (Halle, DMG Bibliothek, Nachlass Johann Fück, DMG Yi 107 III 077): “... Immediately I received your favour, I wrote a letter to my friend Shaykh Muhammad Asad (formerly Herr Leopold Weiss of Vienna), a copy of which I enclose herein. Shaykh Asad-Weiss is the proprietor of an Arabic Press at Lahore and his Verlag is

very much. My Indian friends began to bother me with their “admonitions” not to disregard with contempt an Indian learned periodical. Ultimately, I wrote to Herr Weiss, asking him whether he is willing to print my paper on Alamut and Girdkuh, with 14 illustrations, on the conditions that: no alteration of any kind should be introduced in the text; that proofs should be sent to me for reading; and that I receive 50 reprints free, plus a hundred on the usual terms of payment. He accepted two conditions, but declined the second, about sending the proofs,—as they have only a limited quantity of type, and cannot keep it waiting. I posted to him the paper and my own blocks, and the paper was set in type without much damage. Illustrations came out very badly. Then, about the end of October, for some reason which I still do not know, Herr Weiss ceased to be the editor: some say he was dismissed, and some that he resigned. I saw the number which was for some time out, but received no word from him. Then I wrote to him about the reprints, and received a promise to send them “soon”. After some more waiting I wrote again—no reply. And so on. Ultimately, after many months of correspondence, I had to settle with the present editor on 25 copies of the number. Herr Weiss did not even care to return my blocks, which, in fact were not my property. So the editors had to reduce this sum from his subsidy for the publication of his translation of the *Sahih* of Bukhary (have you seen it?).¹⁰¹ It is only a few days ago that the matter is settled, in such an unsatisfactory way. I am now trying to publish the same article in a French translation in the *R[evue des] E[tudes] I[slamiques]*.¹⁰² It appears that I am not an exception, and almost every one who had dealings with Herr Weiss has something to complain on.

A month or so ago brought also the solution of yet another longstanding grievance,—my work on the Gabri dialect of Persian printed in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*.¹⁰³ Guidi took it six years ago, promising to complete in

known as the Arafat Publishing House.” For Muhammad Asad (1900–1992), born Leopold Weiss, see Kramer, “The Road from Mecca”; for his early years until 1927, see Windhager, *Leopold Weiss alias Muhammad Asad*. Asad assumed the editorship of *Islamic Culture* after Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall (1875–1936), the journal’s first editor, died, and he resigned from the position in October 1938, when he left India to return to Europe; see “Announcement”; Kramer, “The Road from Mecca”, p. 235; Chaghatai, “Muḥammad Asad’s Indian Years”, pp. 138–146.

101 Asad (trans. and annot.), *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, containing the Arabic text and English translation in parallel columns, with explanatory notes underneath. I was able to consult only vol. 5. The first part of vol. 1 was published in 1936; see H., “Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī” [review].

102 This publication apparently never materialized. For a Russian translation, see Daftary, “Bibliography”, p. 193 no. 79.

103 Ivanow, “The Gabri Dialect”; cf. Daftary, “Bibliography”, p. 191 no. 65.

eighteen months.¹⁰⁴ But it took six years, and I am glad that I anyhow have got it, before a war or other pleasant thing made it impossible to receive anything from them. But I am quite sure you will not be interested in such a technical and dry subject; therefore I am not posting a copy to you,—I have only very few of them.

And now I have to say something more interesting for you. In a few days, I hope, I shall be able to post to you a circular letter concerning the launching a new “annuaire”, entirely devoted to Ismaili Research, edited by myself, on behalf of the Bombay Khoja periodical, the “Ismaili” (which, I am sure, you have seen).¹⁰⁵ It will have nothing to do with them, in fact, and every thing will be done by myself. I shall be particularly glad if you, after reading the invitation, would like to send us something from your collection of notes and materials. It is not yet settled whether the size will be royal 8 °, or crown 8 °. I prefer the last. But in type, appearance, paper, etc., the volume will closely resemble the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R[oyal] A[sianic] S[ociety],¹⁰⁶ which, I am sure, you have seen. Of course, most probably, in the beginning there will be a lot of work, and perhaps I will have to fill the pages alone with my materials, of which, however, I have a heap. Please be so kind to give me your “moral support” and send an article, or notes. I am particularly keen to start the publication as soon as possible, and to give it good standard, securing good standing in the learned world. After this, most probably, I shall hand it over to Fyzee, or some one here, because if only I get an opportunity, I will prefer to

104 Michelangelo Guidi (1886–1946) served as principal editor of the *Rivista degli studi orientali* from 1932 until his death; on him, see Levi Della Vida, “Michelangelo Guidi”. Together with a number of other Western scholars, Guidi was elected member of the Islamic Research Association. For the appointment, see “Research in Study of Islam” (*The Times of India*, 2 April 1936): “Mr. A. A. Fyzee, the Honorary Secretary, in his report for the year ended December 31 last stated that ... the following five scholars were elected associate members, Prof. R. Strothmann (Hamburg); Prof. Philip Hitti (Princeton, U.S.A.); Prof. Michelangelo Guidi (Rome); Dr. H. Ritter (Istanbul), and Professor A. A. Semenov (Tashkent, U.S.S.R.)”

105 Ivanow published occasionally in this journal (which was not accessible to me); see Daftary, “Bibliography”, pp. 192 no.71, 193 no. 76, 194 nos 83, 87, 195 no. 94. The text of the circular follows the end of this letter.

106 The first volume of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JBBRAS)* was published in 1841/44. The first series ended with volume 26 published in 1921/23, and it was followed by a new series, vol. 1 (1925) to vol. 29 (1954); see <https://zdb-katalog.de/title.xhtml?idn=011282576&view=full>. In 1939, the *JBBRAS* was edited by the Indologist and Sankritist Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar (1887–1943), A. A. Fyzee, and the scholar of Buddhism N. K. Bhagwat (<http://viaf.org/viaf/55466262>). During his time in Bombay, Ivanow regularly contributed articles as well as reviews to the journal. His first *JBBRAS* article (“More on Biography [*sic*] of Ruzbihan al-Baqli”) appeared in 1931 and his last, a review of Fyzee’s edition of the *Da’ā’im al-Islām*, in 1952. See the bibliography for details.

devote the end of my active life to the most urgent problem of studying the Persian dialects.

I had some correspondence with Prof. Kamil Husein, concerning different Arabic works which he wants to publish. He always was very kind to me, and I have no reason not to pay him with sympathy also.¹⁰⁷ A'zami is progressing, in his own Indian ways. I am sure he told you the amusing, yet sad story of their intentions of editing the Diwan of Tamim b. Ma'add. Dr. Zahid Ali of Hyderabad, a Bohra, a Professor of Arabic, the man who really knows well Arabic, but otherwise is quite an uneducated man, just as A'zami, a slow, dull, somnolent, sickly man, worked for years on preparing an edition of the Diwan. God knows, why did not he find an opportunity to publish it. When I heard that A'zami is forging his way to great learned and literary glory by planning an edition of this work, I informed Zahid Ali, and wrote to Kamil Husein and A'zami, suggesting not to waste time and labour, but simply to settle the matter amicably, and publish it jointly. This provoked a stream of letters from both sides, but I became afraid to be put in a ridiculous position if not something worse,—as this often happens in the friendly or altruistic attempts to help Indians; I insisted on their negotiating directly. As far as I understand, the parties did not come to an agreement. I am sorry for Zahid Ali: if the other edition will be published, there will be no chance for his work to find any one to finance, and he himself, of course, cannot afford.¹⁰⁸

I shall be awaiting news from you: what are you doing now? With the world as it looks at present there is little chance to plan far ahead, and dream about a work that would require many years to complete. I am rather inclined to speed up finishing those materials over which I was working for a long time, so that, if possible, to publish them, and avoid the chance of them being wasted, in case anything untoward happens. And I have to balance between two quite different subjects: study of Islamic sects on the one side, and the study of Persian Dialects on the other. The latter, I am sure, is at present far more urgent. But this does not mean that Ismailism can wait indefinitely: it changes, and, especially [the] Nizari branch, rapidly deteriorates. God alone knows whether there will be much left of them within a generation, because the sect is badly affected by hopeless mismanagement, neglect, and the absence of intellectual class: intellectuals leave.

107 For Kāmil Ḥusayn, see above, n. 69.

108 The *Dīwān* of the Fatimid prince and poet Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh (d. 375/985) was eventually published in 1957 in an edition prepared by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-A'zamī, Aḥmad Yūsuf Najātī, Muḥammad 'Alī al-Najjār, and Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn; see Poonawala, *Bibliography*, pp. 77–78 no. 1; Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 157. Al-A'zamī published a note about the edition in progress on 30 January 1950 in *al-Risāla*.

I am with impatience awaiting your translation and commentaries on your Jabir. I hope you will give detailed indices with these.

Please excuse me for such a long letter. I hope to post to you the reprints by sea mail, leaving here on the 17th, by registered Book post parcel.

Mr. Fyzee, who just returned from a long tour in Kashmir, also sends to you his compliments. We have now in the I[slamic] R[esearch] A[ssociation]'s series, several works in the press: the 'Ushshâq-nâma by 'Irâqî, edited and translated by Arberry¹⁰⁹ and Ta'rikh of Yunini, of the Abbasids, by Margoliouth.¹¹⁰ In addition to this there are several other papers in preparation.

With my best wishes, waiting for news from you, I remain with my best remembrances,

Yours sincerely,

W. Ivanow

Circular: ISMAILI RESEARCH VOLUME

Dear Sir,

1. The editors of the "Ismaili", an Anglo-Gujrati Weekly in Bombay, specially devoted to the interests of the Ismaili community, the followers of H.H. the Aga Khan, have decided to publish annually a special number, of about 100 pages,

¹⁰⁹ See above, n. 70.

¹¹⁰ D. S. Margoliouth (1858–1940) intended to publish an edition of a portion of *Dhayl Mūrât al-zamân* by the Syrian Mamluk historiographer Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī (640–726/1242–1326), covering the AH years 658 to 673; see Margoliouth, "An Islamic Saint of the Seventh Century A.H.", p. 263: "The biographies often run into many pages, but much the longest in the volume covering the years 658 to 673, of which I am preparing an edition for the Islamic Research Association of Bombay, is that of the author's father." In the course of the anniversary general meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland on 12 May 1938, Margoliouth furthermore delivered a lecture on the work entitled "Extracts from the Chronicle of Yunini"; see "Notes of the Quarter", p. 473. Margoliouth's edition was never published, and it was probably left unfinished when Margoliouth died in 1940. The pertinent research materials and drafts of his edition and English translation are held among the D. S. Margoliouth papers, MSS Oxford, Bodleian, Or. Margoliouth 39, 40, 41. I thank Samuel Sales of the Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections, for having shared an inventory of the D. S. Margoliouth papers with me. Margoliouth's edition was based on MS Oxford, Bodleian, Pococke 132 (for the codex, see https://www.fihrist.org.uk/catalog/manuscript_1377) and MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Ahmet III 2907. For Margoliouth, see Gibb, "David Samuel Margoliouth". For a partial edition (covering the years 697–701/1297 or 1298–1301 or 1302) and study of al-Yūnīnī's *Dhayl*, see Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography*. Margoliouth's unfinished edition is unmentioned in Guo's discussion of modern scholarship on the book; *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 1–5.

entirely devoted to research in the history, philosophy, the philology, literature, etc., of all branches of Ismailism, from its beginnings to the present day.

2. The publication is primarily intended to serve as a repository of short papers and notes dealing with Ismaili research. Every scholar working over this and cognate subjects in the course of his work incidentally comes across interesting facts, references, quotations, etc., sometimes containing very valuable information about the movement. His notes very often for a long time remain unpublished, being too short for an article. In the majority of cases they are forgotten and lost. And even if they are published, they often escape the attention of the students, being scattered in different periodicals, which are not always accessible except in large libraries. The present publication offers an opportunity to avoid such possible wastage. Every volume will therefore consist of: 1. articles; 2. short notes; 3. miscellanies; 4. reviews of works dealing with Ismailism and cognate matters, both books and articles in periodicals; and 5. corrections suggested to works already published. The last two sections are chiefly intended for the exchange of opinions; therefore more than one review of one and the same work, by different authors, may be accepted.

3. The proposed publication will be purely scholarly, carefully avoiding touching on current politics, religious or political propaganda or controversy, and such other subjects which would likely be regarded as offensive by different communities and religious groups, endangering their friendly relations or wounding their religious susceptibilities. In the matters such as these obviously nothing can be foreseen; much depends on the form and the tone in which such subjects are treated. Misunderstanding may only be avoided by carefully considering every individual contribution.

4. The papers will be in English, although articles in French, Persian and Arabic may be included. Contributions in other languages, including Indian vernaculars, will be translated into English.

5. Every competent author, regardless of nationality or religion to which he belongs, is invited to send his contributions.

6. The volume will be annually published in Bombay, and will contain about 100 pages, printed in the best possible style. Each volume will be provided with detailed indexes: of subjects, names, technical terms, titles of books, etc., dealt with, or referred to on its pages. It will be edited by the editorial committee of the "Ismaili", under the special supervision of Mr. W. Ivanow.

7. The authors of contributions will receive no remuneration. One complete copy of the volume in which their paper, or papers, appear, and thirty copies of the separate reprint of their contributions will be sent free. If desired, any additional number of reprints may be supplied at extra cost, covering the expense of paper and printing, as usual.

8. It is hoped that every student interested in Islamic and Ismaili research will appreciate and support the initiative and will also make it known to his colleagues who are likely to become contributors to the volume. Every author is earnestly invited to send his materials as early as possible so that the first issue might appear during the current year.

I remain, Dear Sir,
Yours sincerely,
W. Ivanow

Address:

W. Ivanow, Esqr., P.O. Box No. 585, Bombay, 1, India.

Letter 15

Wladimir Ivanow to Paul Kraus, Bombay, 18 March 1943
(University of Chicago Library, Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections
Research Center, Paul Kraus Papers, Box 24, folder 1)
W. Ivanow, Esq., "Sea Croft", Wodehouse Road, Colaba, Bombay, 5
18-iii-1943.

Dear Dr. Kraus,

Just a few days ago I have received the second vol[ume] of your most interesting work on Jabir, and am looking forward to see the first.¹¹¹ Really, it will be an important contribution to the mediaeval history of science. I may congratulate you not only on having produced a very erudite work, but also on having published it in such nice style, despite the war time. It is really sad that in Egypt, which is incomparably smaller than the enormous India, even now, when it is almost in the middle of the war, one can get such facilities of publishing on good paper, while here it is next to impossible to obtain it. I hope you have by now received my work on the Fatimids,¹¹² and you may see that this was the best that we could do now, in the way of paper.

I had no time as yet to read it carefully, just glanced through, but a passage on p. 107 incidentally attracted my attention, and I would like to offer a

111 Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, vol. 2: *Jābir et la science grecque*, was published in 1942 as volume 45 of the series *Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte et publiés sous les auspices de sa majesté Farouk 1^{er}, roi de l'Égypte*. The first volume, *Le corpus des écrits jābiriens*, was published in 1943 as volume 44 of the same series.

112 Ivanow, *Ismaili Tradition concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*, published in 1942.

remark.¹¹³ I do not know in so far as the quotation goes whether the author refers exactly to the Makran coast, or generally to the coast of the Persian Gulf. In the latter, in the neighbourhood of Bandari Abbasi, and especially on the adjoining islands,—Lârak, Qishm, and Hormuz, one can see quite easily that these have been formed by the tremendous seismic upheaval, when the bottom of the ocean was raised out of the water, and, most probably, numerous volcanoes poured an immense quantity of the lava on the top. On the Lârak island, due S. from Bandari Abbasi, the scenery is that from a fairy land: red, black, green and grey rocky hills are separated by zigzag valleys, of bright yellow colour, shining as if with milliards of precious stones—pieces of mica. The grey layers of lava are fringed in the most fantastic way, sometimes forming as if gigantic tables or mushrooms, supported by pillars of yellow earth, much eroded by wind. And above all it is really surprising how full the soil is of fossils. Without any special search I could in no time collect a lot of remnants of the most different fossilized mollusks, apparently of some ancient gigantic snails, and so forth. It is quite possible that the author of your quotation refers to such things, and takes lime for the dry clay. The reference to Makran, which seems to be geologically different in composition, may be an unusual confusion, unless the author wrongly applies this name to what is at present the province of Bashakerd.

I am sorry to say that I have not yet posted to you copies of my latest articles. I tried to make a general arrangement, in order to send them to some other people as well, and the reply has not been received so far. But I hope, anyhow, that I shall be able to post to you them in the near future.

I shall be glad to hear your criticisms of my book, which as I have already written to you, suffered much from what may be called repeated modifications at the last moment.¹¹⁴ In fact, as you know, it has grown from the simple translation of the *Istitâr*, which I wanted to publish with some notes. Gradually, changing this, altering that, and adding new texts, matters, observations, notes, etc., I had to alter many things. But, on the whole, I hope it serves one useful purpose,—to have on record the information which otherwise is scattered in so many places, and, for these reasons, is as good as entirely inaccessible to the student.

113 Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, vol. 2, p. 107 contains a translated quotation from the *K. al-Tajmī*, and the passage posed various problems. Following "Plusieurs personnes véridiques m'ont raconté au sujet de certains endroits situés dans les îles de la mer", Kraus adds a footnote: "Quelle mer? Est-ce le golfe Persique?" And following "Dans les montagnes de Mukrān ..." he adds a footnote: "Texte corrompu; la région de Mukrān se trouve également mentionnée p. 343, 7; cf. *infra*, p. 112."

114 See above, n. 112. The earlier letter referred to here seems to be lost.

Mr. Fyzee is delighted to see your work, and asks me to convey to you his request to send him both parts, as soon as the second is out, on payment. Do not send free copies, because he wants to purchase these for a library.

I have nothing special to tell you about myself. I am now very busy with various matters. For various reasons, which it would be too long to relate, it is extremely difficult to publish anything in the existing Indian periodicals. Not only such a heretical author as myself, but even the cautious Fyzee could not recently have his latest article on some details of the Ithna-ashari creed published,¹¹⁵—the wise ones do not want anything except the glorification of the purest orthodoxy. What can you do with the idiots? For this reason two projects are being revived: Fyzee tries to collect a sufficient number of articles by different people,—of non-Ismaili contents,—and publish a volume under the auspices of the Islamic Research Association. And I am trying to do a similar thing, but of only Ismaili contents. If you have anything suitable for this or that project, please send as early as you can. It is quite possible that I really shall be able to prepare a certain amount of long and short notes dealing with the history of Ismailism in India and generally in the East, chiefly from purely historical point of view. Your contribution, in English or French, will be, surely, most welcome. You will receive 50 reprints and one copy of the complete volume. If it is of general interest, it may go to the Isl[amic] Research volume, and if purely Ismaili,—to mine. In addition to my notes there will be a note by Fyzee, a short note by a beginner, and, perhaps, a certain Stern from Baghdad will send his article on the position of the Jews under the early Fatimids, or al-Hakim,—I do not remember properly.¹¹⁶

115 In 1942, Fyzee published his translation of a creed by the Imami scholar Ibn Bābawayh “al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq” (d. 381/991), *al-I‘tiqādāt fī dīn al-Imāmiyya*, as of the eighth volume in the Islamic Research Association series; see Daftary, “Publications of the Islamic Research Association”. But this publication is not meant here.

116 The outcome of this initiative was apparently *Collectanea*, vol. 1 (1948), which was edited by W. Ivanow and published for the Ismaili Society by E. J. Brill in Leiden. Apart from Ivanow’s, the volume includes contributions by Vali Mohammed Nanji Hooda (1889–1959), S. Noor Ali Shah, and Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn. For the volume, see also Daftary, “Bibliography”, p. 198 no. 13. The possible article by Samuel Miklos Stern (1920–1969) mentioned by Ivanow was not included. For Stern’s contributions to *Ismailitica*, see Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, pp. 394–398. During World War II, Stern worked for three years for the British censorship department, first in Baghdad and later on in Egypt, in Port Sudan. It was in this period, during a visit to Egypt, that Stern made the acquaintance of Kraus; see Sela, “The Interaction of Judaic and Islamic Studies”, p. 263. Fyzee also did not contribute to this volume.

Wishing you all success, with best thanks for kind memory and sending your book,
I remain,
Yours sincerely
W. Ivanow

Appendix 1: Copies of W. Ivanow's Writings in Paul Kraus's Personal Library

1928. W. Ivanow, "A Biography of Ruzbihan al-Baqli", *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 24, no. 4 (1928), pp. 353–361 [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC),¹¹⁷ Kraus 41. *Mystique Musulmane I. Pamph. 10*].

1931. W. Ivanow, "An Ismailitic Work by Nasiru'd-Din Tusi", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 63, no. 3 (1931), pp. 527–564 [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC), Kraus 26. *Ismaelitica. Pamph. 1*].

1931. W. Ivanow, "More on Biography [*sic*] of Ruzbihan al-Baqli", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s., 7 (1931), pp. 1–7 [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC), Kraus 41. *Mystique Musulmane I. Pamph. 11*].

1932. W. Ivanow, "Notes sur l'Ummu l-Kitāb' des ismaéliens de l'Asie Centrale", *Revue des études islamiques* 6 (1932), pp. 419–481 [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC), Kraus 26. *Ismaelitica. Pamph. 14*; see also above, letter 3].

1933. W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1933¹¹⁸ [see above, letter 3]

1933. W. Ivanow, "List of Publications by W. Ivanow, up to the 31st December 1933 (This list contains only the titles of papers and books dealing with research. Papers of popular character, reviews, translations, etc., are *not* included here)", 4 pp. [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC), Kraus 46. *Ismaelitica. Pamph. 24*].

117 A digital surrogate of the inventory of the Kraus-Meyerhoff Offprint Collection is accessible at <https://digitalcollections.aucegypt.edu/digital/collection/p15795coll1>.

118 Kraus's collection of books was purchased by Denyse Mosseri-Dreyfuss and donated to Cairo University; see Kraemer, "The Death of an Orientalist", p. 210.

1935. W. Ivanow, "New Books on Ismaili Topics", *Ismaili Special* 12 (31 January 1935), 10 pp. [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC), Kraus 26. Ismaelitica. Pamph. 5].

1936. W. Ivanow, "Mudhakkirāt fi ḥarakat al-Mahdī al-Fāṭimī", *Majallat Kullīyyat al-ādāb, al-Jāmi'a al-Miṣriyya* = *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt* 4, pt. 2 (1936), pp. 89–133 [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC), Kraus 26. Ismaelitica. Pamph. 21].

1936. W. Ivanow, "Ummu'l-kitāb", *Der Islam* 23 (1936), pp. 1–132 [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC), Kraus 26. Ismaelitica. Pamph. 15].

1937. W. Ivanow, "A New Book on Ismaili History", *Ismaili Birthday Special* 14 (9 January 1937), 6 pp. [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC), Kraus 26. Ismaelitica. Pamph. 6]

1938. W. Ivanow, "A Forgotten Branch of the Ismailis", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 70, no. 1 (1938), pp. 57–79 [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC), Kraus 26. Ismaelitica. Pamph. 3; see also above, letters 10, 12, 13].

1938. W. Ivanow, "An Ismaili Poem in Praise of Fidawis", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s., 14 (1938), pp. 63–72 [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC), Kraus 26. Ismaelitica. Pamph. 11; see also above, letters 12, 13].

1938. W. Ivanow, "Some Ismaili Strongholds in Persia", *Islamic Culture: The Hyderabad Quarterly Review* 12 (1938), pp. 383–396 [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC), Kraus 26. Ismaelitica. Pamph. 18; see also above, letters 12, 13].

1938. W. Ivanow, "Tombs of Some Persian Ismaili Imams", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s., 14 (1938), pp. 49–62 [Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint Collection (AUC), Kraus 26. Ismaelitica. Pamph. 13; see also above, letters 12, 13].

1942. W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Tradition concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*, London: Islamic Research Association and Oxford University Press, 1942 [see above, letter 15].

**Appendix 2: Letter Wladimir Ivanow to Christiaan Snouck
Hurgronje, 19 October 1922
(Leiden University Library, Or. 8952A)**

19/x/22.

Calcutta

(c/o Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1. Park street).

Sir,

I am extremely grateful for your most kind letter of 15/IX, and feel very proud that you approved some points of view suggested in my paper.¹¹⁹

I am much obliged also for your corrections. The commonly used term “flight” for “hijrah” was employed by me only because it was not in the “focus” of the passage and I did not like to go into details.¹²⁰ I realise well however that its translation is not rendering properly the real character of the historical events to which it is applied.

I regret very much the necessity to confess that so far I have not read your article on Mahdi. The “Revue Colonial” is not available here.¹²¹ The fact that ‘Umdat ‘ġ-ġālib was dealt with by you in your work on “Mekka”¹²² was unfortunately overlooked by me. I read “Mekka” a long time ago, when I was taking no interest in the ‘Umdat ‘ġ-ġālib. But at present I could not refresh my acquaintance with your work in question because it is not available in Calcutta (as well as all other works, except the articles in those few periodicals which are received here). I felt greatly ashamed for the As. Society when I first saw the desperate “systemlessness” and amazing poverty of their library which can be attributed only and entirely to the incompetence and neglect on the part of the members of their Council. The library not only makes no attempts to keep pace with the progress of the orientalist research, but it does not possess even the most fundamental and indispensable works and thus places a student into a desperate position in almost every branch of research.

I will be extremely grateful if you would be as kind as to grant me a permission to seize this opportunity for asking a few questions. In doing so I hope that this will not cause you the least annoyance or take your precious time.

119 Ivanow, “Ismailitica”.

120 Referring to Ivanow, “Ismailitica”, p. 4.

121 Snouck Hurgronje, “Der Mahdi”.

122 Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*.

I am working at present over Ummu 'l-Kitāb, so often referred to in the paper you read. It is a strange book which seems to me the more strange the more I study it. Although it is the most sacred book of the Ismailians of the regions of the Upper Oxus, it seems to me at present to be not Ismailitic, but, most probably, belonging to the Khaṭṭābiyyah sect. It is rather small, only about 100 (printed) pages in 8^o, and contains an exhaustive exposition of the most weird cosmogony in which Manichaeism, Mandaeism, Kabbalistic, Gnostic and Zoroastrian ideas are monstrously intermixed with the legends and verses of the Coran, whose ta'wil they are said to be. These revelations are attributed to Imam Muḥammad Bāqir, but this is only the usual "framework", and it is a great pity that there is no explicit indication to the place and time of the origin of the book.

In connection with this I will be extremely grateful if you could find it possible to let me know your opinion on the following points:

1. What may have been the real substratum of the "Myth of Salman", regardless of the fact if he was a historical or simply legendary personage?
2. What is the earliest date which can be assigned to the appearance of the Kabbalistic influences upon the Muhammadan literature, especially of the tedious manipulations with the numerical values of the letters?
3. *Umbrella*, as one of the essential insignia and symbols of the royal dignity is in common use amongst the nations of the Far East, but, as far as I can judge, not so amongst the Western and Muḥammadan peoples. In the cosmography of the Ummu 'l-Kitāb it appears several times as a parallel to the Throne of God and is endowed with various cosmic and archetypal properties.

Can it be in these circumstances regarded as a *reliable* argument in favour of a suggestion that the book and the system sprung, or at least were much influenced, in the countries situated in a close contact with the Far-Eastern world? Or it is the case of atavism, a survival of some ancient ideas which existed some time as one can see from the sculptures of the Persian, Babylonian etc. ancient world?

There are many other questions which arise in connection with this book, but I cannot take liberty to increase the number of my inquiries.

It will be an interesting thing to sift the elements of every religion involved in this mixture, but it is impossible at Calcutta. I will try my best to prepare the text, to translate and explain it as far as possible, but I am sure, only a serious student of the history of religions would be able to identify the proper position of this strange complex.

I bring my best apologies for taking so much of your time with this my long letter.

With my best compliments, I remain, Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

W. Ivanow

**Appendix 3: Letter Rudolf Strothmann to Wladimir Ivanow,
18 May 1934
(Strothmann Family Archive, SFA-D-Ivanow)**

18. Mai [1934].

Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege,

mit lebhaftem Interesse verfolge ich Ihre Studien zur islamischen Gnosis, seitdem ich Ihre Ismaili Mss. in the Asiatic Museum, ferner Ismailitica in Mem. As. Soc. of Bengal sowie Library attached to the Shrine of Imam Risa in Islam XIII 369 f. besprach. Eine Anzeige zu A Guide to Ismaili Literature und Umm al-kitāb liegt bei der Redaktion der Deutschen Literaturzeitung, die auch einem weiteren Leserkreise die Bedeutung Ihrer neueren Entdeckungen z.B. für Rückschlüsse auf die urchristliche Gnosis bekannt machen soll.¹²³ Für besonders wichtig halte ich es, dass wir durch das Umm al-kitāb nun endlich in die Lage gesetzt werden, genauer zwischen ismailitischer und sonstiger islamischer Gnosis zu scheiden.

In der Ueberzeugung, dass wir den Islam nur vom Islam her, aus seinem inneren Ringen erkennen können, habe ich eine Studie der Sekten stets für besonders wichtig gehalten. Mit den Ismailiten habe ich mich soweit befasst, als das in Europa möglich war z.B. da'ā'im l'islām, ferner die Arbeiten von Hussain Hamdan[i]s, die ich in Der Islam veröffentlichen konnte.¹²⁴ Mehrfach bin ich persönlich mit Ismailiten zusammengetroffen im Jemen, die aber ganz besonders zurückhaltend sein müssen, mir aber einige Schriften wenigstens zeigten. Auf die durch Herrn Wensinck vermittelte Anfrage teile ich gern mit, dass es sich um den Zaiditen Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan ad-Dailamī handelt. Seine umfangreichen qawā'id 'aqā'id āl Muḥammad vom Jahre 707 h, von denen

¹²³ For Strothmann's reviews of Ivanow's publications, see the bibliography.

¹²⁴ Hamdani published only one study in *Der Islam*: al-Hamdani, "Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā in the Literature of the Ismā'īlī Ṭaiyibī Da'wat'.

Imam-König Jahjā mir Abschrift zu nehmen gestattete, sind zwar ein nicht sehr bedeutendes aber gut zusammenfassendes Kompendium der zaiditischen Lehre. Der Schluss bringt in einem Umfang, der gedruckt etwa 6 Bogen umfassen würde, eine systematische Auseinandersetzung mit den Ismailiten. Er hat zwar einiges ähnlich wie bekannte Häresiographen, benutzt aber zum Teil Erkundigungen, ferner die begreiflicherweise im Jemen besonders rege ältere zaiditische Polemik mit längeren Zitaten aus Ismailitenschriften. Am besten lege ich einige Durchschlagblätter bei[:] Seite 1 den Anfang; S. 11 die Disposition des Hauptteils; S. 38–39 die benutzten Ismailitenschriften. Ausser der dort erwähnten sind an anderen Stellen noch zitiert *موقف العافل* das nicht = A Guide Nr. 255 sein kann; ferner eines, das ich nicht identifizieren kann *والمعنى والمعنى* oder *بمعنى*.¹²⁵ Besonders lustig macht sich der Verfasser über die Geheimniskrämerei. Bei interessierten Zaiditen sei das Ismailitentum genau bekannt. 1) Viele seien wieder übergetreten; 2) mehrere namhaft gemachte Zaiditen seien für eine Zeitlang Ismailiten geworden, um die Sonderlehren kennen zu lernen; 3) in den ständigen Kriegen seien viele Schriften erbeutet (tatsächlich besitzt der König eine grössere Anzahl). Trotzdem handelt es sich in der Polemik auch um viele übliche Verleumdungen; Qarmatisches und Ismailitisches ist nicht streng auseinandergelassen. Meine Veröffentlichung soll mehr ein agent provocateur sein; die Besitzer von authentischen Handschriften können dann dazu Stellung nehmen. Zur Zeit bin ich stark mit Orient-Christentum beschäftigt. Doch ist die Vorbereitung der Edition im allgemeinen abgeschlossen. Wenn ich nur eine passende Stelle zur Veröffentlichung finden könnte.

Mit den besten Wünschen für erfolgreiche weitere Studien und ausgezeichnete Hochschätzung
[R. Strothmann]

¹²⁵ When Strothmann's edition was eventually published in 1939 (see above, n. 40), the identity of the two titles was still uncertain; see the pertinent comment in the index to Strothmann (ed.), *Die Geheimlehre*, p. 118: *يقظة العافل أو موقف العافل [وهي غير] (Der Islam 20, 295) و (Guide Nr. 255) الرسالة الموقظة من نوم الغفلة التي ورد ذكرها* [(Guide Nr. 255) *و (Der Islam 20, 295) و (Guide Nr. 255) الرسالة الموقظة من نوم الغفلة التي ورد ذكرها* and *العيه والمعنى (؟) Yaqzat al-ghāfil* is again listed as an anonymous work, mentioned only by al-Daylamī, in Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 321 no. 41. Poonawala reads *العيه والمعنى* as *al-Mubtadā wa-l-muntahā*. but he is uncertain about the work's identity; see Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 321–322 no. 44: "I have not come across any treatise by this title among the Ismā'īli works. It is probably *الابتداء والانتها* either by Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fi ... or Mu'ayyad ... or I. Ḥamidī.

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