

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem  
Institute of Asian and African Studies

JERUSALEM  
STUDIES  
IN ARABIC  
AND ISLAM

1996 20

## ON AL-FĀṬIMĪ AND AL-FĀṬIMIYYŪN\*

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The term Fāṭimid, pl. Fāṭimids (*al-fāṭimī*, pl. *al-fāṭimiyyūn*) is usually taken to refer to the Ismā'īlī dynasty that governed Ifrīqiya from 297/909 and that moved to Egypt after its conquest in 358/969. However, it took a certain amount of time before the dynasty became known by this term, which had been used in the preceding centuries to name other groups or individuals. One of the latter was a Berber who challenged the rule of the first Umayyad *amīr* in al-Andalus. My interest in the use of the term *al-fāṭimī* arose precisely while studying the career of this Berber leader.

The first section of this paper deals with those groups or individuals other than the Fāṭimids who were called by the same name before them. It deals also with the questions of when and by whom that dynasty started to be called by the name which is now closely associated with it. The material collected is given in the chronological order assumed by the sources. In the second section, that material is studied and analyzed.

1. Groups and individuals called *al-fāṭimiyyūn* / *al-fāṭimī*

1.1. According to the Mu'tazilī heresiographer, author of the preserved text of the *Kitāb uṣūl al-niḥal allatī khtalafa fihā ahl al-ṣalāt*,<sup>1</sup> after

\* The research for this paper was partially carried out at the library of S.O.A.S. (University of London) during the summer of 1989 thanks to a grant of the Comunidad de Madrid, as well as at the library of the Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des vorderen Orients (University of Hamburg) during November–December 1989, made possible by a grant of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft–C.S.I.C. My thanks are due to Prof. M. Lecker (whose corrections helped to improve an early draft), Prof. M. Cook and Prof. A. Noth for their comments on the original version of this paper read at the Fifth International Colloquium “From Jahiliyya to Islam” (1–6 July 1990). That version was quoted by M. García Arenal in her article “La conjonction du ṣūfisme et shariḥisme au Maroc: le Mahdī comme sauveur,” *REMMM* 55–56 (1990), 233, and by M. Brett, “The Mīm, the ‘Ayn, and the making of Ismā’īlism,” *BSOAS* 57 (1994), 39. This is a new version in which I have incorporated comments and references given by various scholars mentioned in the footnotes. I thank them all, especially Dr. A. Elad, who made many corrections and suggestions, not all of which I have been able to pursue.

<sup>1</sup> *Masā’īl al-imāma*, edited by J. van Ess (Beirut, 1971), 25–26. According to van Ess, the author is al-Nāshī’ al-Akbar (d. 293/906). According to W. Madelung, he could be identified with Ja’far b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850): see his article “Frühe mu’tazilitische Häresiographie: das *Kitāb al-uṣūl* des Ġa’far b. Ḥarb?,” *Der Islam* 57 (1980), 220–36. I owe this reference to M. Cook.

al-Ḥusayn’s death in 61/680 the Shī’ites were divided into two groups holding different beliefs about who was to be considered the *imām*:

a. *Al-firqa al-fāṭimiyya* believed that al-Ḥusayn’s successor in the imāmate was ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, known as Zayn al-‘Abidīn (d. 94/712). They also believed that the *imām* would always be a descendant of Fāṭima (the Prophet’s daughter by his first wife, Khadija, and wife of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), until the day of the Resurrection (*yawm al-qiyaama*).

b. *Al-firqa al-kaysaniyya* believed that the *imām*, after al-Ḥusayn’s death, was Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 81/700), known as Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya as a result of the tribal affiliation of his mother, one of the wives of ‘Alī. Thus, for them the imāmate belonged to the descendants of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib independently of the Prophet’s daughter.

1.2. An anonymous text, written in the second half of the third/ninth century, also records the term *al-fāṭimiyyūn* with a meaning similar to that found in *Masā’īl al-imāma*. I am referring to the *Akḥbār al-dawla al-abbāsiyya*.<sup>2</sup> The passage where the term appears has been translated by M. Sharon.<sup>3</sup> It tells us that Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās (d. 124/742 or 125/743),<sup>4</sup> before sending his follower Abū ‘Ikrima Ziyād b. Dirham to Khurāsān around the year 104/722, gave him some advice about how to carry out the ‘Abbāsīd *da’wa* there: the propaganda should simply call for *al-riḍā min āl Muḥammad*, without specifying any genealogy;<sup>5</sup> more details were only to be given to those followers whose loyalty was not in doubt; some individuals were not to be trusted,<sup>6</sup> because they “were Fāṭimids who believed in the imāmate of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn” (*kānū . . . fāṭimiyyūn dānū bi-imāmat Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn*). This Muḥammad, known as al-Bāqir (d. 114/732), is the son of Zayn al-‘Abidīn, whose followers were *al-firqa al-fāṭimiyya* mentioned in *Masā’īl al-imāma*.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dūrī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Muṭṭalibī (Beirut, 1971), 204.

<sup>3</sup> *Black Banners from the East* (Jerusalem/Leiden, 1983), 157–58.

<sup>4</sup> The father of Ibrāhīm al-Imām and of the first two ‘Abbāsīd caliphs.

<sup>5</sup> On this slogan see P. Crone, “On the Meaning of the ‘Abbāsīd Call to *al-Riḍā*,” *The Islamic World, from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. C.E. Bosworth, Ch. Issawi, R. Savory and A.L. Udovitch (Princeton, 1989), 95–111. I have not been able to read P.A. Griaznevich, “On the Meaning of the Term *al-Riḍā*,” *XXV International Congress of Orientalists* (Moscow, 1960). I owe this reference to A. Elad.

<sup>6</sup> They were Ghālib (from Aḥrāshahr/Nisābūr), ‘Ayyāsh b. Abī ‘Ayyāsh, Ziyād b. Nadhīr and Abū Khālid al-Jawāliqī. According to Sharon (*Black Banners*, 158, note 13), the latter could be identical with Abū Khālid al-Kābulī, mentioned in *Masā’īl al-imāma* as “one of the early leaders-ideologists of the Fāṭimiyyah” (the text reads *wa-kāna min ru’asā’ aṣḥāb ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn*). I wonder whether both or one of them could also be identified with the Abū Khālid who was considered the founder of the Khālidiyya/Fāṭimiyya sect: see 1.3.

Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) records the same event with some differences:<sup>7</sup> the 'Abbāsīd *dā'ī* is called Abū Muḥammad Ziyād, *mawlā* Hamdān; only one person to be mistrusted is mentioned, Ghālib from Abrashahr/Nisābūr, because he exaggerated in his love of the Banū Fāṭima (*li-annahu kāna mufriṭan fī ḥubb Banī Fāṭima*). Later on, al-Ṭabarī adds that Ghālib preferred *āl Abī Ṭālib* and Ziyād preferred the Banū l-'Abbās.

1.3. The same source, the *Akhbār al-dawla al-'abbāsiyya*, has preserved another mention of the term.<sup>8</sup> It refers to the followers of Khidāsh (d. 118/736), a Shī'ite/Hāshimite propagandist who was discredited in the 'Abbāsīd historiography because of his support of the 'Alids<sup>9</sup> and presented as a member of the Khurramiyya, a term which "refers in the Islamic sources to the religious movement founded by Mazdak in the late fifth century and to various Iranian, anti-Arab sects which developed out of it under the impact of certain extremist Shī'ī doctrines."<sup>10</sup> Sharon's reconstruction of the events is as follows: after the death in 132/749 of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās (known as al-Imām), a group of the Shī'ites who had become the supporters of the 'Abbāsīds<sup>11</sup> stated that the imāmate had returned to the family of 'Alī, according to the doctrine of Khidāsh.<sup>12</sup> One of them was Abū Khālid,<sup>13</sup> who led an uprising using this doctrine in Nisābūr

<sup>7</sup> *Ta'rikh*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, 3rd series (Leiden, 1879-1901), II, 1501; trans. K.Y. Blankinship, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. XXV: *The End of Expansion* (Bibliotheca Persica, Albany N.Y., 1989), 38-39. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Ta'rikh* 8 vols. (Beirut, 1401-1403/1981-1983), III, 126.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., 403. The text is translated by Sharon, *Black Banners*, 169-70.

<sup>9</sup> On Khidāsh, see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (M. Sharon), as well as Sharon, *Black Banners*, 165-73 and 182-86. According to one of the sources quoted by Sharon (p. 171, n. 54), Khidāsh was "a man who professed a doctrine in Khurāsān and named himself after the *qā'im* of the people of the Prophet's house, so that his affair became dubious to the Shī'a" (*Khidāsh rajul intahala maqālatan bi-Khurāsān wa-ntasaba ilā l-qā'im min ahl bayt rasūl Allāh fa-shtabaha 'alā l-shī'a amruku*).

<sup>10</sup> On the Khurramiyya, see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (W. Madelung), where the given definition is taken from. In the *Masā'il al-imāma* it is said that the *aṣḥāb Khidāsh*, or the sect he calls *khidāshiyya*, are the Khurramīs of Khurāsān, that they believe that the imāmate passed from the 'Abbāsīd Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās to Khidāsh and that the latter is not dead (op. cit., 35). The Khurramiyya are identified in other sources with the followers of another 'Abbāsīd *dā'ī*, Abū Muslim (see 1.4) and they have also been connected with the Ismā'īliyya, a relationship that Madelung considers doubtful.

<sup>11</sup> See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 173-83: it was after the failure of the uprisings of Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 122/740) and his son Yaḥyā (d. 125/743) that the 'Alid followers in 'Irāq and Khurāsān joined the 'Abbāsīds.

<sup>12</sup> According to Sharon (*EI*<sup>2</sup>), Khidāsh was a Hāshimite, i.e., a follower of Abū Hāshim (the son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya), but already at his time the Shī'ites were looking at the descendants of Fāṭima. This is the case of Khidāsh's follower Abū Khālid.

<sup>13</sup> See note 6 above.

before the year 137/755, the date of Abū Muslim's death, and after al-Imām's death in 132/749. Abū Muslim went against him, but without success. The followers of this Abū Khālid are the sect called *al-Khālidīyya*; later on, in the times of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr (136/158-754/775) the same sect was called *al-fāṭimiyya: kāna qawm fī da'wat Banī l-'Abbās min aṣḥāb Khidāsh yusammauna al-Khālidīyya fa-summū fī zamān Abī Ja'far al-fāṭimiyya* ("among the followers of Khidāsh there were some men of the Da'wah of Banū l-'Abbās, who were called by the name '*Khālidīyyah*.' In the time of Abū Ja'far ... they were called *fāṭimiyyah*"). This reconstruction has been criticized.<sup>14</sup> What the text in any case tells us is that by the time of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr (136-158/754-775), the *Khālidīyya*, former supporters of the 'Abbāsīds, were called *fāṭimiyya*. This change of name seems to imply that they were now supporters of a "Fāṭimid" *imām*, most probably descended from 'Alī and Fāṭima, although other genealogies are possible, as we shall see.

1.4. Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) reports<sup>15</sup> that after the death of Abū Muslim in 137/755, members of the Khurramiyya sect (who were also called *al-muslimiyya* because they said that the imāmate belonged to Abū Muslim) claimed that he had not died and that he would reappear bringing justice to the world. Other members of the same sect, on the other hand, accepted the fact of his death, and proclaimed that the imāmate had passed to Fāṭima, his daughter; they are called *al-fāṭimiyya (wa-firqa ... qālat bi-imāmat ibnatihī Fāṭima wa-hā'ulā'i yud'awna l-fāṭimiyya)*.

This Fāṭima, Abū Muslim's daughter, has a central place in the Khurramiyya's doctrine.<sup>16</sup> According to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, the Khurramiyya "make propaganda on her behalf ... to this very day\ until the Last Hour" (*tad'ū lahā ... ilā l-sā'a*).<sup>17</sup> They "expected the appearance of a descendant of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim, as the Mahdī who would make their cause prevail in the world."<sup>18</sup> The Khurramī rebel in Ādhārbayjān, Bābak (201-223/816-838), was considered by some of his followers to be the son of Muṭahhar b. Fāṭima bint Abī Muslim. The Khurramī sect called *al-kūdakiyya* venerated Mahdī b. Fayrūz, the son (or grandson) of Fāṭima bint Abī Muslim.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See the reviews of Sharon's book by P. Crone in *BSOAS* 50 (1987), 135; W. Madelung in *JNES* 48 (1989), 71; E.L. Daniel in *IJMES* 21 (1989), 580. I owe these references to A. Elad.

<sup>15</sup> *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard, 9 vols. (Paris, 1861-1876), VI, 186-87.

<sup>16</sup> See G.H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire* (Paris, 1938), 201 and 212-14.

<sup>17</sup> *Ta'rikh Baghdad* 14 vols. (Cairo/Baghdad, 1349/1931), X, 207.

<sup>18</sup> See al-Muṭahhar al-Maqdisī (fl. 355/966), *Kitāb al-bad' wa-l-ta'rikh*, ed. Cl. Huart, 6 vols. (Paris, 1899-1919), VI, 95.

<sup>19</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Khurramiyya" (W. Madelung), 64-65; see also Sadighi, op. cit.,

1.5. Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) mentions the terms *al-fāṭimiyyūn* and *al-fāṭimī* in connection with the uprising of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, that took place in 145/762 in Medina,<sup>20</sup> where al-Nafs al-Zakiyya was acknowledged as the Mahdī.<sup>21</sup> His uprising was quickly defeated by al-Manṣūr and led not only to the death of Muḥammad and his brother Ibrāhīm (who had rebelled in Baṣra), but also to a massacre of many ‘Alids imprisoned by the ‘Abbāsīd caliph. Among those imprisoned was the father of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, whose mother was Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Imprisoned also was ‘Abd Allāh’s half-brother, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān (known as al-Dībāj<sup>22</sup> because of his beauty), son of Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn and of a descendant of the third caliph. Referring to al-Dībāj, Ibn Qutayba tells us that “Abū Ja‘far [al-Manṣūr] imprisoned him together with *al-fāṭimiyyūn*; then selected him to be beheaded secretly, sending his head to al-Hind<sup>23</sup> and proclaiming that it was the head of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Fāṭimī” (*wa-akhadhahu Abū Ja‘far ma‘a l-fāṭimiyyūn thumma amara bihi fa-duribat ‘unuquhu sirran wa-ba‘atha bi-ra’sihi ilā l-Hind wa-aḥzara annahu ra’s Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Fāṭimī*).<sup>24</sup>

The same event is recorded by other sources that do not use the terms employed by Ibn Qutayba. On the one hand, they refer to the persons imprisoned as *al-ṭālibiyyūn*, *al-‘alawiyyūn*, *al-hāshimiyya*, etc.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, instead of using *al-fāṭimī*, they state that the head of al-Dībāj (sent to Khurāsān) was presented as *ra’s Muḥammad b. ‘Abd*

191-92, 214, 229-80 and *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. “Bābak” (D. Sourdel).

<sup>20</sup> Apart from the references mentioned below, see also T. Nagel, “Ein früher Bericht über den Aufstand des Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh an-Nafs az-Zakiyya,” *Der Islam* 46 (1970), 227-62.

<sup>21</sup> See Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-ṭālibiyyūn*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaqr, 2nd ed. (1408/1987), 184, 207, 210.

<sup>22</sup> This surname was also applied to Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who rebelled in Medina at the time of Abū l-Sarāyā (see 1.8): al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’* 23 vols. (1981-1985), X, 104-105, and to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, killed by al-Manṣūr and known as al-Dībāj al-Aṣghar/al-Aṣfar: see Ṭabarī, op. cit., III, 182; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-ta’rīkh* 13 vols. (Beirut, 1965-67), V, 526; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittī‘āz al-ḥunafā’ bi-akhbār al-a‘imma al-fāṭimiyyūn al-khulafā’* ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1367/1948), 11; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 214; Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil*, 181 (these two last sources call him al-Dībāj al-Aṣfar).

<sup>23</sup> According to other sources it was sent to Khurāsān.

<sup>24</sup> *Kitāb al-ma‘ārif*, ed. Tharwat ‘Ukāsha (Cairo, n.d.), 199. Ibn Qutayba adds that it was said of al-Dībāj that he was the namesake of the Prophet, one of his descendants and the seed of the wronged caliph, i.e., ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān (*wa-kāna yuqālu fīhi: samīy l-nabī wa-min dhurriyyatihi wa-zar‘ al-khalīfa al-maḥlūm*).

<sup>25</sup> Among the prisoners were Ḥasanids, Ja‘farids (descendants of Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib) and descendants of Zayd b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. There were apparently no Ḥusaynids: it is well known that Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq decided not to take part in the rebellion.

*Allāh Ibn Fāṭima bint rasūl Allāh*.<sup>26</sup> Al-Ṭabarī explains that the people thought that it was the head of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, whose rebellion against al-Manṣūr they were awaiting according to what had been transmitted (*alladhī kānū yajidūna khurūjahū . . . fī l-riwāya*).

The use of the term *al-fāṭimī* applied to the descendants of Idrīs b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, brother of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and founder of the Idrīsīd dynasty in the Maghrib, will be discussed in 1.10.

1.6. For the next use of the term we have to move from the East to the West. One of the numerous rebels who made it difficult for the first Umayyad *amīr*, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I (138-172/756-788), to consolidate his hold on al-Andalus was a Berber from the tribe of Miknāsa, called Shaqyā/Shaqnā/Sufyān/Tāshufīn b. ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Miknāsī. Born apparently in the West of al-Andalus, he was a *mu‘allim kuttāb*. His rebellion lasted from around the year 151/768 until 160/777 and seems to have taken place in all the central part of the peninsula, from Mérida to Santaver. His followers were mainly Berbers, although there is evidence that he also attracted some Arabs. He was killed by one of his Berber followers in 160/777.<sup>27</sup>

This rebel is called in some sources *al-Fāṭimī*. They specify that he was known by that *nisba* because of the name of his mother, Fāṭima. He pretended, however, that he was an ‘Alid of the progeny of Fāṭima.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See Ṭabarī, op. cit., III, 189 (cf. Sadighi, op. cit., 157); Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil*, 202; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 526; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 214.

<sup>27</sup> See a study of his uprising in M.I. Fierro, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus durante el período omeya* (Madrid, 1987), 28-30.

<sup>28</sup> *al-Fāṭimī mansūb ilā ummīhi Fāṭima wa-kāna miknāsīyyan fa-dda‘ā annahu ‘alawī min dhurriyyat Fāṭima wa-tasammā bi-‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad: Faṭḥ al-Andalus*, ed. and trans. J. de González (Alger, 1889), 64-65/72-73; *thumma thāra l-Fāṭimī . . . wa-kāna smu ummīhi Fāṭima wa-aṣluhu min Lajdāniya . . . fa-dda‘ā annahu Fāṭimī: Akhbār majmū‘a*, ed. and trans. E. Lafuente Alcántara (Madrid, 1867), 107-109/99-101; *thāra rajul min al-barbar idda‘ā annahu min wuld al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī . . . wa-kāna aṣluhu min Miknāsāt al-‘idwa wa-kānat ummūhu tusammā Fāṭima fa-dda‘ā annahu Fāṭimī . . . kharāja l-amīr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān li-ghazw al-dā‘ī l-Fāṭimī: Ibn ‘Idhārī (d. 695/1295), al-Boyan al-mughrib*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Leiden, 1951), II, 54-55; . . . *thāra . . . rajul min barbar Miknāsa . . . wa-kānat ummūhu tusammā Fāṭima wa-dda‘ā annahu min wuld Fāṭima . . . thumma min wuld al-Ḥusayn . . . wa-tasammā bi-‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad: Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil*, V, 605, where it is also reported that Shaqyā killed a descendant of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān in Santaver; *wa- . . . ghazā l-imām al-barābir al-qādimīn ‘alayhi ma‘a Tāshufīn b. ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Fāṭimī: Anonymous (eighth/fourteenth-ninth/fifteenth cent.), Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed. and trans. L. Molina, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1983), 95/123; *wa-kānat ummūhu tud‘ā Fāṭima fa-dda‘ā annahu min wuld Fāṭima . . . wa-annahu min wuld al-Ḥusayn wa-yusammā bi-‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad: al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332), Historia de los musulmanes de España y Africa*, ed. and trans. M. Gaspar Remiro (Granada, 1917), I, 9-10/10-11; . . . *wa-dda‘ā annahu min wuld al-Ḥusayn al-shahīd wa-tasammā bi-‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad: Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), Ta’rīkh*, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1983), IV, 157-58.

The sources that do not call him *al-Fāṭimī* are the chronicle of Ibn al-Qūṭaybiya (d. 367/977),<sup>29</sup> as well as Ibn al-Athīr (and following him, al-Nuwayrī and Ibn Khaldūn), who nevertheless points to the claim of descending from Fāṭima. Modern scholars who have studied it have considered that the rebellion of al-Fāṭimī was Shī'ite, given the genealogy assumed by Shaqyā.

There was another case of claiming to be a descendant of Fāṭima in al-Andalus. In the year 333/944, a man appeared in Lisbon who claimed to be a prophet. He gave himself a genealogy which went back to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (the grandfather of the Prophet) and he also claimed that his mother Maryam was a descendant of Fāṭima. No information is given about his ethnic background. The following reasons could be given in favor of him being of Berber origin: (a) Berber tribes are known to have settled in the West of al-Andalus; and (b) this false prophet is alleged to have ordered his followers to shave their hair, a practice adopted by the Khārijite Berbers of al-Andalus during their rebellion of 122-23/740-41.<sup>30</sup>

1.7. Wakī' (d. 306/918) records that the qādī of Kūfa Sharīk al-Nakha'ī was accused in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170/193-786/809) of being *fāṭimī* and of contemplating an uprising. Hārūn told him: "Your accusers pretend that you are *fāṭimī*" and Sharīk answered: "By God! I certainly love Fāṭima and Fāṭima's father and Fāṭima's husband and the two sons of Fāṭima. Do you hate them?" Hārūn's reply was negative.<sup>31</sup>

1.8. In 199/815 a Shī'ite uprising took place in Kūfa. The role played in it by Abū l-Sarāyā was decisive. His full name was al-Sarī b. Maṣṣūr al-Shaybānī, of the Banū Rabī'a b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān b. Tha'laba b. 'Ukāba b. Ṣa'b b. 'Alī b. Bakr b. Wā'il<sup>32</sup> and he was a descendant of Hānī' b. Qabiṣa b. Hānī' b. Maṣṣūr al-Shaybānī.<sup>33</sup> He had been in Armenia, under the command of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, fighting against the Khurramiyya. Afterwards, he commanded the vanguard of Yazīd's

<sup>29</sup> *wa-rajul tanassaba ilā 'Alī... thāra fī l-Hawwārīn bi-jānīb Jayyān... Ta'rīkh iftitāh al-Andalus*, ed. and trans. J. Ribera (Madrid, 1926), 32/25. Although Ibn al-Qūṭaybiya gives very little information, this rebel is to be identified with al-Fāṭimī. Some sources, like Ibn al-Athīr (and following him al-Nuwayrī and Ibn Khaldūn), place the starting point of the rebellion in the East of al-Andalus, where Jayyān is. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, V, 605-606) also mentions that al-Fāṭimī *sāra... ilā ḥiṣn al-Hawwārīn al-ma'rūf bi-Madā'in*.

<sup>30</sup> On this false prophet see, Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, 128-29.

<sup>31</sup> Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1947-1950), III, 159-60. I owe this reference to A. Elad.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Ḥazm does not mention Abū l-Sarāyā in his *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab* (Beirut, 1403/1983), 321-24. To the same tribe belonged al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, a Khārijī (described as Ṣufri) rebel in Kūfa.

<sup>33</sup> On him see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 612.

army against Harthama during the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, but he left his former commander and joined Harthama. In al-Raqqā he met the 'Alid/Ḥasanid rebel Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (known as Ṭabāṭabā) b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī and persuaded him to go to Kūfa. Abū l-Sarāyā joined him later, on 10 Jumādā II 199/26 January 815. Three weeks later, Abū l-Sarāyā defeated the army sent by al-Ḥasan b. Sahl to put an end to the rebellion in Kūfa and the following day Ibn Ṭabāṭabā died. The Sunnī sources accuse Abū l-Sarāyā of having poisoned him, but there is no record of this in the Shī'ite sources. Another 'Alid (this time a Ḥusaynid), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Alī (Zayn al-'Abidīn) b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, was chosen as *imām*, although power was still in the hands of Abū l-Sarāyā (*kāna l-ḥukm ilā Abī l-Sarāyā*),<sup>34</sup> who minted dirhams in Kūfa, and he was besieged by Harthama in the town. Having lost the support of its inhabitants, Abū l-Sarāyā escaped (16 Muharram 200/26 August 815). He tried to reach his house in Ras al-'Ayn,<sup>35</sup> but was caught before reaching it. Brought to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, then at Nahrawān, Abū l-Sarāyā was beheaded on 10 Rabī' I 200/18 October 815.<sup>36</sup> After his death, the Ḥusaynid Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, known as al-Dībāj, rebelled in Medina after seeing a book where Fāṭima was insulted.<sup>37</sup>

According to one of the sources that deals with this uprising, when the attack of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl was expected in Kūfa, Abū l-Sarāyā said to his followers: "Your battle-cry (*shī'ār*) is '*yā fāṭimī, yā maṣṣūr*'" referring to Ibn Ṭabāṭabā.<sup>38</sup> Other sources record that in the dirham minted by Abū l-Sarāyā the Qur'ānic verse 61:4 appeared and in the middle *al-fāṭimī al-aṣghar*.<sup>39</sup> Such a dirham was found by C.J. Tornberg,<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VI, 305. The grandfather of this Muḥammad, Zayd b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn, had rebelled in 122/740 (see note 11): it is mentioned that in the battle where he was defeated he cried at hearing how a Kalbite Syrian insulted Fāṭima (Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil*, 136).

<sup>35</sup> On Yāqūt see *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 5 vols. (Beirut, n.d.), III, 13-14: a town in al-Jazīra situated between Harrān, Niṣībīn and Dunaysar, this was where the Khārijī rebel al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī was defeated in 128/746.

<sup>36</sup> I have closely followed the article on Abū l-Sarāyā found in *EF<sup>2</sup>* (H.A.R. Gibb). See also F. Gabrieli, *Al-Ma'mūn e gli Alīdi* (Leipzig, 1929), 15-17; A. Arioli, "La rivolta di Abū l-Sarāyā: appunti per una tipologia del leader islamico," *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 5 (1974), 189-97. See also F. 'Umar, *Buḥūth fī l-ta'rīkh al-'abbāsī* (Beirut/Bagdad, 1977), 113-19 (I owe this last reference to A. Elad).

<sup>37</sup> See Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil*, 439.

<sup>38</sup> See Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil*, 433. In his conversations with the Ḥasanid, Abū l-Sarāyā addresses him as *yā bna rasūl Allāh*, 434.

<sup>39</sup> See al-Muṭṭahhar al-Maqdisī, op. cit., VI, 109; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. B. Radtke (Wiesbaden, 1979), XV, 134-35, n. 192. Al-Ṭabarī (op. cit., III, 979) records the Qur'ānic verse and omits the rest.

<sup>40</sup> See "Ueber muhammedanische Revolutions-Münzen," *ZDMG* 22 (1868), 706-707 and *ZDMG* 23 (1869), 313-14. He did not manage to read *al-fāṭimī*, reading given

who instead of *al-aşghar* read *al-aşfar* in it on the grounds of a passage in al-Ṭabarī, where it is said that Abū l-Sarāyā sent a *kiswa* to the Ka'ba in which was written "al-Aşfar b. al-Aşfar Abū l-Sarāyā, the propagandist for the house of Muḥammad, ordered this to be made as the covering of God's Holy House."<sup>41</sup> The coin, according to the sources, was minted after Ibn Ṭabātabā' s death, so *al-fāṭimī* refers on this occasion to the Ḥusaynid *imām*.<sup>42</sup>

It is worth recalling here that it was one year after Abū l-Sarāyā's defeat (i.e., in 201/816) that al-Ma'mūn named as his successor in the caliphate the 'Alid/Ḥusaynid 'Alī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. The call for *al-riḍā min āl Muḥammad* had also been a slogan of Abū l-Sarāyā's rebellion,<sup>43</sup> as of others before, and as it would be used by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī in Ifrīqiya.

1.9. The next use of the term *al-fāṭimīyyūn* is connected to the Ismā'īlī movement and more precisely with the Qarāmiṭa. The report comes from al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923).<sup>44</sup> In 289/902, one of the Ismā'īlī *dā'īs*, Zikrawayh<sup>45</sup> b. Mihrawayh, sent his sons to the Syrian desert, between Kūfa and Damascus, in order to attract the Banū Kalb to their doctrine.<sup>46</sup> They succeeded among the Banū l-'Ullays and the Banū l-Aşbah. One of Zikrawayh's sons, Abū l-Qāsim Yaḥyā, adopted an Ismā'īlī genealogy, calling himself: (a) Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far [al-Şādiq] b. Muḥammad [al-Bāqir b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib]; (b) Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh

by Gabrieli, op. cit., 17, n. 1.

<sup>41</sup> al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., III, 988, trans. by C.E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. XXXII: *The Reunification of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate* (Bibliotheca Persica, Albany, N.Y., 1987) 29; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VI, 305, 311. On the use and meaning of the name "al-Aşfar" see my article "al-Aşfar," *Studia Islamica* 77 (1993), 169-81, an article which developed out of research done for this paper.

<sup>42</sup> The members of the family of the Prophet who supported Abū l-Sarāyā are usually called *al-fāṭimīyyūn*, as they included Ḥusaynids, Ḥasanids and Ja'farids.

<sup>43</sup> See Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil*, 428.

<sup>44</sup> Op. cit., III, 2218-19; see also the translation by F. Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. XXXVIII: *The Return of the Caliphate to Baghdad* (Bibliotheca Persica, Albany, N.Y., 1985), 113-15.

<sup>45</sup> This is the usual rendering of the name. For another reading see H. Halm, "Methoden und Formen der frühesten ismailitischen *da'wa*," *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des vorderen Orients: Festschrift für b. Spuler* (Leiden, 1981), 125, n. 8. I owe this reference to T. Seidensticker.

<sup>46</sup> On this tribe in Islamic times see *IE*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (A.A. Dixon); M.J. Kister and M. Plessner, "Notes on Caskel's Gamharat an-nasab," *Oriens* 25-26 (1976), 56-58 on its change from a Northern to a Southern genealogy. They were the winners of the famous battle of Marj Rāhiṭ and they appear in a well known *ḥadīth* related to the figure of the Mahdī: see W. Madelung, "Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdī," *JNES* 40 (1981), 291-305; M. Cook, "Eschatology and the Dating of Traditions," *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies* 1 (1992), 23-48.

b. Yaḥyā;<sup>47</sup> (c) Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.<sup>48</sup>

Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh "asserted to them that ... he had one hundred thousand followers in the Sawād and in the East and West. He also asserted that the she-camel he was riding was blessed and if they followed her wherever she went, they would be victorious ... A number of the Banū l-Aşbah flocked to him. They showed sincere devotion to him, called themselves Fāṭimids and adopted his religion" (*wa-nḥāzat ilayhi jamā'a min Banī l-Aşbah wa-akhlaṣū lahu wa-tasammaw bi-l-fāṭimīyyīn wa-dānū bi-dīnīhi*).<sup>49</sup>

Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. after 723/1323) reports the same, i.e., that "they called themselves Fāṭimids" (*wa-tasammā ... bi-l-fāṭimīyyīn*). In another version it is said: "groups of the Aşbah who were known as *al-fawāṭim*" (*ṭawā'if min al-aşbahīyyīn* [text: *al-işba'iyyīn*] *alladhīna yu'rafūna bi-l-fawāṭim*).<sup>50</sup> This latter term also appears in: "groups of the Aşbah who traced their origin to *al-Fawāṭim*" (*ṭawā'if min al-aşbahīyyīn al-muntamīn ilā l-Fawāṭim*).<sup>51</sup> The term *al-Fawāṭim* is usually understood to include the following Fāṭimas: the daughter of the Prophet; Fāṭima bint Asad b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, 'Alī's mother,

<sup>47</sup> Rosenthal remarks in his translation: "Was this Yaḥyā the son of the fifth *imām* Zayd, or the grandson of Yaḥyā b. Zayd who was killed in al-Kūfa in 250 (864) and had once attempted a minor, abortive uprising in 235 (849-50)?" I have wondered if this Yaḥyā could refer to the son of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī and one of the brothers of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. However, it seems to point rather to a Ḥusaynid, so perhaps it is the first possibility remarked by Rosenthal, i.e., the son of Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn and the uncle of that Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn who was the second *imām* of Abū l-Sarāyā.

<sup>48</sup> Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh's brother, al-Ḥusayn, called himself Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. Al-Ṭabarī adds the comment that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far never had a son called 'Abd Allāh. As Rosenthal points out, the same 'Abd Allāh appears in the genealogy of the Fāṭimid caliphs.

<sup>49</sup> al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., III, 2219; the translation quoted is by Rosenthal; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 512. On these events, see *IE*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Karmatī" (W. Madelung) and H. Halm, "Die Söhne Zikrawaih und das erste fatimidische Kalifat (290/903)," *Die Welt des Orients* X (1979), 30-53. Halm (p. 35) remarks that in this episode "taucht der Name der späteren Dynastie also zum ersten Mal auf, allerdings eben nicht als Name der Dynastie, sondern als Selbstbezeichnung von deren Anhängern," and points out the interest of trying to answer questions such as why they chose that name, what was the meaning of the term *fāṭimīyyūn* for the Ismā'īliyya and when the Fāṭimid caliphs started to use it in their writings; in his note 30, he gives a summary of the answers proposed by different scholars to the second question.

<sup>50</sup> *al-Durra al-mudī'a fī akhbār al-dawla al-fāṭimīyya*, vol. VI of Ibn al-Dawādārī's *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi' al-ghurar*, ed. Şalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Cairo, 1380/1961), 68 and 80. Ibn al-Dawādārī's source the Ḥusaynid Akhū Muḥsin Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far al-Şādiq (fourth/tenth century), an opponent of the Fāṭimids: see Halm, p. 31, as well as Halm's article mentioned in n. 113 below, p. 137, n. 25.

<sup>51</sup> al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., III, 2256-57; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 541.

and Fāṭima bint 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh al-Makhzūmī, 'Alī's grandmother.<sup>52</sup> Other Fāṭimas were also of importance: Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the grandmother of the Ḥasanid Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya; Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, wife of Ja'far al-Šādiq and mother of his son Ismā'īl;<sup>53</sup> the mother of the 'Abbāsīd Ibrāhīm al-Imām an *umm walad* called Fāṭima.<sup>54</sup> This Ibrāhīm was married to Zaynab bint Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās: *al-zaynabiyyūn* were named after her (*wa-ilaḡhā yunsabu l-zaynabiyyūn wuld al-'Abbās li-anna zawjahā kāna lahu wuld min ghayrihā fa-nusiba wuldihā ilaḡhā li-yufarraqa baynahum wa-bayna wuld al-zawj al-ukhrā*).<sup>55</sup> Together with *al-fawāṭim*, use was also made of the plural *al-'awātik* to name those women called 'Atika who "bore" the Prophet.<sup>56</sup>

The terms used by al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Dawādārī, i.e., *al-fāṭimiyyūn/al-fawāṭim* are conspicuously absent in some Ismā'īlī/Fāṭimid sources. In the *Kitāb istitār al-imām*, written by the Ismā'īlī author Aḡmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nisābūrī (fourth/tenth century),<sup>57</sup> the tribes that supported Zikrawayh's sons are called *al-qāsiyyūn* and no mention is made of the term *al-fāṭimiyyūn*.<sup>58</sup> Special mention is made of the *shuyūkh al-qāsiyyūn*, "headmen of the Qāsiyyūn, from the tribe of Nuḡār [?]" These *shuyūkh* intervened on behalf of Abū l-Ḥusayn, an Ismā'īlī leader who was loyal to the future Fāṭimid caliph al-Mahdī. They also intervened on behalf of the Hāshimīs of Salamiyya, whose life was threatened by Zikrawayh's sons.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>52</sup> These three are mentioned by Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya in a dialogue with Ibn al-Zubayr: see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 185–86. Cf. al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897), *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Th. M. Houtsma, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1883), II, 444, where a similar dialogue is reported, but this time it takes place between 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (the father of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya) and the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manšūr.

<sup>53</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Dja'far al-Šādiq" (M.G.S. Hodgson).

<sup>54</sup> See al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-shī'a*, ed. H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1931), 44.

<sup>55</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tarājim al-nisā'* (Damascus, 1982), 114. I owe this reference to M. Lecker.

<sup>56</sup> See M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym. A Contribution to the Study of Early Islam* (Jerusalem, 1989), 112–17.

<sup>57</sup> He lived in the times of al-'Azīz, the fifth Fāṭimid caliph (365/975–386/996): see W. Ivanow, *Ismā'īlī Literature: A Bibliographical Survey* (Teheran, 1963), 39, n. 117 and I.K. Poonawala, *Bibliography of Ismā'īlī Literature* (Malibu, 1977), 91–92, n. 2.

<sup>58</sup> The Arabic text of the *Kitāb istitār al-imām* was edited by W. Ivanow in the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of Cairo* IV 1936 (1939), 93–107, and was translated by him in his *Ismā'īlī Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids* (Bombay, 1942), 157–83: see the term *qāsiyyūn* on pp. 97/166, 99/168, 100/170, 100/171, 101/172, 105/181. Ivanow's comment on the term is that "this apparently is a misreading of the original Fāṭimiyyūn. Most probably later scribes, being ignorant of history, were puzzled by such a strange application of the term, and corrected the expression" (p. 80, n. 2). I shall come to this point later.

<sup>59</sup> Ivanow remarked this fact, stating that "the shaykhs of the *Fāṭimiyyūn* are made to act differently from the other 'Qarmatians':" see n. 2 on p. 170 of his translation.

1.10. Two geographical sources use the term *al-fāṭimī* in connection with the Ḥasanid dynasty of the Idrīsids. Al-Iṣṭakhrī (fl. in the first half of the fourth/tenth century), in his description of al-Sūs al-Aqṣā, records that its capital is Fās and that "this is the town where Yaḡyā al-Fāṭimī reigns. 'Ubayd Allāh, the rebel in the Maghrib, has not conquered it at the time of writing this book" (*wa-hiya l-madīna allatī bihā Yaḡyā l-Fāṭimī wa-lam yaftahhā 'Ubayd Allāh al-khārij bi-l-Maghrib ilā ḡn taṣnīf hādhā l-kitāb*).<sup>60</sup> Fās was briefly occupied by the troops of 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī in 309/921; the Fāṭimid general Jawhar reconquered it in 347/958. The Yaḡyā al-Fāṭimī mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī is Yaḡyā b. Idrīs b. 'Umar b. Idrīs b. Idrīs, who reigned from 292/904 until 307/919. He was a descendant of Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, one of the brothers of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, who had escaped from Ḥijāz in 169/786 after the defeat of the uprising of his nephew al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (known as *ṣāhib Fakhh*) and established himself in the Maghrib.<sup>61</sup> Idrīs was proclaimed *imām* in 172/789 by the Berber tribe of the Awrāba, who were Mu'tazilites.<sup>62</sup>

The other geographer is Ibn Hawqal (fourth/tenth century), a follower of the Ismā'īlī Fāṭimids of Ifrīqiya. In the section devoted to the town of Zalūl, he mentions that it is under the control of Ḥasan b. Kannūn al-Fāṭimī (*wa-Zalūl madīna latīfa ... wa-'alayhā mutawallī Ḥasan b. Kannūn al-Fāṭimī*).<sup>63</sup>

Other examples of the term *al-fāṭimī* applied to the Idrīsids can also be found in al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), quoting the geographer al-Fazārī (third/ninth century),<sup>64</sup> and in the anonymous (sixth/twelfth century)

<sup>60</sup> *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, 3rd ed. (Leiden, 1967 BGA I), 39. Ibn Rustah (third/ninth–fourth/tenth centuries), who also mentions that Fās is in the hands of the same ruler, calls him merely Yaḡyā b. Yaḡyā b. Idrīs: see his *Kitāb al-a'lāq al-naḡīsa*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1892 BGA VIII), 357–58. Ibn Faḡh al-Hamadhānī (third/ninth century) calls another members of the same family, Idrīs b. Abd Allāh, "al-Ṭālibī": see his *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1885 BGA V), 81.

<sup>61</sup> According to some sources, Idrīs ended up in al-Andalus: see Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, 213 (*huwa alladhī šara ilā l-Andalus wa-l-barbar wa-ghalaba 'alayhimā*) and al-Muṭaḡhar al-Maqdisī, op. cit., VI, 100 (*fa-waqa'a Idrīs ... ilā l-Andalus wa-ghalaba 'alayhā*). See also n. 172.

<sup>62</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (D. Eustache). On the different versions of Idrīs's career, see H.L. Beck, *L'image d'Idrīs II, ses descendants de Fās et la politique shārifienne des sultans Marīnides (656–869/1258–1465)* (Leiden, 1989).

<sup>63</sup> *Kitāb šurat al-arā'*, ed. J. Kramers (Leiden, 1873, BGA II), 54. On Ḥasan b. Kannūn, see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, 3 vols. (Paris/Leiden, 1950–53), III, 80 and 82.

<sup>64</sup> *Murūj*, IV, 39, where the 'amal of Idrīs al-Fāṭimī is mentioned. On al-Fazārī, see the introduction of M. Hadj-Sadok to his edition and study of al-Zuhrī, *Kitāb al-dja'rāfiyya*, BEO 21 (1968).

*Kitāb al-istibṣār fī 'ajā'ib al-amṣār.*<sup>65</sup>

None of the authors of these sources uses the term *al-fāṭimiyyūn* to refer to the Ismā'īlī dynasty in Ifrīqiya. Al-Iṣṭakhri simply says "al-Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh."<sup>66</sup> As regards Ibn Ḥawqal, he employs formulae as *da'wat 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī wa-l-Qā'im bi-llāh waladīhi, mawlānā amīr al-mu'minīn al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, Jawhar 'abd amīr al-mu'minīn*. It is known that there were different versions of Ibn Ḥawqal's work: one was produced before 356/967 and dedicated to the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-dawla; another appeared around 367/977, full of criticism toward the Ḥamdānids; the complete version appeared about 378/988.<sup>67</sup> According to S.M. Stern, the available text does not allow us to know what really belongs to Ibn Ḥawqal.<sup>68</sup> As regards al-Mas'ūdī, in both his *Murūj* and his *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf*,<sup>69</sup> he refers to 'Ubayd Allāh as *ṣāhib al-Maghrib* or without any specification. In *al-Istibṣār*, the Fāṭimids are called Banū 'Ubayd and *al-'ubaydiyyūn*.<sup>70</sup>

The descendants of Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib did not adopt the caliphal title in the Maghrib, being addressed in the *khutba* as *yā bna rasūl Allāh*,<sup>71</sup> and they are commonly referred to as Idrīsids or Banū Idrīs.<sup>72</sup> Members of one branch of the Idrīsids, the Ḥammūdids, were proclaimed caliphs by the Berbers in al-Andalus during the period that preceded the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if*:<sup>73</sup> they are referred to with the term *al-fāṭimī*.<sup>74</sup>

1.11. Another geographer, al-Muqaddasī (d. after 378/988), uses the term *al-fāṭimī* to refer to the rulers of the Ismā'īlī dynasty of Ifrīqiya.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>65</sup> See the edition by Saad Zaghloul Abdel-Hamid (Alexandria, 1958), 180, where it is said that the two 'idwas of Fes were founded *fī wilāyat Idrīs b. Idrīs al-Fāṭimī*; cf. however p. 213 where 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-'Alawī is mentioned.

<sup>66</sup> Op. cit., 38, 39, 40, 41.

<sup>67</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Ibn Ḥawqal" (A. Miquel).

<sup>68</sup> *Studies in Early Ismā'īlism* (Leiden, 1983), 214, n. 8.

<sup>69</sup> Ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1894 *BGA* III). The work he devoted specifically to 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī seems to be lost.

<sup>70</sup> On p. 117 there is an interesting text related to the moment when Abū 'Abd Allāh *al-dā'ī* broke with 'Ubayd Allāh al-Shī'ī: the former tries to convince the *shuyūkh* of the Kutāma that the latter is a pretender, saying that 'Ubayd Allāh is actually a Jew whom he had presented as *al-'alawī al-fāṭimī* as a substitute for the real one.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn Khurrādādhbih (third/ninth century), *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, 2nd ed., (Leiden, 1967 *BGA* VI), 88-89.

<sup>72</sup> See for example al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897), *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, (Leiden, 1892 *BGA* VII), 357-58. Wāḍih, the ancestor of al-Ya'qūbī, had helped Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh during his escape to the Maghrib.

<sup>73</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (A. Huici Miranda).

<sup>74</sup> See al-Ḍabbī (d. 599/1202), *Bughyat al-multamis*, ed. F. Codera and J. Ribera (Madrid, 1884-85), *BAH*, t. III, n. 1123 and cf. n. 53. See also H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1953), 97.

<sup>75</sup> *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, (Leiden, 1906 *BGA* III), 180, 200, 202, 204, 212, 224, 226, 229, 230, 237, 238, 240, 485. When al-Muqaddasī mentions

This is true at least in the version of the Berlin MS (3034 = B), which came from India.<sup>76</sup> The Istanbul MS (Aya Sofya, MS 2971 bis = C)<sup>77</sup> usually reads *al-Maghribī* where the Berlin MS reads *al-Fāṭimī*,<sup>78</sup> although this latter reading can be found on several occasions.<sup>79</sup> De Goeje's assumption was "that the two extant manuscripts go back to two different versions of the book, and that the Aya Sofya manuscript probably represents an earlier stage of composition, being the shorter of the two."<sup>80</sup> However, taking into account that the Aya Sofya MS wavers in the use of the terms *al-Maghribī/al-Fāṭimī*, it could also be assumed that this MS is a later version, written in a Sunnī environment and based on a copy where the reading was *al-Fāṭimī*: the copyist may not have noticed that the original reading had been changed a few times. As in the case of Ibn Ḥawqal's work, it seems that different versions of al-Muqaddasī's work existed.

The Idrīsids are not called *fāṭimiyyūn* by al-Muqaddasī: they are mentioned as *al-Idrīs* and *al-Idrīsīyya*.<sup>81</sup> There is a passage that deserves some attention, as it establishes a connection between the Idrīsids and the Fāṭimids from a doctrinal point of view. In it, al-Muqaddasī says that the Fāṭimids

s'accordent avec les mu'tazilites sur la plupart des *uḥūl* et professent la doctrine des ismā'ilites. Ils en conservent le secret qu'ils n'enseignent et ne communiquent à personne, sinon aux néophytes en qui ils ont confiance et après les avoir obligés à prendre l'engagement, sous la foi du serment, de ne rien en divulguer. On les a appelés bāṭiniyya uniquement parce qu'ils font dévier la signification externe du Coran vers des sens allégoriques, des interprétations étranges et des acceptions subtiles. Ces *uḥūl* constituent les doctrines des

Fās, he says that it is divided into two towns and that one is in possession of al-Fāṭimī and the other of al-Umawī. This information seems to refer to a period previous to 347/958, when Jawhar conquered Fās: if so, then in this case the term "al-Fāṭimī" refers to an Idrīsīd.

<sup>76</sup> It was brought to Europe by the German orientalist A. Sprenger. A copy of this MS (Berlin, MS 3033) was used by de Goeje as the basis of his edition, indicating in the notes the variants from the Istanbul MS.

<sup>77</sup> It was copied in 658/1260, i.e., at the time when the Sunnī authors had not yet started to call the Fāṭimids by this name (see 1.12.2). The copy in Leiden is based on it and was used by de Goeje in his edition. I was able to consult the Aya Sofya MS during my stay in Istanbul in September 1989, thanks to a grant of the Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Árabe.

<sup>78</sup> See pp. 180, 200, 204, 226, 229, 230, 238, 485 of de Goeje's edition.

<sup>79</sup> See pp. 202, 212, 224, 237, 240, where de Goeje does not mention any variant. The Istanbul MS however confirms that in these cases the reading is *al-Fāṭimī*.

<sup>80</sup> See Sezgin's introduction to the new edition of the partial translation made by G.S.A. Ranking and R.F. Zoo (Frankfurt am Main, 1989).

<sup>81</sup> See pp. 238, 243, 244 and, for a possible exception, see n. 75.



Idrīsides, qui sont prépondérantes dans le district du Sūs al-Aqqa et se rapprochent de celles des Qarmates (*fa-idhā hum yuwāfiqūna l-mu'tazila fī akthar al-uṣūl wa-yaqūlūna bi-madhhab al-ismā'īliyya ... wa-innamā summū bāṭiniyya ... wa-hādhihi l-uṣūl madhāhib al-idrīsiyya ... wa-hiya qarība min madhāhib al-qaramīta*).<sup>82</sup>

1.12. Al-Muqaddasī is a good introduction to the question of which of which sources call the Fāṭimids *al-fāṭimiyyūn*. The sources can be divided into two groups: Fāṭimid and non-Fāṭimid.

### 1.12.1. Fāṭimid sources

a. Qādī l-Nu'mān (d. 363/974).<sup>83</sup> In his writings he collected the religious and political doctrine of the first Fāṭimid caliphs. However, he does not call the members of this dynasty *al-fāṭimiyyūn*.<sup>84</sup> Of course, he mentions Fāṭima as their ancestress, but not as often as one would expect.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, al-Nu'mān's *Kitāb iftitāh al-da'wa* is mentioned by a contemporary Fāṭimid source with the title *Kitāb fī ibtidā' al-da'wa al-ṭālibiyya*.<sup>86</sup> In his *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, he uses the term "Hāshimī."<sup>87</sup>

b. Ibn Hānī' (d. 362/973).<sup>88</sup> Although he never uses the term *al-fāṭimī/al-fāṭimiyyūn* in his *Dīwān*, there are verses where he stresses the

<sup>82</sup> Ch. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident musulman au IVe -Xe siècle* (Alger, 1950), 46-47; al-Muqaddasī, op. cit., 238. See also W. Madelung, "Some Notes on Non-Isma'īlī Shī'ism in the Maghrib," *Studia Islamica* 44 (1976), 87-97, especially 96.

<sup>83</sup> On him, see A.A. Fyze, "Qādī an-Nu'mān, the Fatimid Jurist and Author," *JRAS* (1934), 1-32; Ivanow, *Isma'īlī Literature*, 32-37 and Poonawala, op. cit., 48-68.

<sup>84</sup> I have checked his *Kitāb iftitāh al-da'wa*, written in 346/957 ed. F. Dachraoui (Tunis, 1975). (I was not able to consult W. al-Qādī's edition) and *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, ed. Fyze, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1960).

<sup>85</sup> See for example his *Kitāb iftitāh al-da'wa*: her name appears four times, twice as one of the names pronounced in the invocation of the *khuṭba* (p. 114, n. 225 and p. 127, n. 265). On the other two occasions, her name appears in an eschatological context: the appearance of a messianic figure *min abnā' Fāṭima* (see nn. 60 and 273). See also Qādī l-Nu'mān's *al-Urjūza al-mukhtāra*, ed. I.K. Poonawala (Montreal, 1970), 120-21. I owe this reference to M. Brett.

<sup>86</sup> I am referring to the *Sīrat Ja'far*, written by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Yamānī (fourth/tenth century), p. 125/211 (see below, n. 95, for the complete reference). Al-Bustī (alive in 400/1000) wrote a refutation of Isma'īlism, where he mentions that "Abū Tamīm [i.e., the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu'izz] compiled the *Kitāb al-da'ā'im*, calling it *Da'ā'im millat al-Ḥanāfiyya ...* In it he reproduced the exoteric law of the Imāmiyya ...": see Stern, *Studies in Early Isma'īlism*, 307, where he explains that the reference is to the *Da'ā'im al-Islām* by al-Nu'mān.

<sup>87</sup> See Ivanow, *Isma'īlī Tradition*, 185, n. 2.

<sup>88</sup> On him, see Ivanow, *Isma'īlī Literature*, 37 and Poonawala, op. cit., 47-48. His *Dīwān* has been repeatedly published. I have not been able to consult the critical edition by Zāhid 'Alī (Cairo 1352 H.). The edition consulted is that of Beirut 1326 H. My analysis is based on the study by M. Yalaoui, *Un poète chiite d'Occident au IVème/Xème siècle: Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī* (Tunis, 1976), where many relevant verses are translated.

fact that the new caliphs of Ifrīqiya are descendants of Fāṭima against those who cast doubts on their genealogy.<sup>89</sup> In one elegy dedicated to the mother of Ja'far b. 'Alī b. Ḥamdūn (a supporter of the new caliphs), Ibn Hānī' stresses the role played in genealogy by mothers (*li-ummātīnā niṣf ansābinā*).<sup>90</sup> The importance of such a role is also pointed out in Ibn Hānī's attacks against the 'Abbāsids. He calls them Banū Natla, for Nutayla. Nutayla was al-'Abbās's mother and, according to Ibn Hānī', a slave: "la servilité de Nutayla est présentée comme un vice réhhibitoire contre les prétentions abbassides au califat..."<sup>91</sup> However, as Yalaoui points out,<sup>92</sup> Ibn Hānī' does not play the card of Fāṭima as much as one would expect. Many times, when referring to the genealogy of the Fāṭimids, he puts the emphasis on Muḥammad (*yā bna al-nabī*) or on 'Alī.<sup>93</sup> He calls the new dynasty Banū Aḥmad, *āl bayt Muḥammad* and *al-ṭālibiyyūn*.<sup>94</sup>

c. The *Sīrat Ja'far* and *Kitāb istitār al-imām*. These two works were written in the fourth/tenth century by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Yamānī<sup>95</sup> and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (or Ibrāhīm) al-Nisābūrī.<sup>96</sup> Ivanow has already pointed out about the first author that "for some reason ... [he] avoids the use of such words as Fāṭimī, 'Alawī, etc."<sup>97</sup> As regards the second, who wrote his work at the times of the fifth caliph al-'Azīz (365/386-975/996), does not use the term *al-fāṭimiyyūn* and, as I have already mentioned, he calls *al-qāṣiyyūn* those tribes of the Banū Kalb who supported Zikrawayh's sons, tribes that are named *al-fāṭimiyyūn* by other sources (see 1.9).

d. Abū 'Alī Maṣṣūr al-'Azīzī al-Jawdhārī (d. after 363/973),<sup>98</sup> the author of the *Sīrat ustādh Jawdhar*.<sup>99</sup> He never mentions the term *al-*

<sup>89</sup> See Yalaoui, op. cit., 262.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 246.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 312. Among the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima there were many who were the sons of slave-girls, like 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn, Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. This point was stressed by the 'Abbāsīd al-Manṣūr in his letter to al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, to which I will refer later on. This correspondence between the two undoubtedly influenced Ibn Hānī's verse.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 312.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 262-64.

<sup>94</sup> For the first two references see his *Dīwān*, 116 and 118; for the latter, see Yalaoui, op. cit., 264.

<sup>95</sup> See on the author and his work Poonawala, op. cit., 81. The *Sīrat Ja'far* was edited by Ivanow in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of Cairo* 4 (1939), 108-33 and translated in his *Isma'īlī Tradition*, 184-223.

<sup>96</sup> On this author and his work, see Ivanow, *Isma'īlī Literature*, 39 and Poonawala, op. cit., 91-92. His *Istitār al-imām* was edited by Ivanow together with the *Sīrat Ja'far*, 93-107, and translated in his *Isma'īlī Tradition*, 157-83; see n. 59.

<sup>97</sup> *Isma'īlī Tradition*, 10.

<sup>98</sup> On him see Ivanow, *Isma'īlī Literature*, 38 and Poonawala, op. cit., 90-91.

<sup>99</sup> I have only been able to consult the translation by M. Canard, *Vie de l'Ustadh Jaudhar* (Alger 1958). Prof. Halm informs me that in the Arabic text appears *al-ḥaqq*

*fāṭimīyyūn*, referring to the dynasty as “Banū Aḥmad,” the “dynasty of the Prophet’s family,” also as the “descendants of Fāṭima”; the daughter of the Prophet is presented as the ancestress of the caliphs and exalted.<sup>100</sup> In none of the *tawqī‘āt* (rescripts) of the Fāṭimid caliphs quoted in this source there is any mention of the term.

e. I have not found the term *al-fāṭimīyyūn* in the fragments of different Ismā‘īlī works edited and translated by Ivanow in his *Ismaili Tradition*. The term *al-fāṭimīyyāt* appears in the well known story of how ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī said when the town of al-Mahdiyya was built: “Today I have ensured security for (*āmantu ‘alā*) *al-fāṭimīyyāt*.”<sup>101</sup>

f. Aḥmad b. Ya‘qūb, Abū l-Fawāris, a Fāṭimid author who lived during the reign of the sixth caliph, al-Ḥākim (386/411–996/1021), wrote *al-Risāla fī l-imāma*.<sup>102</sup> The term *al-fāṭimīyyūn* is not recorded in it. Fāṭima, the Prophet’s daughter, is mentioned in order to discredit Abū Bakr<sup>103</sup> and not as the ancestress of the Fāṭimids.

g. In the collection of 66 letters by al-Mustansir billāh (427–487/1036–1094), the eighth Fāṭimid caliph,<sup>104</sup> there are three occurrences of the term under the forms *al-dawla al-fāṭimīyya* (*siḡill* n. 32 of the year 467/1074 and *siḡill* n. 34 of the year 470/1077) and *al-khilāfa al-fāṭimīyya* (*siḡill* n. 57 of the year 468/1075).<sup>105</sup> The name of Fāṭima is never mentioned, whereas the name of ‘Alī appears several times. The expression *al-dawla/al-khilāfa al-‘alawīyya* is much more frequent in other letters that predate and postdate those mentioned. It is also worth pointing out that in the collection of letters assembled by Jamāl

*al-muḥammadī al-fāṭimī al-mahdī* in a *khuṭba* delivered at the time of al-Qā‘im (eds. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. ‘Abd al-Ḥādī Sha‘ira (Cairo, 1954), 54; the same text is recorded in Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan, ‘*Uyūn al-akḥbār*, ed. M. Ghālib (Beirut, 1975), vol. IV, 205.

<sup>100</sup> See op. cit., 70, 73, 108, as well as 83–84, 87, 115–16 and 96–98.

<sup>101</sup> The text corresponds to the *Zahr al-ma‘ānī* by Sayyidnā Idrīs: see op. cit., 69/262. Al-Maqrīzī explains the term as *banātuhu* (*Itti‘āz*, 71). Another version of the same story has ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī saying: “I am building this city so that *al-Fawāṭim* may find protection in it for one hour of a certain day,” thus predicting the day when Abū Yazīd, the Man of the Donkey, will besiege al-Mahdiyya and be unable to conquer it. In this case the term is explained as meaning the Fāṭimids: see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima* trans. F. Rosenthal, 3 vols. (New York, 1958), II, 211 and al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz*, 71.

<sup>102</sup> It is preserved in the *Majmū‘ al-tarbiya*, a collection of Ismā‘īlī works attributed to Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥārithī (d. 584/1188): see Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, 39–40, n. 120 and 54–60, n. 205. It has been edited and translated by S.N. Makarem, *The Political Doctrines of the Isma‘ilis* (New York, 1977). See also Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism* (Leiden, 1918), 167–76.

<sup>103</sup> See pp. 26–27/30–40. I owe this reference to M. Brett.

<sup>104</sup> *Al-Siḡillāt al-mustansiriyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Mājid (Cairo, 1954). On them see also H.F. Hamdani, “The Letters of al-Mustansir bi-llāh,” *BSOAS* 7 (1934), 307–24, as well as his *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn wa-l-ḥaraka al-fāṭimīyya fī l-Yaman* (Cairo, 1955), 302–307 and 319–20.

<sup>105</sup> Op. cit., 104, 109 and 186.

al-dīn al-Shayyāl there are two earlier documents dated in the years 390/999 and 418/1027 and the term does not occur there.<sup>106</sup>

In a *siḡill* dated in the year 524/1129 and issued by the tenth Fāṭimid caliph al-Āmir (495–525/1101–1130) to al-Sayyida al-Ḥurra al-Ṣulayḥiyya, the queen of Yemen, mention is made of *al-dawla al-fāṭimīyya*.<sup>107</sup> In the year 530/1136 a decree issued by the eleventh Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ (525–544/1130–1149) concerning the monks of Mount Sinai uses the expression *al-mamlaka al-fāṭimīyya*.<sup>108</sup>

The evidence of these documents shows that by the second half of the fifth/eleventh century the Fāṭimids were sometimes called themselves by this name. However, a later author like the Ismā‘īlī Sayyidnā Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. 872/1468)<sup>109</sup> does not use the term *al-fāṭimīyyūn* when referring to the Fāṭimid caliphs in his ‘*Uyūn al-akḥbār*, and the term *al-fawāṭim* found once in the text refers to the Idrīsids.<sup>110</sup>

#### 1.12.2. Non-Fāṭimid sources

Stern has shown that doubts about the ‘Alid and Fāṭimid genealogy of the caliphs of Ifrīqiya appeared at an early period even among the Ismā‘īlites,<sup>111</sup> to the point that some circles admitted the descent of some of the *imāms* from Maymūn al-Qaddāh.<sup>112</sup> The problem of

<sup>106</sup> *Majmū‘at al-wathā‘iq al-fāṭimīyya*, (Cairo, 1958), I, 307–11 and 313–21, as well as pp. 275–81 and 297–306, two undated letters which belong to the first half of the fifth/eleventh century.

<sup>107</sup> Hamdani, op. cit., 321–22.

<sup>108</sup> S.M. Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees. Original Documents from the Fāṭimid Chancery* (London, 1964), 60, 1. 17. Fāṭimid coins do not seem to record the term *fāṭimī/fāṭimīyyūn*, although the name Fāṭima sometimes appears: see for example S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins Preserved in the Khedivial Library at Cairo* (London, 1897), 152, note, a gold coin of the year 342/953 from al-Manṣūriyya, where mention is made of Fāṭima, the Prophet’s daughter.

<sup>109</sup> On him see Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, 77–82 and Poonawala, op. cit., 169–75. Ivanow has a very negative view of his work as he records in it the polemical texts about the genealogy of the dynasty.

<sup>110</sup> Op. cit., ed. M. Yalaoui (Beirut, 1985), 2/73. On this episode see F. Dachraoui, “La captivité d’Ibn Wāsūl, le rebel de Sidjilmassa d’après le Cadi An-Nu‘mān,” *Cahiers de Tunisie* 4 (1956), 295–99. The indexes of the edition of ‘*Uyūn al-akḥbār* are misleading, as they mention, for example, al-Qā‘im al-Fāṭimī, a form that never occurs in the text. This does not mean that Sayyidnā Idrīs does not stress the descent of the Fāṭimids from Fāṭima: see op. cit., 230, 233, 438, 455, 529. See also his other work, *Zahr al-ma‘ānī* (partial edition and translation by W. Ivanow in *Ismaili Tradition*, 47–80/232–74): on p. 61/252 *al-fāṭimīyyūn* refers in general to the descendants of ‘Alī and Fāṭima and on p. 69/262 *al-fāṭimīyyāt* are mentioned by al-Mahdī.

<sup>111</sup> See his article “Heterodox Ismā‘ilism at the Time of al-Mu‘izz,” *BSOAS* 17 (1955), 10–33, reprinted in his *Studies in Early Ismā‘ilism*. I agree with him that this must have been an early doctrine.

<sup>112</sup> On him, see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. “Abd Allāh b. Maymūn” (S.M. Stern) and W. Ivanow, *Ibn al-Qaddāh: The Alleged Founder of Ismailism* 2nd ed., (Bombay, 1957). See also Stern, 271 and n. 17.

the genealogy of the Fāṭimids has been discussed by many scholars, modern<sup>113</sup> and medieval: "Hardly any of [the non-Fāṭimid authors] except al-Makrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn pronounce their 'Alid descent to be authentic . . ." <sup>114</sup> Among the non-Fāṭimid authors who deny their Fāṭimid genealogy or who simply do not call them *al-fāṭimiyyūn*, the following have been checked: al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), Abū l-Faraj al-İṣfahānī (d. 356/967),<sup>115</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995 or 388/998),<sup>116</sup> al-Mālikī (d. after 453/1061),<sup>117</sup> Abū Zakariyyā' al-Warjalānī (fifth-sixth/eleventh-twelfth centuries),<sup>118</sup> 'Iyād (d. 544/1149),<sup>119</sup> Ibn Ḥamādu (d. 628/1231),<sup>120</sup> Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233),<sup>121</sup> Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282),<sup>122</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī (seventh/thirteenth-eighth/fourteenth centuries),<sup>123</sup> al-

<sup>113</sup> See the work by Ivanow, who rejects the Qaddāhite descent, as well as P.P. Mamour, *Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimī Caliphs* (London, 1934); B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismailism* 2nd ed. (New York, 1975), who maintains that al-Mahdī was Qaddāhite and that al-Qā'im was not the son of al-Mahdī, but an 'Alid; B. Dodge, "Al-Isma'īliyyah and the Origin of the Fatimids," *The Muslim World* 49 (1959), 296-305; H.F. Hamdani, *On the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs* (Cairo, 1958), with the edition of a new text where no mention is made of the Qaddāhite descent, but where the theory of "assumed names" is given. See also W. Madelung, "Das Imamāt in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre," *Der Islam* 37 (1961), 43-135; A. Hamdani and F. de Blois, "A Re-Examination of al-Mahdī's Letter to the Yemenites on the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs," *JRAS* 2 (1982), 173-207, and especially the remarks by H. Halm in his "Les fatimides à Salama," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 54 (1986), 133-49.

<sup>114</sup> *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Fāṭimids" (M. Canard), where it is also said: "While the supporters of the Fāṭimids refer to their dynasty as 'Alid (*al-dawla al-'alawiyya* . . .), several Sunnī historians speak of them only as 'Ubaydids . . ."

<sup>115</sup> In his *Maqātīl*, he never uses the term *al-fāṭimiyyūn* for the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima. He does not make any mention of the Fāṭimids.

<sup>116</sup> He proposes the Qaddāhite genealogy, calling 'Ubayd Allāh "Sa'īd b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn," and he points out that 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn and his sons claimed at a certain moment to be descendants of 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭalīb, a brother of 'Alī: see *al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel (Beirut, n.d.), 186-87; trans. B. Dodge (New York, 1970), 465. As regards this attempt of connecting themselves with 'Aqīl, I wonder if it can be related to the fact that one of 'Aqīl's sons, Muslim, had acted on behalf of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī in Kūfa and received the *bay'a* in his name: see Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ* 8 vols. in 4 (Beirut, 1406/1986), V, 36-68. On the 'Aqīlid genealogy see Halm's article quoted in n. 114, p. 139.

<sup>117</sup> In his *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* 3 vols. (Beirut, 1403/1983) calls them Banū 'Ubayd, *shī'a* at 'Ubayd Allāh, *al-mashāriqa*.

<sup>118</sup> He calls them "Shī'ites": see the partial translation by R. Le Tourneau in *Revue Africaine* CIV (1960), 99-176, 322-90 and CV (1961), 117-76.

<sup>119</sup> In his *Tartīb al-modārik* 8 vols. (Rabat, n.d.) calls them Banū 'Ubayd, *al-Shī'a*, *al-mashāriqa*, like al-Mālikī: see, e.g., V, 105 and 292.

<sup>120</sup> See his *Histoire des rois 'obaīdites*, ed. and trans. M. Vonderheyden (Alger/Paris, 1927).

<sup>121</sup> He refers to them in his *Kāmil* as *al-'alawiyyūn*, *al-dawla al-'alawiyya*.

<sup>122</sup> See his *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. I. 'Abbās, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1968-72), III, 110, 119 and VII, 158, 159, where he calls them *al-'ubaydiyyūn*.

<sup>123</sup> See his *al-Bayān al-mughrib* 2 vols., ed. G.S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Leiden, 1948-51), I, 124, 149, 273, 278, 318, where he calls them Banū 'Ubayd, *al-shī'a* al-

Dhahabī (d. 748/1348),<sup>124</sup> Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406).<sup>125</sup>

Special mention is due to the heresiographers. Al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935),<sup>126</sup> 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037)<sup>127</sup> and Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064)<sup>128</sup> do not mention any sect called *al-fāṭimiyya*, while they do record the terms *al-ismā'īliyya* and *al-bāṭiniyya*. Al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), uses the term *fāṭimī* in the part devoted to the Zaydīs: for them, he says, every Fāṭimī (meaning every descendant of 'Alī and Fāṭima) who rebels must be followed, provided he is good and just,<sup>129</sup> the doctrine that a "Fāṭimī" should be the *imām* was in fact developed by the Zaydīs and in particular by al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabātabā.<sup>130</sup> Al-Shahrastānī calls the Fāṭimids *al-ismā'īliyya* and *al-bāṭiniyya* and never uses the term *al-fāṭimiyya* as the name of any sect.<sup>131</sup> The term is not used by the Shī'ite heresiographers, such as al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī (d. 310/922),<sup>132</sup> and al-Qummī (d. 301/914),<sup>133</sup> The Imāmī al-Kulīnī (d. 328/939 or 329/940) mentions *al-fāṭimiyyūn/wuld Fāṭima* in connection with *sūra* 35:29-32, that is, as those referred to by God when saying *awraṭhnā l-kitāb alladhīna ṣṭafaynā min 'ibādīnā*.<sup>134</sup>

Those non-Fāṭimid sources which call them *al-fāṭimiyyūn* seem to come after to the disappearance of the Fāṭimid caliphate in 567/1171,

*'ubaydiyya.*

<sup>124</sup> See for example his *Kitāb duwal al-Islām (Les dynasties de l'islam)* partial trans. by Arlette Nègre (Damas, 1979): he uses the term *al-fāṭimiyyūn* on p. 145, but it is to refer to the fact that they pretended to be so.

<sup>125</sup> See his *Ta'rīkh*, IV, 40, where he calls them *al-'ubaydiyyūn*. He is, however, one of the Sunnī authors who admitted the 'Alid descent of the Fāṭimids: see his *Muqaddima*, I, 31-32 and I, 51 ("people are to be believed with regard to the descent they claim for themselves. . ."). He uses the term *al-fāṭimiyyūn* to refer to the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima: see *Muqaddima*, II, 196.

<sup>126</sup> See his *Maqālāt al-islamiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1929), 26-27.

<sup>127</sup> I have consulted his *Kitāb al-mīlāl wa-l-nihāl* ed. A.N. Nader (Beirut, 1986) and his *al-Farq bayna l-Firaq*, ed. 'Izzat al-'Attār al-Ḥusaynī (n.p., 1367/1948): see 39, 169-85.

<sup>128</sup> See I. Friedländer, "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites According to Ibn Ḥazm," *JAOS* 28 (1907), 1-80 and 29 (1908), 1-183.

<sup>129</sup> *Kitāb al-mīlāl wa-l-nihāl*, ed. Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Kilānī (Cairo, 1961), 29 and 154. Cf. the translation by D. Gimaret and G. Monnot (Peeters, 1986), 137 and 457.

<sup>130</sup> See W. Madelung, *Der Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaidīten* (Berlin, 1965), 91, 135, 189. This Qāsim is the brother of Abū l-Sarāyā's first *imām*.

<sup>131</sup> J.-C. Vadet, in his translation of Shahrastānī's book, *Les dissidences de l'Islam* (Paris, 1984), quotes *al-fāṭimiyya al-ta'limiyya* (p. 284). However, in Kilānī's edition (p. 168), that sect is called *al-bāṭiniyya al-ta'limiyya*. The same appears in the edition in the margins of the *Fīṣal* by Ibn Ḥazm 5 vols. (Cairo, 1317-1320), II, 5.

<sup>132</sup> See his *Firaq al-Shī'a*, where no sect is called *al-fāṭimiyya*. He does mention the Messianic figure *min wuld Fāṭima* to which I shall return.

<sup>133</sup> See his *al-Maqālāt wa-l-firaq*, ed. Muḥammad Jawād Mashkūr (Teheran, 1963).

<sup>134</sup> See *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, vol. I (Teheran, 1381 H.), 214-15. I owe this reference to Prof. E. Kohlberg.

like Ibn al-Dawādārī (alive in 723/1323),<sup>135</sup> al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442),<sup>136</sup> Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373).<sup>137</sup>

There is however a non-Muslim source that breaks this pattern, *De administrando imperio* by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905–959).<sup>138</sup> In it the Ismāʿīlī rulers of Ifrīqiya are called “Fatemites.”<sup>139</sup> There is also an obscure passage which reads:

Fatem was a daughter of Mahomet, and from her are begotten the Fatemites. But these are not from Fatemi, from the country of Libya, but dwell in the district north of Mecca, away behind the tomb of Mahomet. They are an Arab nation, carefully trained to wars and battles; for with the aid of this tribe Mahomet went to war, and took many cities and subdued many countries. For they are brave men and warriors, so that if they be found to the number of a thousand in an army, that army cannot be defeated or worsted. They ride not horses but camels, and in time of war they do not put on corselets or coats of mail but pink-coloured cloaks, and have long spears and shields as tall as a man and enormous wooden bows which few can bend, and that with difficulty.<sup>140</sup>

In his commentary, Lewis points out that in order to solve the problem of having the prophet Muḥammad make war with the help of his daughter's descendants, one has to read: “Fatem was a daughter of Mahomet, and from her are begotten the Fatemites. But these, that is, the people I am now to speak of, are not from Fatemi, from the country of Libya, but dwell in the district north of Mecca . . .” The text may refer to Bedouin Arabs: “One possibility is the Carmathians, who were Arabs, camel-riders and Shiʿites (usually, though not always, supporters of the claims of the line of Fāṭima); other possibilities are the Ismāʿīlī and Zaidī claimants and their supporters, ac-

<sup>135</sup> Although he says that they pretended to be *fāṭimiyyūn* (see op. cit., 5) and calls them *al-ʿubaydiyyūn* (pp. 3, 17, 44), sometimes he refers to them with the first name (pp. 331, 352).

<sup>136</sup> See his *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāq, 1270 H., reprod. (Beirut, ca. 1970) where he speaks of *al-dawla al-fāṭimiyya*, as well as his *Ittiʿāz*. He admits the ʿAlid descent of the Fāṭimids.

<sup>137</sup> In his *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 14 vols. in 7 (Cairo, 1351/1932) he speaks of *al-fāṭimiyyūn*: see for example IX, 84, 93.

<sup>138</sup> New and revised edition by Gy. Moravcsik and trans. by R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington, 1967); vol. II (Commentary) by F. Dvornik, R.J.H. Jenkins, B. Lewis, Gy. Moravcsik, D. Obolensky, S. Runciman (London, 1962). I owe this reference to Prof. B. Lewis, responsible for the commentary on Islamic matters. I wish to thank also Alice-Mary Talbot, Executive Editor of *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.

<sup>139</sup> See op. cit., 107, n. 25 (commentary p. 82).

<sup>140</sup> Op. cit., 79, n. 15.

tive in the Yemen and elsewhere. . . .”<sup>141</sup> Another possibility has to be taken into account: the Banū l-Aṣḥab followers of Zikrawayh's sons who called themselves *fāṭimiyyūn* between the third/ninth–fourth/tenth centuries.

1.13. The term *al-fāṭimī* has not enjoyed great success in the *kutub al-ansāb*. It is not mentioned by Ibn l-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821),<sup>142</sup> Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933)<sup>143</sup> or Ibn Ḥazm. It appears in al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1167),<sup>144</sup> who explains that he thought it was the *nisba* of the descendants of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, until he saw that it was also used by persons who were not included in that category. More specifically, it appears in the *nasab* of descendants of ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, a son of ʿAlī and his wife al-Ṣahbā' bint Rabī'a al-Taghlibiyya.<sup>145</sup> One example is Abū l-Qāsim Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib al-ʿAlawī al-Fāṭimī al-Harawī (444–527/1052–1132), a *faqīh* who had several disciples in Khurāsān. Among the descendants of ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was a rebel in Yemen against the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Ma'mūn in the year 207/822.<sup>146</sup> An explanation for their *nisba*<sup>147</sup> is that Fāṭima bint ʿAmr, the mother of Abū Ṭālib, was the Prophet's and ʿAlī's grandmother, so that the Ṭālibids called “al-Fāṭimī” could derive their *nisba* from this Fāṭima bint ʿAmr. At the same time, those descendants of ʿAlī through wives other than Fāṭima or the descendants of ʿAlī's uterine brothers could call themselves “Fāṭimids” going back not only to ʿAlī's grandmother but also to Abū Ṭālib's wife and ʿAlī's mother, Fāṭima bint Asad.

A descendant of Fāṭima through her son al-Ḥusayn who bears the *nisba* “al-Fāṭimī” is Raḍī l-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far

<sup>141</sup> Op. cit., 72.

<sup>142</sup> *Jamharat al-nasab*, ed. W. Caskel (Leiden, 1966).

<sup>143</sup> *Ibd Doreid's genealogisch-etymologisches Handbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1854).

<sup>144</sup> *al-Ansāb*, ed. facs. MS Brit. Mus. Add. 23355 (Leiden/London, 1912), f. 417b; ed. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Yaḥyā al-Mu'allamī 13 vols. (Hyderabad, 1962–1983), X, 137–38.

<sup>145</sup> See Ibn Ḥazm, op. cit., (ed. Lévi-Provençal), 33.

<sup>146</sup> See Ibn Ḥazm, op. cit., 33 and al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., III, 1062–63. His name was ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī and he called for *al-riḍā min ʿalī Muḥammad*.

<sup>147</sup> Another curious case is that of ʿAbd al-Rahīm b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who is called *ibn al-nabī . . . wa-bnu bintihī* together with *ibn ʿAlī wa-l-fawāṭim* in a *qaṣīda* written by his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz on the sole grounds that his grandmother was the daughter of Ja'far b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib: see al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1864), 716, l. 12. I owe this reference to Dr. A. Elad.

b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭā'wūs al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī (seventh/thirteenth century).<sup>148</sup>

## 2. The origin and chronology of the term *al-fāṭimī/al-fāṭimīyyūn*

2.1. About the information given in *Masā'il al-imāma* (see 1.1), the question is whether the term *al-fāṭimīyya*, with this meaning (those who believed that al-Ḥusayn's successor was Zayn al-'Ābidīn and that the *imām* would always be a descendant of Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter), was actually being employed in the first/seventh century (after al-Ḥusayn's death) or, rather, reflects a later development. The same problem arises with the text from *Akhbār al-dawla al-'abbāsiyya* (see 1.2). This question has already been asked. Sharon has pointed out that after al-Mukhtār's defeat in 67/687 and the consequent clandestinity of the Hāshimīyya, Shī'ite activity in Kūfa concentrated its expectations on the 'Alids who were descendants of Fāṭima. Similar tendencies developed in Khurāsān. Referring to the text of the *Akhbār*, he remarks: "the later traditions describe this activity by the term *Fāṭimid* . . . Only the term *Fāṭimīyyah* or *Fāṭimīyyūn*, is misleading, since it did not exist during these early periods,"<sup>149</sup> that is, did not exist from the second half of the first/seventh century until the beginning of Abū Muslim's activities in 127/744. Sharon explains that "the 'Alids put forward the argument of their Fāṭimid descent in order to show that the 'Abbāsīd rule was illegitimate",<sup>150</sup> "the Fāṭimid argument is erroneous since the whole Fāṭimid ideology appeared . . . only after the 'Abbāsīds were already in power."<sup>151</sup> This view can be summarized as follows: religious and political tendencies in favor of the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima existed before the 'Abbāsīds came to power, but their formulation into an articulate doctrine (the imāmate belongs to the progeny of Fāṭima), and a sect that could be named a *firqa fāṭimīyya* took place only after the victory of the 'Abbāsīds. This view is not new.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>148</sup> GAL, I, 498; SI, 911–12. See also E. Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and His Library* (Leiden, 1992).

<sup>149</sup> Op. cit., 148.

<sup>150</sup> Op. cit., 129; cf. also 89–90.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>152</sup> B. Lewis, in the article "Alids" in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, gives a similar view: "Only after the usurpation of 'Alid claims by their 'Abbāsīd cousins was stress laid on direct descent from the Prophet via Fāṭima." According to him: "In the development of this new claim, the sixth Imām Dja'far al-Ṣādiq seems to have played a role of some importance," an opinion shared by M.G.S. Hodgson, "How Did the Early Shī'a Become Sectarian?," *JAOS* 75 (1955), 1–13. See also Cl. Cahen, "Points de vue sur la 'Révolution 'abbāsīde'," *Revue historique* 230 (1963), 295–338, and Madeiung's review of Sharon's book in *JNES* 48 (1989), 71 ("It was only after the 'Abbāsīd revolution that a gulf of enmity . . . came to separate the two branches of the Banū Hāshim").

2.2. There are two possibilities regarding the two sects called *al-fāṭimīyya* in *Akhbār al-dawla al-'abbāsiyya* and in *Murāj al-dhahab* (see 1.3 and 1.4).<sup>153</sup>

a. One possibility is that the subject of *al-muslimīyya* called *al-fāṭimīyya* (see 1.4) was the first movement in Islam to bear the latter name; that is, the first so-called *al-fāṭimīyyūn* were the followers not of the Prophet's daughter, but of Fāṭima bint Abī Muslim. The fact that the Shī'ites of the *khālidīyya* were given the name of *fāṭimīyya* in the times of al-Manṣūr (see 1.3) may mean that the name was given by the 'Abbāsīds in order to discredit the Shī'ite movement by confounding it with the Khurramī *muslimīyya* sect.

b. The second possibility is that the *muslimīyya/fāṭimīyya* adopted that name because it already had a prestige or at least was connected with a movement that had a certain amount of support. Those Shī'ites who supported a descendant of 'Alī and Fāṭima as *imām*, like Khidāsh's follower Abū Khālid may have been such a movement. However, the text of *Akhbār al-dawla al-'abbāsiyya* does not say clearly that Abū Khālid's followers chose the names by which they were called; the same can be said about the text of al-Mas'ūdī. It seems rather that those names (*khālidīyya/fāṭimīyya*; *muslimīyya/fāṭimīyya*) were given by someone else, who could very possibly be the 'Abbāsīds. If that is the case, it implies that the name *fāṭimīyya* had a pejorative sense, especially if given by opponents of "Fāṭimid" claims like the 'Abbāsīds.

2.3. There is some evidence that the 'Abbāsīds used the term *al-fāṭimīyyūn* in a pejorative sense. According to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, the well known poet Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/784 or 168/785) mentions the term *al-fāṭimīyyūn* in one of his poems (referring to the descendants of Fāṭima and 'Alī) in a pejorative sense. This fact was pointed out by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn to L. Massignon. The former specified that the poem belongs to those written by Bashshār during the 'Abbāsīd caliphate.<sup>154</sup> However,

<sup>153</sup> Sharon has dealt with both (p. 183, n. 89). He points out that around the time Abū Khālid rebelled in Nisābūr (137/755), the rebellion of the Khurramī Sinpādh took place in the same region. The latter rebelled against the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr under the slogan of revenge for the blood of Abū Muslim. Sharon seems to imply that Sinpādh belonged to the subject of *al-muslimīyya* called *al-fāṭimīyya* (see 1.4) and that the *khālidīyya* was already known by that name. The fact that two movements bearing the same name took place at the same time in the same region would have led to their confusion and this would have allowed the 'Abbāsīds to make a connection between Khidāsh and the Khurramīyya. However, to my knowledge no source states that Sinpādh belonged to the subject of the *fāṭimīyya*. Had it been so, the coincidence of his movement with that of Abū Khālid would have given the 'Abbāsīds a good excuse to discredit the latter by giving it the name of the Khurramī sect.

<sup>154</sup> See L. Massignon, "Fatima bint al-Ḥusayn et l'origine du nom dynastique 'Fatimides'," *Akten des XXIV. Int. Orientalisten-Kongresses* (Munich, 1957), 368: this

I have been unable to find this reference in the edition of Bashshār's poems that I have checked.<sup>155</sup>

That the descent from Fāṭima could be referred to in a pejorative sense is evident in 'Abbāsīd writings and especially in the letter to al-Nafs al-Zakiyya written by al-Manṣūr. The well known correspondence between the two<sup>156</sup> is a clear example of the tendency of certain 'Alids "to stress increasingly their direct descent from the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima" once the 'Abbāsīds came to power and wanted to legitimize their rule by emphasizing al-'Abbās's kinship to the Prophet.<sup>157</sup> Al-Nafs al-Zakiyya wrote a letter to al-Manṣūr in which he insisted: "We are descended from the Prophet's grandmother, Fāṭima bint 'Amr, in the Jāhiliyya, and from his daughter, Fāṭima, in Islam."<sup>158</sup> He also insists that his genealogy is the best of the Banū Hāshim because of the male and female lineages: "Hāshim begot 'Alī twice ['Alī was the son of Abū Ṭālib b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim and of Fāṭima bint Asad b. Hāshim], 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib begot Ḥasan twice [Ḥasan was the son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and of Fāṭima bint Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib], the Messenger of God begot me twice, by Ḥasan and Ḥusayn [al-Nafs al-Zakiyya was the grandson of Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the grandson of Fāṭima bint Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib]."<sup>159</sup> In his answer, al-Manṣūr concentrates on the

is only the abstract of the paper read by Massignon in the Congress. To my knowledge, the whole paper has never been published. It is difficult to grasp the real meaning of Massignon's reasoning in the abstract. To give an example: "Le shi'isme primitif, pour moi, est une idée féminine, apocalyptique, nullement une opposition politique..." He stresses the role of Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn as transmitter of predictions on the Mahdī: cf. his remarks on this subject in "La Cité des Morts au Caire," *Opera minora*, (Beirut, 1963), III 281-82. He also points out that the insistence of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya "sur le nom legitimiste de Fatima... a été développé par les seconds Fatimides, ismaéliens, en connexion avec l'année 309 h. des VII Dormants."

<sup>155</sup> It does appear in the edition of Ibn 'Ashūr 3 vols. (Cairo, 1950-57), nor in the Concordance of Arabic Poetry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I wish to thank M. Lecker for checking this point. He also informs me that the term *al-fāṭimī* is not recorded in the concordance, although al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 173/789) mentions *al-Fāṭima* in one of his poems (*Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq VII, 10). I have not been able to consult the study by M. Nouiouat, "L'inspiration shiite chez le poète al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī," (Lille: Univ. de Lille III, 1981).

<sup>156</sup> See R. Traini's study and translation, "La corrispondenza tra al-Manṣūr e Muḥammad an-Nafs az-zakiyya," *Annali de l'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 14.2 (1964), 773-98, with a list of the sources where those letters are found. I will be using this study and translation. For an English translation, see J. Lassner, *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory. An Inquiry into the Art of 'Abbāsīd Apologetics* (New Haven, 1986), 7-9.

<sup>157</sup> Sharon, op. cit., 89-90.

<sup>158</sup> al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., III, 209. Fāṭima bint 'Amr, mentioned before, was also the mother of Abū Ṭālib and therefore 'Alī's grandmother. The ancestor of the 'Abbāsīds, al-'Abbās, descended from another woman. Cf. also al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., III, 55.

<sup>159</sup> Al-Nafs al-Zakiyya is called *shaykh al-fawāṭim wa-sayyid abnā' Hāshim* in the

importance given to the descent from women in al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's letter in order to mock it. He stresses the smallness of the role played in Islam by the maternal lineage with regard to the right of inheritance. The most interesting passage is that where al-Manṣūr rejects al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's claim that he and his family are "the sons of the Messenger of God" (*banū rasūl Allāh*) by quoting Qur'ān 33:50 ("Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men") and with the rebuke, "Rather, you are the sons of his daughter (*wa-lakinnakum banū ibnatihī*). This is a near kinship, but it does not get the inheritance either of *wilāya* or *imāma*."<sup>160</sup> This last statement can easily lead to the use of the term *al-fāṭimiyūn* in a pejorative sense, like saying: "you claim to be more entitled than us to the caliphate only because your ancestress was the Prophet's daughter, but her kinship is worth nothing as she did not have right to the inheritance of the Prophet."<sup>161</sup>

It seems to me that Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya would not have chosen to be called "al-Fāṭimī," as Ibn Qutayba calls him writing in the third/ninth century (see 1.5). As Hodgson says, he "listed Fāṭima among the 'good marriages' which his family had made, rather than fully as an ancestress in her own right."<sup>162</sup> However, it was precisely the recurrence of Fāṭima in the propaganda he used together with other 'Alids that caused the 'Abbāsīds to discredit the movement of the Shī'ite supporters of the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima. They called them *banū ibnat rasūl Allāh* and maybe even *al-fāṭimiyūn* in a pejorative sense.

We have seen (1.9) that the term was applied by the end of the third/ninth century and in the fourth/tenth century to the Idrīsids, whose ancestor Idrīs was a brother of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and a participant in the Ḥasanid rebellion in Medina of the year 169/786. To my knowledge, there is no evidence (coins, inscriptions) that the Idrīsids called themselves or wanted to be called with that name.

2.4. The rebellion of Shaqyā (see 1.6) is interesting in many aspects. It started in 151/768, that is, six years after the defeat of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and finished in 160/777, twelve years before Idrīs al-Ḥasanī proclaimed himself *imām* in the Maghrib (172/789). Shaqyā was clearly influenced by the Shī'ite propaganda: all the sources agree that he wanted to present

*Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq al-wardiyya fī manāqib a'immat al-zaydiyya* by Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (d. 652/1254): see W. Madelung, *Arabic Texts Concerning the History of the Zaydī Imāms of Tabaristān, Daylamān and Gilān* (Beirut, 1987), 180.

<sup>160</sup> See al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., III, 213; Traini's translation: "E questa, sí, un parentela prossima, eppure essa non ottiene l'eredità, non eredita il mandato del potere (*wilāyah*) e non le é consentita la guida spirituale (*imāmah*): come dunque si può ereditare per essa?" (781-82 and see also n. 56 above).

<sup>161</sup> On this point see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 55-56. See also on the 'Abbāsīd attack against 'Alid claims to legitimacy A. Arazi and A. Elad, "al-Ināfa fī rutbat al-wilāfa de Galāl al-dīn al-Suyūṭī," *IOS* 8 (1978), 230-65.

<sup>162</sup> Art.cit., 11.

himself as a descendant of 'Alī and Fāṭima.<sup>163</sup> It is difficult to say who gave him the nickname "al-Fāṭimī," that is, if it was chosen by himself or given by his enemies (i.e., the Umayyads). In the latter case, it would have had a pejorative sense, stressing the fact that his alleged genealogy was primarily based on his mother's being called Fāṭima. In the former case, it would have had a positive sense. Even taking into account the possibility that "al-Fāṭimī" originated first as Shaqyā's matrilineal *nisba*,<sup>164</sup> he must have soon realized the opportunity of giving "genealogical legitimacy" to his rebellion. The change of his name ('Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad instead of Shaqyā b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid) must have been an attempt to "Arabize and Islamize" himself more thoroughly, maybe even an attempt to present himself as the son of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya.

This possibility leads us to the related question of the name and genealogy of the Maḥdī. Well-known traditions state that the Maḥdī will be a descendant of Fāṭima (*min abnā' wuld Fāṭima*).<sup>165</sup> However, the first 'Alid to be proclaimed Maḥdī was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. There is a *ḥadīth* where the Prophet says: "The world will not pass until a man of my family will rule the Arabs whose name will coincide with my name."<sup>166</sup> As Madelung has pointed out: "The claim that the name of the Maḥdī would agree with that of the Prophet was no doubt made in the time of al-Mukhtār's rebellion in favour of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, who is reported, when addressed as the Maḥdī, to have referred to his privilege of bearing the name and *kunya* of the Prophet."<sup>167</sup> Both *ḥadīths* suited Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who was acknowledged as the Maḥdī in Medina<sup>168</sup> and who called himself so in his letter to al-Manṣūr.

<sup>163</sup> As we have seen, the oldest source which has preserved material on him is Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's chronicle, where it is merely stated that he *tanassaba ilā 'Alī*. The other sources add the details about his mother's name and the change of his own name. They are probably using the part of Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muqtabis* on the emirate of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I.

<sup>164</sup> It is worth recalling the important role played by women in Berber society.

<sup>165</sup> See for example Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *Kitāb al-ḥanān*, MS Brit. Mus. Or. no. 9449, fols. 101a-101b, 102b, l. 4 and ll. 17-19, fol. 103a, ll. 1-2 and ll. 7-9; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, maḥdī* 1; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, fitan*, 34; Qāḍī l-Nu'mān, *Iftitāh al-da'wa*, n. 60; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, trans. Rosenthal, I, 290-91 and II, 163-86; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Nihāya fī l-ḥanān wa-l-malāḥim* 2 vols. in 1 (Beirut, 1408/1988), I, 23-26; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl* 16 vols. (Beirut, 1985), XIV, 264, no. 38662 and see also pp. 265ff; Ivanow, *Ismā'īlī Tradition*, 99-104, quoting the *Sharḥ al-akhbār* by al-Nu'mān. In the Biblioteca Ambrosiana there is an opuscle with the title *fī ṣifat al-Maḥdī l-Fāṭimī*: see O. Lofgren and R. Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Amrosiana* 2 vols. (Vicenza, 1975-1981), II, 368.

<sup>166</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Maḥdī" (W. Madelung).

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 1232.

<sup>168</sup> See Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil*: see n. 22 above. His grandmother, Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, would have acknowledged him as such (p. 210).

According to Madelung,<sup>169</sup> the support given to him was reflected in the addition of "and his [the Maḥdī's] father's name will agree with my father's name" to the *ḥadīth* quoted above on the name of the Maḥdī. So, according to those traditions, the Maḥdī will be called "Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh" and will be "*min abnā' Fāṭima*."<sup>170</sup>

Shaqyā adopted the name of "Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad." We do not have any evidence that he presented himself as the Maḥdī, but even without adopting the name the Maḥdī was supposed to have, he might well have pretended to be him by calling himself "al-Fāṭimī." A much less common tradition foretells the appearance in al-Andalus of a descendant of Fāṭima after the "turn" (*dawla*) of the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids: in the time of this "al-Fāṭimī," Constantinople will be conquered. This tradition was transmitted (without *isnād*) by 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī al-Qurtubī (d. 238/852).<sup>171</sup> Was the tradition influenced by Shaqyā's rebellion or was it the other way round? The sources of 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb do not seem to have been Andalusian, but rather Eastern and most probably Egyptian. The whole tradition or the part referring to the Fāṭimī could had been put into circulation in the East in the second half of the second/eighth century, probably among those Shī'ite circles that have been disappointed by the defeats of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and the *ṣāḥib al-Fakḥkh*, and expected that the 'Alids could be successful in the Maghrib. Shaqyā could have profited from this Shī'ite propaganda in favor of a descendant of Fāṭima who is to appear in al-Andalus.

<sup>169</sup> *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Maḥdī," 1233.

<sup>170</sup> This combination must have been known already at the times of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya rebellion, as the episode with the head of al-Dibāj seems to imply. It seems to have been particularly fruitful with Maghribī Messianic figures: for example, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Jazūlī (d. 869/1465) claimed to be "al-Fāṭimī": see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (M. Ben Cheneb). Another Moroccan who claimed the same was Abū l-Maḥallī: see J. Berque, *Ulémas, fondateurs, insurgés du Maghreb (XVIIe siècle)* (Paris, 1982), 75. See also Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, trans. Rosenthal, II, 196-99 and al-Qurtubī, *al-Tadhkira* 2 vols. (Beirut, 1986), 349. Prof. M. Ben Cherifa informs me that "Fatmi" is a name typical among Moroccans. On the "al-Fāṭimīs" of the Maghrib, see M. García Arenal, "La conjonction du sūfisme et sharīfisme au Maroc: le Maḥdī comme sauveur," *REMM* 55-56 (1990), 233-56. She quotes (p. 241) an interesting text by Aḥmad Zarrūq (d. 899/1493), where "al-Fāṭimī" is identified with an Umayyad, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz; see A.F. Khushaim, *Zarrūq the Sūfī: A Guide in the Way and a Leader to the Truth* (Tripoli, 1976), 200-201, thus clearly indicating that by that time the term had lost its genealogical implications.

<sup>171</sup> It is mentioned in his *Ta'rīkh*: see the partial ed. by M.'A. Makki in his article "Egipto y los orígenes de la historiografía arábigoespañola," *RIEIM* 5 (1957), 240, n. 41, and the complete edition by J. Aguadé, *El "Ta'rīj" de 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb* (Madrid, 1991), n. 452. See also my study on this tradition, "Sobre *al-qarmūniyya*," *Al-Qanṭara* 11 (1990), 83-94. Reference to the same tradition is to be found in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, trans. Rosenthal, II, 191. Perhaps when Ibn Qutayba situated Idrīs in al-Andalus (see n. 62 above), he was influenced by this tradition.

The *ḥadīth* portraying the Mahdī as *min abnāʾ/wuld Fāṭima* sometimes specifies that she is the daughter of the Prophet as if fearing the danger that this Fāṭima could be confused with another Fāṭima. This ambiguity may have been in the background of such cases as the *muslimiyya/fāṭimiyya* sect of the followers of Fāṭima bint Abī Muslim and Shaqyā al-Fāṭimī, the son of a Berber Fāṭima.<sup>172</sup>

2.5. By the second half of the second/eighth century, a Muslim with or suspected of Shīʿite leanings (but not a member of the *khālidīyya* or *muslimiyya* sects) could be referred to as *fāṭimī*, as it is shown in the case of Sharīk al-Nakhaʿī (see 1.7). The case of Abū l-Sarāyā, thanks to the coin he minted during his rebellion, gives us the first dated use (year 199/815) of the term *al-fāṭimī* in a Shīʿite uprising as a slogan employed by the rebels themselves (see 1.8). The use seems to have been mainly eschatological, made appropriate by the fact that a century was ending. Both the ʿAlid *imāms* in this rebellion were called Muḥammad (one Ḥasanid, the other Ḥusaynid), so that they fit neatly in the Mahdī tradition.<sup>173</sup> Almost a century later, in 289/902, the sources record a new Shīʿite uprising where the term was again used, in the Ismāʿīlī movement led by Zikrawayh's sons (see 1.9).<sup>174</sup> Here too a century was ending and the *imām* of the rebellion was called "Muḥammad," even "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh." The rebellion of Zikrawayh's sons has a similarity with Shaqyā's case, in the sense that they also gave themselves an ʿAlid genealogy (in their case it was clearly Ḥusaynid), but it was their followers who adopted the name *al-fāṭimiyyūn*.

The *Masāʾil al-imāma* (probably written in the first half of the third/ninth century) and the *Akhbār al-dawla al-abbāsiyya* (second half of the third/ninth century) mention the existence of a *fiṛqa fāṭimiyya* that believed the imāmate belonged to the descendants of al-Ḥusayn through the line of ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and his son Muḥammad al-Bāqir: the *imām* of the Kalbite *fāṭimiyyūn* claimed to be a Ḥusaynid of that line.

2.6. It is in sources written at the end of the third/ninth century and in the first half of the fourth/tenth century that the Idrīsids (of the

<sup>172</sup> According to Ibn ʿIdhārī, Shaqyā pretended to be a descendant of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī; according to other sources, he pretended to be a descendant of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. The traditions do not establish clearly the lineage of the Fāṭimī Mahdī. The Egyptian ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahfā (d. 155/772) spread a tradition in favor of the Mahdī being a descendant of al-Ḥusayn (see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. cit., 1234 and see also Ivanow, *Ismailī Tradition*, 100–103, nos. 34, 38, 42).

<sup>173</sup> The tradition saying that the Mahdī will be a descendant of Muḥammad and his daughter Fāṭima spread, as we have seen, in the early ʿAbbāsīd age.

<sup>174</sup> According to Ivanow, "the rising had nothing to do with the Qarmatians of any branch, was a purely Ismaili and pro-Fatimid movement, and was merely an unsuccessful rehearsal of what ten years later was with such triumph staged at the gates of Sijilmāsa": "Ismailis and Qarmatians," *JBRAS* 16 (1940), 43–85.

Ḥasanid line) of the Maghrib are mentioned as *al-fāṭimiyyūn*. The term is used by geographers suspected of Shīʿite, or even Ismāʿīlīte leanings. The same Shīʿite tendencies are suspected of al-Muqaddasī, whose work seems to record the first instance of the "Fāṭimids" being called so. It does not seem possible to establish whether "al-Fāṭimī" was an original reading by al-Muqaddasī himself or was introduced into his book at a later period.

The fact that the term *al-fāṭimiyyūn* had been used in the unsuccessful rebellion of Zikrawayh's sons was the reason, in my opinion, that made the first "Fāṭimids" avoid it, however, they were the heirs of the movement, among other things, in the manipulation of genealogies. By the second half of the fourth/tenth century, they started "rehabilitating" the name in two ways. On the one hand, they substituted it for *al-qāṣiyyūn*<sup>175</sup> when referring to the followers of Zikrawayh and his sons, in order to obscure their common origin. On the other hand, the association of the term *al-fāṭimiyyūn* with the Idrīsids was stressed in order to clear it of its other, more dubious background. My view is just the opposite of that held by Nagel, who thinks that the Idrīsīd/Ḥasanid doctrine that influenced the "Fāṭimids" in stressing their descent from Fāṭima, which would have had no special importance for them before.<sup>176</sup> That the association of the term with the Ismāʿīlī movement was strong is shown in Constantine Porphyrogenitus's work.

2.7. The conclusions that can be drawn from what has been said are the following:

a. The victory of the ʿAbbāsīds and the disappointment of the ʿAlids in their hopes for the imāmate made the latter stress their ʿAlid genealogy, dissociating themselves at the same time from the Ḥashimiyya because of its connection with the ʿAbbāsīds. Their insistence on the "Fāṭimas" of their genealogy gave meaning to the appearance and use of an exceptional matrilineal *nisba*<sup>177</sup> such as *al-fāṭimī/al-fāṭimiyyūn* and made both a pejorative and a positive interpretation possible.

b. *Al-fāṭimī/al-fāṭimiyyūn* was used in a pejorative sense by the ʿAbbāsīds to refer to those ʿAlids who claimed the imāmate for the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, and to their followers. This pejorative

<sup>175</sup> I do not think this term has any meaning: its choice must have been determined by its calligraphic similarity with *al-fāṭimiyyūn*.

<sup>176</sup> See T. Nagel, *Frühe Ismailiya und Fatimiden im Lichte der "Risālat Iftitāh ad-Daʿwa"* (Bonn, 1972). See also the review by G. Hawting in *BSOAS* 36 (1973), 650–51, who justly points out that "It is also possible that the influence of North African Ḥasanī doctrine on the prominence given to the descent from Fāṭima in the teaching of the Fāṭimids on the imāmate has been overestimated: at about the same time we hear of a group of Carmathians in Syria also calling themselves Fāṭimiyyūn."

<sup>177</sup> The existence of cases such as *al-zaynabiyyūn* and *al-ʿawāṭik* (see 1.9) does not diminish this exceptional character. I wonder if these two other cases were influenced by *al-fawāṭim*.



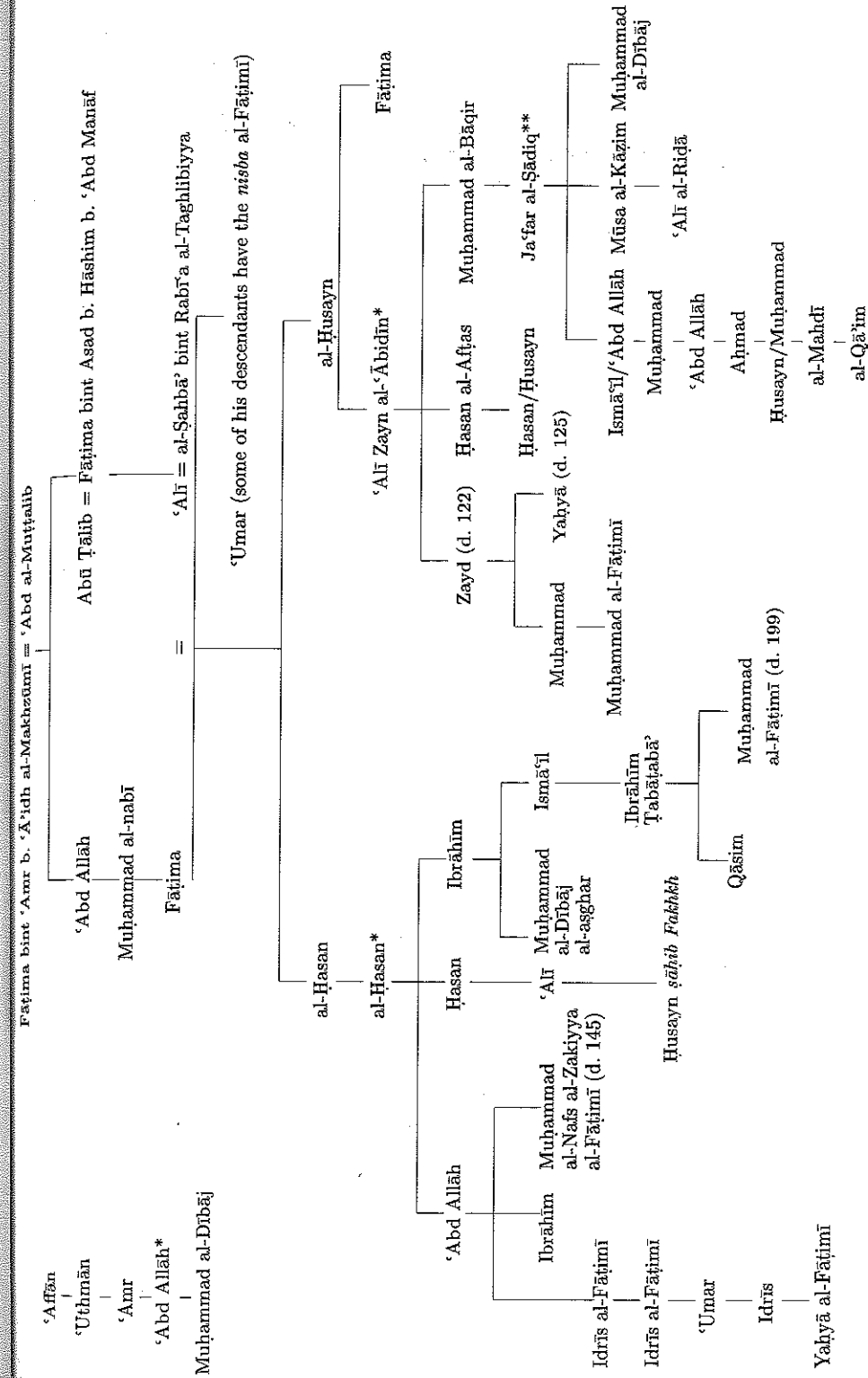
sense can be proposed for 1.3, and perhaps also for 1.7. The fact that the *muslimiyya* sect (see 1.4) was called *al-fāṭimiyya* is connected to this sense. We have no sound evidence that Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (see 1.5), in spite of the insistence of his propaganda for the name Fāṭima, wanted to be known by that name or that his brother Idrīs and his descendants (see 1.10) adopted it as a dynastic name.

c. The first evidence of the use of the term in a Shi'ite uprising with a positive sense belongs to Abū l-Sarāyā's rebellion (see 1.8) at the end of the second/eighth century. It would seem that it was Abū l-Sarāyā, not his 'Alid *imāms*, who was responsible for the election of *al-fāṭimī* as a slogan and as the symbol of the rebellion.

d. Sources in the third/ninth century mention the existence of a *firqa fāṭimiyya* whose members believed in a Ḥusaynid *imām* of the line 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn — Muḥammad al-Bāqir (see 1.1 and 1.2), to which one of Abū l-Sarāyā's *imāms* belonged. It is by the end of this century that the name *al-fāṭimiyyūn* was adopted by the followers of Zikrawayh's sons (see 1.9), the latter having presented themselves as Ḥusaynids.

e. The ambiguity of the *nisba al-fāṭimī/al-fāṭimiyyūn* made possible its adoption by or attribution to groups or individuals with a Fāṭima other than the Prophet's daughter in their genealogy (see 1.4 and 1.6). This possibility, of course, was connected to the importance given to Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter, and to the belief that the Mahdī will be *min abnā' wuld Fāṭima*. At the same time, that importance and that belief led to the temptation of adopting a "Fāṭimid" genealogy without being an 'Alid/Fāṭimid: this was the case of Zikrawayh's sons (see 1.9) and it could have been the case also of the Fāṭimids (see 1.11).<sup>178</sup>

<sup>178</sup> Cf. also 1.3, and nn. 10, and 171 above on the Maghribī Fāṭimids: Fāṭimī became a mere synonym of the Mahdī and those who claimed to be so gave themselves forged "Fāṭimid" genealogies. If the 'Aqīlid genealogy of the Fāṭimids is true, then they could claim to be "Fāṭimids" in the sense of being descendants from one of the Fāṭimas of the Prophet's and 'Alī's family.



\* Both married to Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb  
 \*\* Married to Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb