

CHAPTER SIX

AL-MU'AYYAD'S POETRY IN THE ṬAYYIBĪ DA'WA

He . . . had attained the rank of the *bāb*, which is the first of the ranks of immunity from error (*ʿiṣma*). Therefore, his speech is the speech of one immune from error (*maʿṣūm*), and the speech of one immune from error could never have any unsoundness creep into it.

(early Ṭayyibī text)¹

Soon after al-Muʿayyad's death, the Fatimid state in Egypt came to an end. However, in its Mustaʿlian branch, the Fatimid daʿwa continued in Yemen and India.² When al-Mustanṣir's grandson the Caliph-Imam al-Āmir died in 524/1130, four decades before the official end at the hands of the Ayyubids of the Fatimid state in Egypt, the Ṣulayḥid queen al-Ḥurra al-Malika was the Fatimid dāʿī³ of Yemen. Under her leadership, the Yemenite and Indian followers of the Fatimid daʿwa broke away from the overlordship of al-Āmir's cousin al-Ḥāfiẓ in Egypt and pledged allegiance to the deceased

¹ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, *Ḍiyāʾ al-albāb*, ms., chapter 26. This text is specifically about al-Kirmānī, an earlier *bāb*, but the doctrine expressed in it about the *bāb*'s *ʿiṣma* applies equally to al-Muʿayyad.

² After the death of al-Mustanṣir, the Mustaʿlian Fatimids adhered to the Imamate of his son al-Mustaʿlī, who was also the next Caliph of Egypt. They were concentrated mostly in Egypt, Yemen and India. The Indian subcontinent, or the *jaẓīras* of al-Hind and al-Sīnd, had been generally administered from Cairo, but were under the direct supervision of the Yemenī daʿwa. One of the reasons for this may be the way the trade routes were structured. Abraham Udovitch explains that “almost all travelers from Fustat to India passed via Aden” (“Fatimid Cairo: Crossroads of World Trade—From Spain to India,” in *L'Égypte fatimide*, pp. 29–43, see p. 686).

The Nizārī Fatimids adhered to the Imamate of al-Mustaʿlī's brother Nizār, who was executed by the state, and whose followers believed that the Imamate continued in his line. They were concentrated mostly in Persia and Syria.

³ Al-Ḥurra al-Malika is more commonly referred to as a *ḥuǧǧa*, a rank sometimes used synonymously with the rank of dāʿī to mean *dāʿī al-jaẓīra* (dāʿī of the region), and sometimes used as a rank above the dāʿī when dāʿī means *dāʿī al-balāgh* or *al-dāʿī al-muṭlaq*. I have preferred to refer to her in the text here as a dāʿī to indicate that she was the one in active charge of the Fatimid daʿwa in Yemen. She is known as the mother of the Ṭayyibī dāʿīs.

Caliph-Imam's concealed infant son al-Ṭayyib (and to the concealed Imams in his line after him).⁴ Henceforward, they were known as "Ṭayyibīs." The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī da'wa, also called the "da'wat al-satr" (the da'wa during the concealment of the Imam), commenced with its central administration in Yemen and a strong Indian following. In place of the concealed Imams, a continuous series of vicegerents of the concealed Imams led the da'wa. Called *dā'ī al-satr* (dā'ī during the concealment of the Imam) or *al-dā'ī al-muṭlaq* (dā'ī with absolute authority), they reigned with a full spiritual and temporal mandate. Four centuries later in 946/1539, the 24th dā'ī transferred the command center of the Ṭayyibī da'wa to India, where it has remained to the present day. Today, there are several Ṭayyibī denominations, which differ over the line of dā'īs they consider legitimate. The vast majority belong to the Dā'ūdī Bohra Ṭayyibī denomination,⁵ which is taken to be the representative group for the

⁴ References to the birth of al-Ṭayyib, his appointment (*naṣṣ*) to the Imamate by his father al-Āmir, and his subsequent disappearance, are found in a 6th/12th c. Syrian chronicle titled *al-Bustān al-jāmi' li jamī' tawārīkh ahl al-zamān* (by 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfahānī, ed. Cl. Cahen, 'Une Chronique syrienne du VI^e/XII^e siècle,' *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 7–8, 1937–1938, pp. 113–58, see pp. 121–22, events of the Hijri year 524), and in Ibn Muyassar's (d. 677/1278) *Akhbār Miṣr (Al-Muntaqā min Akhbār Miṣr intaqāhu al-Maqrīzī*, pp. 109–10), probably from the lost chronicle of Ibn Muḥannak (d. 549/1154). Two Yemeni da'wa sources are Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir's (d. 584/1188) *Majmū' al-tarbiyya* (ms), and Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn's (d. 872/1468) *'Uyūn al-akhbār wa funūn al-āthār* (vol. 7 pp. 254–57), in which is recorded the "epistle of auspicious tidings [of the birth of al-Ṭayyib and his appointment to the Imamate]" (*sijill al-bishāra*) written by al-Āmir to al-Ḥurra al-Malika.

⁵ For information about the history and faith of the Dā'ūdī Bohras, see T. Sayf al-Dīn, *al-Rasā'il al-Ramaḍāniyya*, 48 vols., Bombay, 1912–1963. Each *Risāla* contains, among other things, detailed information about da'wa activities during its year of publication. For information about the Ṭayyibī da'wa in India, see esp. the *Rasā'il* of the years 1375, *Balāgh al-du'āt al-fāṭimiyyīn*, pp. 198–end; and 1376, *Amthāl sidrat al-muntahā*, pp. 233–end. For information about the Ṭayyibī da'wa in Yemen, see Bazat Saifiyah Qutbuddin, *The Political History of the Ṭayyibī-Isma'ili Da'wa in Yemen c. 524–832/1130–1429*, Ph.d. thesis, Oxford University, 1997. See also my forthcoming article on the Dā'ūdī Bohras, and another by B.S. Qutbuddin, in Farhad Daftary, ed., *Modern Isma'ili History and Thought*. The Dā'ūdī Bohra Ṭayyibīs have preserved the largest collection of Fatimid and Ṭayyibī manuscripts in the world. Other Ṭayyibī denominations are the Sulaymānī Bohras and the 'Alawī (commonly known as "Alīyya" and pronounced "Alya") Bohras. The status of al-Mu'ayyad's works in the latter communities is difficult to ascertain, as information about their activities is hard to obtain. Furthermore, the minority groups—except for the Sulaymānīs in Yemen—do not have a strong Arabic tradition, and therefore do not seem to have given much consequence to al-Mu'ayyad's Arabic writings. Sulaymānī Bohras number about seventy thousand in Yemen and four thousand in India. Alyā Bohras number about five thousand in India. The disagreement

purposes of this study, and “Ṭayyibīs” in this book refers to the Dā'ūdī Bohra Ṭayyibīs. At present, under the dā'īship of the fifty-second incumbent Sayyidnā Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn,⁶ the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī da'wa is flourishing in religious vigor, traditional learning, and literary production. Its followers number over a million practicing men, women and children worldwide, with the majority in India and Pakistan, and a large minority in Yemen. They consider themselves the inheritors of the (Arabic) Fatimid legacy.

Al-Mu'ayyad was instrumental in the transmission of the learning of the Fatimid da'wa to the Ṭayyibī da'wa. This transmission took place in two ways. Firstly, al-Mu'ayyad, who was the doyen of Fatimid learning, had tutored the Fatimid-Ṣulayḥid Qāḍī of Yemen, Lamak b. Mālik (d.c. 491/1097–98), who had taught his own son the Qāḍī Yaḥyā (d. 520/1126), who, in turn, had been the teacher of Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā al-Wādī'ī (d. 546/1151), the first Ṭayyibī dā'ī in Yemen; the transmission of Fatimid learning continued thenceforward from dā'ī to dā'ī. Secondly, Lamak probably took back with him to Yemen al-Mu'ayyad's magnum opus *al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya*, his poetry, and his other Arabic works. These works came to be regarded as being among the most influential works in the Ṭayyibī library: the *Majālis* had a special position in Ṭayyibī learning, and the *Dīwān* was kept alive in the Ṭayyibī tradition. Al-Mu'ayyad thus came to be considered the father of the Ṭayyibī da'wa.⁷

within the various Bohra sects arises from their recognition of separate lines of legitimate dā'īs; doctrinal differences are minimal. For more information about the Bohras, see M. Abdulussein, “Bohras,” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, New York and Oxford, 1995, vol. 1, pp. 224–26; S. Mīra, *Muslim Communities in Gujarat: Preliminary Studies in their History and Social Organization*, New Delhi, 2nd ed., 1985; and M. Boivin, “Institutions et production normative chez les Ismailiens d'Asie du Sind,” *SI* 88 (1998), pp. 141–79, see esp. diagram of the twelve Ismā'īlī divisions existing today, p. 176. See also my forthcoming article on the Sulaymānī and 'Alīyya Bohras in *Modern Ismaili History and Thought*.

⁶ See M. Abdulussein, “Burhānuddīn, Sayyidnā Muḥammad,” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 1, pp. 237–38. Note that the Ṭayyibī dā'ī is known both within the community and without as “the Sayyidnā” (usually written “Syedna”).

⁷ A role similar to that played by al-Mu'ayyad in the Ṭayyibī da'wa was played in the Nizārī one by Nāṣir Khusrau, a Fatimid dā'ī who refers in his poetry to his “teacher” (*ustād*) al-Mu'ayyad (*Dīwān*, ed. Mīnovī, p. 514 #242, v. 111). Nāṣir died c. 481/1088, six years before al-Mustaṣṣir (d. 487/1094), and therefore, could not have taken sides in the Musta'li-Nizār schism that occurred upon al-Mustaṣṣir's death. However, since Nāṣir had composed a great many theological works in Persian, he played a more important role in the Nizārī da'wa than the Musta'lian-

The high esteem in which al-Mu'ayyad is held in the Ṭayyibī da'wa is illustrated by the following reverent description of him, written by the early Ṭayyibī dā'ī, Ḥātim Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm al-Hāmidī (d. 596/1199):⁸

... al-Mu'ayyad fī al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (May God elevate his soul and bestow upon us his intercession and intimacy!) dā'ī al-du'āt, ark of salvation, one for whose [high station] his master testified by these verses: "O you *ḥujja*..." (the "reply" verses quoted earlier).⁹ This is the testimony of our master al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh (God's blessings upon him and his progeny) for him, his preferment of him over all the people of his time, and his lifting of all restrictions (*ittilāq*) from him in all the seven climes. He did not place any hand above his hand.

Al-Mu'ayyad's lofty position within the Ṭayyibī da'wa is well established, and because of the reverence accorded to the poet, we would expect his poetry to be revered. But what about the utility of the poetry and its literary influence? Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn believes that his poetry had no literary value at all and his verses were cited solely as evidentiary verses for belief issues.¹⁰ Is this an accurate assessment? Indeed, what was the function of al-Mu'ayyad's *Dīwān* within the Ṭayyibī da'wa, and was it influential poetically?

In the Persian Fatimid tradition, the poetry of al-Mu'ayyad's student Nāṣir Khusrau appears to have been heavily influenced by al-Mu'ayyad's da'wa poetry, particularly in terms of its *tāwīl* significance.¹¹ Julie Meisami notes that Nāṣir's qaṣīdas "expound various aspects of Isma'ili thought and beliefs, often in a complex symbolic language informed by the principles of allegorical exegesis (*ta'wīl*), and feature structures based on Isma'ili number symbolism." She goes on to note

Ṭayyibī da'wa, since the majority of Nizār's followers were in Persian speaking lands.

The role of al-Mu'ayyad's poetry in the Nizārī tradition is also minimal, if at all present; the Persian tradition is stronger than the Arabic, and the Nizārīs do not seem to have preserved many Fatimid Arabic works. Nāṣir Khusrau's Persian poetry in the Nizārī (Central and South Asian) tradition occupies the place of al-Mu'ayyad's in the Ṭayyibī one.

⁸ *Tuhfat al-qulūb*, fol. 117.

⁹ #60, p. 313, vv. 5–8.

¹⁰ Introduction to *Dīwān*, p. 176.

¹¹ Cf. Nāṣir's *Dīwān* and translations of selections by Annemarie Schimmel, *Make a Shield from Wisdom: Selected Verses from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Dīwān*, London and New York, 2001, first published 1993; and by Peter Lamborn Wilson and Gholam-Reza Aavani, *Nāṣir-i Khusraw: Forty Poems from the Dīwān*, Tehran, 1977. Selections translated also by Hunsburger in *Nasir Khusraw, Ruby of Badakhshan*.

that (like al-Mu'ayyad), he "rejects both the profession of the court poet, and court poetry and its conventions . . . His poetry has a higher purpose, the praise of religion, of the Prophet's family, i.e., the Fatimids, and of knowledge."¹²

In the Arabic tradition, in the last few decades of Fatimid (Ḥāfīzī) rule in Egypt, poets like 'Umāra al-Yamanī seem to have reverted to the earlier *dawla* poetry mode, that included a sprinkling of Fatimid theological motifs within its themes.¹³ This is because many of the Fatimid state poets, earlier than al-Mu'ayyad as well as later, were not of the Fatimid persuasion, much less dā'īs—'Umāra was possibly Sunni. Later, Ayyubid poets were influenced to a certain extent by Fatimid poetry, intermittently using Fatimid ideological motifs in their praise odes.¹⁴

It is in the Ṭayyibī da'wa, however, that al-Mu'ayyad's poetry has been most influential. Here, it is considered to be sacred poetry, a degree in importance below the Qur'ān, Hadith and the Sayings of the Imams. Its reading is believed to impart not only religious knowledge, but also divine grace or "baraka." As a result, it has been utilized for almost a thousand years in Ṭayyibī ritual liturgy and religious education. Furthermore, the literary and functional characteristics of al-Mu'ayyad's poetry (particularly the predominance of theological motifs and the use of the *tāwīl mathal-mamthūl* metaphor), are plainly manifest in the poetry of the Ṭayyibī da'wa. The Ṭayyibīs have continued to hold al-Mu'ayyad's poetry as a literary model, and have developed his Fatimid da'wa poetry tradition into the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī da'wa poetry tradition.

Function in Ṭayyibī Ritual Liturgy

At some point early in Ṭayyibī history, al-Mu'ayyad's poems were incorporated into its liturgy and today they are solemnly chanted in

¹² Julie Meisami, "The Persian Qasida to the End of the 12th Century: Nāšir-i Khusrau and the homiletic qasida," *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, vol. 1, pp. 164–65.

¹³ Cf. 'Aṭā' Allāh, *Al-Ḥayāh al-fikriyya fī miṣr fī al-'aṣr al-fāṭimī*, pp. 252–53. See egs. of 'Umāra's use of Fatimid theological motifs in his praise of the Fatimid-Ḥāfīzī Caliph-Imam in his *Dīwān*, vol. 1, "Introduction," pp. 23–26.

¹⁴ Ḥusayn, *al-Ḥayāh al-fikriyya*, pp. 162–72; *Dīrāsāt fī al-shi'r fī 'aṣr al-ayyūbiyyīn*, Cairo, 1957, chap. on "Athar al-'aḳā'id al-fāṭimiyya fī shi'r ahl al-sunna," pp. 35–49.

da‘wa assemblies and as part of the individual’s private prayer ritual.¹⁵ These chants have specific melodies. For each individual poem, the melody depends upon the meter, and usually there are one or two melodies that are used to chant poems in any particular meter. The chanting may be either individual or collective.

The majority of the Ṭayyibīs today are of Indian origin and do not know more than a few words of Arabic. Only the scholars in the community actually understand the Arabic poems. However, since the sacred nature of this literature within the Ṭayyibī tradition means that its recitation is believed to impart divine grace to both the reciter and the listener even if they do not understand the meaning of the words, they are chanted with great reverence by layperson and scholar alike. In fact, the very term “*qaṣīda*” in Ṭayyibī terminology denotes sacred Arabic poetry, usually that in praise of the dā‘ī or Imam.¹⁶ Many of the Ṭayyibīs, including those who do not know Arabic, have these verses memorized (especially the plea-for-succor or *iltijā’iyya* verses) and recite them as part of their daily prayer ritual.

The verses from al-Mu‘ayyad’s *Dīwān* that are regularly used in Ṭayyibī ritual come from his *munājāt* poems, plea-for-succor (*iltijā’*) verses, and a number of panegyrics. These poems are all generic in nature, and could be an expression of the prayers, pleas, and praises of any person holding Fatimid-Ṭayyibī beliefs. In this way, they are ideally suited for liturgical purposes. Al-Mu‘ayyad’s description-of-self and disputational verses are not suitable for use in liturgy: the description-of-self verses are particular to al-Mu‘ayyad’s individual historical situation, and his disputational verses are addressed in challenge to non-Fatimid Muslims.

The following are the different purposes for which various genres of al-Mu‘ayyad’s poems are used in Ṭayyibī ritual liturgy.

¹⁵ Regarding the liturgical use of Arabic poems in the Ṭayyibī community, Sperl and Shackle remark that “among the Ismā‘īlī Bohra community, the recitation of qasidas for purposes of religious edification and glorification of the Imam remains to this day an important aspect of their communal worship, and represents a special, hitherto little studied chapter in the history of the qasida genre.” (“Introduction,” *Qasida Poetry*, vol. 2, p. 38.)

¹⁶ Cf. similar reverent attitude to poems in praise of the Prophet in other languages like Malay (H.M.B. Lubis, “The ‘Qasida’ in Malay,” *Qasida Poetry*, vol. 1, p. 363); cf. also remarks on the sacred nature and liturgical use of Arabic in India and other peripheral areas of Islam (A. Schimmel, “Epilogue,” *Qasida Poetry*, vol. 1, p. 485).

Munājāt

Four of al-Mu'ayyad's six *munājāt* are used for "ihyā' al-layl" (lit. "keeping the night alive"), as a means to pray and commune with God in the deep of the night (*ilāhiya dāqa 'alayya l-khunāqū, ilāhī da'awtika sirran wa jahrā, ilāhiya innī la'arju n-najāta, yā rabbi ashkū sū'a ḥālī*).¹⁷ All five *munājāt* are included in a Ṭayyibī manual titled *Khazā'in barakāt al-du'ā'*, which contains instructions for supererogatory ritual prayers (*ṣalāt al-taṭawwu'*) meant to be recited in the deep of the night.¹⁸ The manual generally contains prose *du'ās* and poetry—*munājāt*, *iltijā'iyya* verses and panegyrics—taken from various Fatimid-Ṭayyibī sources.¹⁹ The verses are included in the *du'ā'*s that are the prose counterpart of the poetry *munājāt*, which are meant to be recited after each of the *taṭawwu'* prayers. Al-Mu'ayyad's *munājāt* are included with the *du'ās* that come after the five *taṭawwu'* prayers for forgiveness of sins (*maghfirat al-dhunūb*), granting of wishes (*qaḍā' al-ḥawā'ij*), removal of grief and cares (*kashf al-hamm wa al-ghamm*), light in the grave (*nūr al-qabr*), and the twelve-*rak'a* late night prayer (*al-tahajjud*).²⁰

The manual is used by Ṭayyibīs most intensively during the month of Ramaḍān when they pray late in the night, either alone at home or in a maṣjid congregation. *Laylat al-qadr* is the most important of the nights of Ramaḍān, and almost every single Ṭayyibī, everywhere in the world, attends one of the small or large congregational gatherings convened on this night. Al-Mu'ayyad's *munājāt*, along with the other poems in the manual, are chanted collectively in the congregation led by a designated clergyman. The following is one of the shorter *munājāt* that is used as liturgy:²¹

¹⁷ #20 (p. 252, vv. 17–20, end), #26 (p. 265, 15 verses), #27 (p. 266, 13 verses), and #28 (p. 267, 14 verses) are recited in Ṭayyibī liturgy. #21 (p. 253, 15 verses) and #43 (p. 289, 6 verses) are not. Also used for liturgy is the *munājāt*-like short poem #53 (p. 301, 5 verses). Many of al-Mu'ayyad's *munājāt* have been translated earlier in this study. See Index.

¹⁸ Bombay, 1389. The deep of the night is the preferred time, but these *taṭawwu'* prayers may be prayed at any other prayer-time as well, and the *du'ās* may be recited at any time during the night or day.

¹⁹ E.g. *du'ā'*s from *al-Ṣahīfa al-kāmila al-sajjādiyya* of the Imam 'Alī Zayn al-Ābidīn; *du'ā'*s from *al-Ad'iya al-Mu'ayyādiyya*; *du'ā'*s composed by the previous Ṭayyibī dā'ī Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1385/1965), and a couple of *munājāt* attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (one of these <yā dha l-mā'ālī 'alayka mu'tamadī> cited partially in *al-Ṣahīfa al-Ālawiyya* pp. 160–61.

²⁰ *Khazā'in barakāt al-du'ā'*, pp. 35–36, 51, 68–70, 82–83, 93–95.

²¹ #20, p. 252, vv. 17–20.

O my God, my throat
is choked
and I have no strength left
[to face] trials;
I shall lay my cheek on the
ground before you in the
day,
and complain and weep
when night becomes dark—
perhaps in pity you will
deliver me from cares
and remove my sorrows.
O my God, grant asylum to
your wronged servant
by your grace, you are the
one worthy of bestowing
grace.

إلهي ضاقت عليّ الحَنَاقُ
ولم تبق لي طاقة بِالْمَحَنِ
سأفرضُ خديّ لَدَيْكَ السَّهَارَ
وأشكو وأبكي إذا الليلُ حَنَّ
عسى أن تُفَرِّجَ عَنِّي الهمومَ
حنانًا وتذهبَ عني الحزنَ
إلهي أجزرَ عَبْدَكَ المُسْتَغْثَامَ
بِمَنِّكَ إِنَّكَ أَهْلُ الْمِنَّةِ

Iltijā'

Ṭayyibī liturgy uses three sets of al-Mu'ayyad's plea-for-succor (*iltijā'iyya*) verses. Two are pieces from larger poems, and the third is a complete short poem. The first piece is made up of six verses from the closure section of a long panegyric, in which al-Mu'ayyad addresses the Imams and begs them for succor (*yā bani l-muṣṭafā*).²² The Ṭayyibī prayer manual *Khazā'in* includes this piece along with the *tatawwu'* prayer for the granting of wishes (*qadā' al-ḥawā'ij*).²³ This same set of verses is also chanted from time to time in various da'wa religious assemblies (called "*majlis*") convened for commemorative or celebratory purposes. The components of the *majlis* are many and varied, integral among them Qur'ān recitation and the chanting of religious poems. Al-Mu'ayyad's poems often form part of the ritual liturgy.

The second piece is made up of three verses from the last part of a description-of-self poem, and in it, al-Mu'ayyad asks the Imams and 'Alī for aid (*idhā²⁴ ḍāqa bī*).²⁵ It is recited at the beginning of

²² #3, p. 209, vv. 44–50, 52.

²³ *Khazā'in barakāt al-du'ā'*, pp. 51–52.

²⁴ "*Idhā*" is the current Bohra version, meaning the same as the original "*fa'in*" (cf. all *Dīwān* mss. and ed.) The change was probably deemed appropriate because a conjunction (here, the *fā'*) is not needed when these verses are recited without their preceding ones of the original poem.

²⁵ #39, p. 282, vv. 13–14, 16.

every Ṭayyibī “*waʿz*,” a special kind of long sermon, that, incidentally, also stems from al-Muʿayyad’s oeuvre—his *Majālis Muʿayyadīyya* is the template for the *waʿz*.²⁶ The beginning of the *waʿz* is in Arabic and formulaic—praise of God, blessings upon the Prophet and his progeny, and verses of *iltijāʾ*—after which the actual discourse begins. Among the *iltijāʾ* verses that are always recited in the beginning section are al-Muʿayyad’s.

The third *iltijāʾiyya* poem used in Ṭayyibī liturgy is an eight-verse short poem addressed to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in which al-Muʿayyad begs ‘Alī for succor and asks God to accept ‘Alī’s intercession on his behalf (*abā ḥasanin*).²⁷ A person or persons in the audience chants this poem before the start of every non-Muḥarrām *waʿz*²⁸ and before the start of shorter sermons—called “*bayān*”—within various daʿwa *majālis*. Ṭayyibīs who visit ‘Alī’s shrine at Najaf also chant this poem as part of their shrine visiting ritual (called by them “*ziyārat*”).

Madīḥ and salām

Three of al-Muʿayyad’s panegyrics are a regular part of Ṭayyibī liturgy. Even though they were originally written as praise poems specifically for the Imam al-Mustanṣir, the primary addressees in the liturgy of today are the concealed Imam of the Age (*Imām al-zamān*) as represented by his dāʿī; the recitation of the verse containing al-Mustanṣir’s name is followed by a repeat recitation of the same verse with the dāʿī’s name (Burhān al-Dīn) substituted for al-Mustanṣir’s.

The first of these panegyrics is a poem containing greetings of peace (*salām*) to the prophets and Imams. It begins with a greeting to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus, then Muḥammad, ‘Alī and their progeny, and then al-Muʿayyad’s *Imām al-zamān* al-Mustanṣir. It also contains some verses in praise of al-Mustanṣir, some description-of-self verses, and a plea-for-succor verse. The greeting and succor

²⁶ The *waʿz* is a three to four hour sermon of commemoration or celebration with a highly ritualized format. It is usually attended by a wide audience, often numbering in the tens of thousands, and in Muḥarrām, up to two and three hundred thousand. The priest, or *wāʿīz*, sits on a throne-like dais. Its contents are theology, history, philosophy, and words of wisdom. The climax is the narrative of Ḥusayn’s martyrdom at Karbala. The sermon is extemporaneous, although Arabic texts (called *awrāq*, lit., pages) are used. The language is what is called the “*lisān al-dāʿwa*,” the Bohra rendering of Gujarati.

²⁷ #45, p. 291, vv. 1–8, complete.

²⁸ An elegy for Ḥusayn is recited in its place in the Muḥarrām *waʿz*.

parts of this poem are recited in Ṭayyibī liturgy at many and varied occasions, although there is no fixed liturgical ritual in which they are employed:²⁹

<p>Greetings of peace to the Pure Progeny. Welcome to their shining lights!</p>	<p>سَلامٌ على العِثْرَةِ الطاهِرةِ وأهْلِها بأَنْوارِها الزاهِرةِ</p>
<p>Greetings, in the beginning, to Adam, father of all people, nomads and town-dwellers.</p>	<p>سَلامٌ بِبَدِيًّا على آدَمِ أبي الخَلْقِ بِأَدْيِهِ والحاضِرةِ</p>
<p>Greetings to the one who, by his flood, overtook the oppressors with devastation.</p>	<p>سَلامٌ على مَنْ بَطُوْفانِهِ أُدِيرَتْ³⁰ على مَنْ بَعَى الدَّائِرَةَ</p>
<p>Greetings to the one to whom came safety in that morning in which the flames engulfed him.</p>	<p>سَلامٌ على مَنْ أتاهُ السَلامُ عَداةً أَحْفَّتْ بِه النِّائِرَةَ</p>
<p>Greetings to the one who, with his staff, vanquished the tyrannical, Pharaonic, seditious ones.</p>	<p>سَلامٌ على قاهِرٍ بالعَصَى عُصاةً فَراعِنَةً³¹ الجائِرَةَ</p>
<p>Greetings to the Spirit, Jesus, due to whose mission Nazareth gained honor.</p>	<p>سَلامٌ على الرُّوحِ عيسى الذي بِمَبْعَثِهِ شَرُفَتْ ناصِرَةَ</p>
<p>Greetings to Muṣṭafā Aḥmad, master of intercession in the Hereafter.</p>	<p>سَلامٌ على المصطفى أحمد ولي الشفاعة في الآخِرَةِ</p>
<p>Greetings to Murtaḍā Ḥaydar, and his sons, the shining stars.</p>	<p>سَلامٌ على المرتضى حَيدَرِ وأبْنائِهِ الأَنْجُومِ الزاهِرةِ</p>

²⁹ #41, pp. 286–87, vv. 1–10, 21–22, 28; vv. 1–12 also trans. by Hunzai in *Shimmering Light*, p. 44.

³⁰ “*Udirat*” in passive voice in ms. 5, ed., and Ṭayyibī liturgy; “*adāra*” in active voice in all other mss.

³¹ Read “*uṣātan farā’inatan*” following mss. 1, 2 & 6 (which vocalize both words with a *tanwīn-fatḥa*) and Ṭayyibī liturgical recitation. Ms. 7 vocalizes it with a *tanwīn-ḍamma*, which is not grammatically possible. The other mss. (2–5) do not vocalize it at all. The editor vocalizes it as a genitive construction, viz. “*uṣāta farā’inatin*.” Grammatically, the first reading seems most appropriate.

<p>Greetings to you, for their harvest is with you, O master of Cairo!</p> <p>May my soul [be ransom] for al-Mustanşir— the armies of heaven are his victory-givers.</p> <p>Greetings to you, O son of the Messenger's daughter, greetings, whose garments are magnificent.³²</p> <p>Greetings to you, the greetings of a man who has made back-breaking calamities descend upon your enemies.</p> <p>[Your] servant has come to your door, seeking rain from the abundant clouds of your mercy.</p>	<p>سَلامٌ عَلَيْكَ فَمَحْضُ وُتْلُهُمْ لَدَيْكَ أَيَا صَاحِبِ القَاهِرَةِ بِنَفْسِي مُسْتَنْصِرًا بِالإِلَهِ جُنُودُ السَّمَاءِ لَهُ ناصِرَةٌ عَلَيْكَ السَّلامُ ابْنِ بِنْتِ الرِّسُولِ سَلامٌ مَلابِسُهُ فَاحِرَةٌ عَلَيْكَ السَّلامُ سَلامُ امْرِئٍ أَحَلَّ بِأَعْدَائِكَ الفَاقِرَةَ أَتَى العَبْدُ بِأَبْنِكَ مُسْتَمْطِرًا³³ سَحابِ رَحْمَتِكَ العَامِرَةَ</p>
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The second poem is a panegyric for al-Mustanşir written in the form of an address of welcome to the morning of Thursday, the day the da'wa *majālis* were held in Fatimid Cairo (*yā ṣabāḥa l-khamīsi*).³⁴ In this poem, al-Mu'ayyad extols and gives thanks for the fruits of the Imams' learning tasted by their followers every Thursday morning. This poem is often recited by Ṭayyibīs on Thursdays in a *majlis* if there is one, or privately at home by individuals. Every Thursday morning during his dā'ī-ship, the dā'ī Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn³⁵ read and explicated al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis* (over a period of twenty years, he read all eight hundred) to a large audience of Ṭayyibīs; al-Mu'ayyad's "Thursday morning" ode was chanted collectively at the end of every session.³⁶

³² The order of this verse and the next (21 & 22) is reversed in the liturgy, probably because the verses following them (v. 23 ff.) continue in terms of grammatical person from v. 21 rather than v. 22.

³³ The Ṭayyibī liturgical version is "*mustamṭiran*" (ms. 5—all other mss. and ed. have "*mustafīhan*.")

³⁴ #61, pp. 314–15, vv. 1–1, 25.

³⁵ A brief art. on this dā'ī is by S. Toorawa, "Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn," *EF*².

³⁶ He completed the reading in twenty years, from 1347 H to 1367 H. Cf. Ṭāhir

The third poem is a panegyric written by al-Mu'ayyad probably on the occasion of *ʿĪd al-ḥiṭr (ḥilālun badā)*.³⁷ Its first verse refers to the appearance of the crescent moon, saying that the *Imām al-zamān* is himself the crescent moon,³⁸ and all its twenty-two verses are in praise of al-Mustanṣir. The first eight verses after the *maṭlaʿ* begin with the word “Imam.” This poem is chanted in full by Ṭayyibīs during the celebratory *majlis* they hold on the first day of every lunar month, opening the month with the Imam’s name being considered auspicious.

“Qāfiya” Competition

Four verses are used by Ṭayyibīs to begin the Arabic-verse memorization competition “*qāfiya*” (lit. rhyme) that is commonly held in their student circles. The name is derived from the nature of the competition, in which each of the two participating teams chants a verse beginning with the rhyme-letter of the previous team’s verse. The purpose of this competition is to sing the praises of the Imams, and to provide aid and incentive in the memorization of daʿwa poetry. The *dāʿī* himself sometimes presides.

The four beginning verses are not part of the actual competition, but instead, they open the competition with formulaic praise. The first of these opening verses (by an anonymous poet) seeks refuge from Satan in God (*istiʿādha*). This verse is followed by three verses by al-Mu’ayyad from two different *rajaz* poems. In these verses, he takes the name of God (*basmala*) and prays for blessings to be showered upon the Prophet and his progeny (*salawāt*). These are the four verses:

I seek refuge in God from

Satan,

the refuge-seeking of one who
is sincere in his Belief.³⁹

أَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنَ الشَّيْطَانِ

مَعَاذَ مَنْ أَخْلَصَ فِي الْإِيمَانِ

Sayf al-Dīn, in two of his annual Ramaḍān treatises *al-Risāla al-Ramaḍāniyya* of the years 1347 H (pp. 171–72) and 1367 H (pp. 337–38), titled respectively *Ḥubdatu burhāni ṣ-ṣidqi l-wāḍiḥ* and *Takbīru sakīnati fathīn mubīn*. He then began reading the *Majālis* for a second time, continuing until his death in 1385 (1965).

³⁷ #22, pp. 254–55.

³⁸ The Fatimids began and completed the Ramaḍān fast according to a set lunar calendar, and not by the sighting of the moon (cf. *Nuzhat*, pp. 176–77), as do the Ṭayyibīs today.

³⁹ By an anonymous poet.

<p>In Your name, O God, O Merciful One, O Benevolent One, the tongue begins.⁴⁰</p> <p>We have taken Muṣṭafā and his progeny as our role- models, And through them, no doubt, we have found right guidance.⁴¹</p> <p>May our Lord bless them and give them peace, just as, through them, He has delivered us from blindness.⁴²</p>	<p>بِاسْمِكَ يَا اللَّهُ يَا رَحْمَانُ وَيَا رَحِيمُ يَا بِنْدُ اللِّسَانِ بِالمصطفى وآلِهِ أَقْتَدَيْنَا ثُمَّ بِهِمْ لَمْ لَا حَرَمَ اهْتَدَيْنَا صَلَّى عَلَيْهِمْ رَبُّنَا وَسَلَّمَا كَمَا بِهِمْ أَنْقَذَنَا مِنَ الْعَمَى</p>
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Function in Ṭayyibī Religious Education

Al-Mu'ayyad's works have been used in the religious education system of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibīs for many centuries, probably ever since they were brought to Yemen by Lamak during the lifetime of al-Mu'ayyad himself. Al-Mu'ayyad's prose works, especially the *Majālis*, and to a lesser extent the *Ṣīra*, have been studied continuously. His poems are taught in da'wa schools, seminaries and classes, and quoted extensively in da'wa lectures and sermons. In education, the use of his works is primarily doctrinal, rather than literary.⁴³

Al-Mu'ayyad's *Dīwān* is named in two of the five records of the Ṭayyibī religious studies curriculum pursued from the tenth (sixteenth) to the thirteenth (eighteenth) centuries:⁴⁴ the dā'ī Nūr

⁴⁰ # 62, p. 316, v. 1.

⁴¹ #1, p. 198, v. 145.

⁴² #1, p. 198, v. 152. This verse is in the singular in the *Dīwān* ("ṣallā 'alayhi . . . kamā bihī . . ." referring to al-Zāhir), but the Ṭayyibī liturgical version is in the plural, referring to all the Imams.

⁴³ Cf. Similar doctrinal approach to the study of Arabic poetry in Indonesia (B. Arps, "To Propagate Morals through Popular Music: The Indonesian Qasidah Mod'ren," *Qasida Poetry*, vol. 1, p. 389).

⁴⁴ Asaf Fyzee, "The Study of the Literature of the Fatimid Da'wa," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden, 1965, pp. 232-49. Following are the five courses whose records Fyzee discusses:

- followed by an Indian scholar, Ḥasan b. Nūḥ (d. 939/1533), who went to Yemen to study with the dā'ī (*Kitāb al-Azhār*, vol. 1, in 'A. 'Awwā, ed., *Muntakhabāt Ismā'īliyya*, Damascus, 1958, pp. 188-99).

Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn (d. 1130/1718) taught it to his students. The dāʿī Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1252/1821) also prescribed it as part of the course to be generally followed by students of Ṭayyibī theology. It is categorized in this course as a *zāhūrī* or exoteric work (placed between the works on grammar and Hadith and those on law and history), which is a possible reason for its not being registered in the other three records, for these only provide detailed information about esoteric works, merely noting in a limited and cursory manner the exoteric works studied. But because al-Muʿayyad’s *Dīwān* was categorized as an exoteric work, it was presumably studied by a relatively large number of students. And within the *Dīwāns* to be studied, al-Muʿayyad’s is considered one of the essential *Dīwāns* to be taught to all students (along with those of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the dāʿī ‘Alī b. Muḥammad), while others required special permission, perhaps being considered more difficult (like those of Tamīm, al-Khaṭṭāb, and ‘Abd Allāh Fakhr al-Dīn).

Today, al-Muʿayyad’s *Dīwān* forms an important part of Ṭayyibī religious studies. At the academic level, it is taught in various private tutorials and in classes held with the dāʿī’s permission. It also forms an integral part of the curriculum in the daʿwa seminary al-Jāmiʿa al-Sayfiyya, which is located in Surat (India) and is the largest and most important Ṭayyibī religious-education institution in modern times.⁴⁵ Three to seven poems are taught each year in the eleven-

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- recommended by the Yemenite dāʿī Ḥasan b. Idrīs (d. 918/1512) for Ṭayyibī students in a written answer to an Indian scholar, Miḡān Shamʿūn (*Masāʾil Miḡān Shamʿūn*, ms. in Ṭayyibī daʿwa library).
 - followed by Shaykh Luḡmānjī b. Ḥabīb Allāh (d. 1173/1760) and his fellow students, studying with the dāʿī Nūr Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn (d. 1130/1718) in 1123 (1711), (*Risālat Shaykh Luḡmānjī b. Ḥabīb Allāh*, ms. in Ṭayyibī daʿwa library).
 - followed in the education of a son of the dāʿī Ismāʿīl Badr al-Dīn II (d. 1150/1737), (*al-Majālis al-Sayfiyya*, ms. in Ṭayyibī daʿwa library).
 - prescribed by the dāʿī Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1252/1837) for Ṭayyibī students (*Risālat Sayyidīnā Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn*, cited in full in the original Arabic in “The Study,” pp. 246–48).

⁴⁵ The Jāmiʿa Sayfiyya was founded by the 34th dāʿī Ismāʿīl Badr al-Dīn (d. 1085/1674) in Jamnagar in the form of religion classes. It was given a more formal structure and named the Dars-i Sayfī by the 43rd dāʿī ‘Abd ‘Alī Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1232/1817) in Surat. It was later expanded and reorganized along the lines of a contemporary university and named the Jāmiʿa Sayfiyya by the 51st dāʿī Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1385/1965); the number of students at the time of his demise was 326 (316 men, 10 women). It was expanded further and a branch opened in Karachi by the present—52nd—dāʿī Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn. The students today num-

year course, totaling forty-six of the *Dīwān's* sixty-two poems (about seventy-five percent). Among these, the poems used in Ṭayyibī liturgy discussed earlier are all studied and often memorized. Two are studied twice, once in a junior year and again towards the end of the course.

At the non-academic level, poems by al-Mu'ayyad are widely quoted in public lectures and sermons. His famous plea-for-audience poem along with its poem-answer is explicated at least once during the annual Muḥarram sermons, as is the verse in which he claims to be on par with the Prophet's Companion Salmān.⁴⁶ The first verse of his panegyric on al-Zāhir <*qad 'azza dīn-u l-lāhi bi'z-zāhir*> is quoted whenever al-Zāhir is mentioned in a sermon, and the first verse of one of his panegyrics on al-Mustaṣhir <*majdun samā fah'wa li's-samā'-i samā*> is quoted whenever al-Mustaṣhir is mentioned.⁴⁷ The "Thursday morning" poem is often expounded upon in any sermon that happens to fall on a Thursday.⁴⁸

Influence on Ṭayyibī Poetry

The Ṭayyibīs call their poetic heritage the "*adab-i fāṭimī*" (Fatimid literature) tradition,⁴⁹ which, along with the myriad cases of incorporation (*taḍmīn*) of his verses, confirms that they have consciously emulated the poetic tradition established by al-Mu'ayyad and continue to do so. Moreover, although much work remains to be done on Ṭayyibī poetry, the only two studies so far do indeed bear out the connection.⁵⁰ A positive link may thus be established between the Fatimid and Ṭayyibī da'wa poetry traditions.

ber a total of 595 (374 men, 221 women). Its graduates form a large part of the da'wa administration and religious-education system.

⁴⁶ #60, p. 313; *Uyūn*, vol. 7, pp. 73–74, #38, p. 281, v. 1.

⁴⁷ #14, p. 238, v. 1. #19, p. 249, v. 1.

⁴⁸ #61, pp. 314–15.

⁴⁹ Cf. title of an anthology of selections from the prose and poetry by the Ṭayyibī dā'ī Ṭahir Sayf al-dīn: *Barakāt nashr al-adab al-fāṭimī* (Bombay: Jāmi'a Sayfiyya publication, 1978), and title of an anthology of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī poetry: *Nasīm rawḍat al-adab al-fāṭimī* (Bombay: Jāmi'a Sayfiyya publication, [1960]).

⁵⁰ On the poetry composed by the dā'ī 'Alī b. Muḥammad (Yemen, d. 612/1215): Rabab Hamiduddin, *The Qaṣīdah of the Ṭayyibī Da'wah and the Dīwān of Syedna 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd (d. 612/1215)*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2000. On the poetry of dā'ī 'Abd 'Alī Sayf al-Dīn (India, d. 1232/1817): Abdeali Qutbuddin, *The Meaning of Love in the Poetry of Syedna Abdeali Saifuddin: A 13th/18th Century Arabic Poet in India*, MA thesis, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1995.

All the important poets in the Ṭayyibī tradition have been influenced by the Fatimid da‘wa poetry tradition founded by al-Mu‘ayyad. Many of Ṭayyibī poets are, like al-Mu‘ayyad, either dā‘īs themselves, or highly ranked members of the Ṭayyibī da‘wa spiritual hierarchy. There are numerous instances of individual verses that show direct influence of theme (Imam-dā‘ī focus), genre (praise focus, *munājāt*), vocabulary (Fatimid theological terms), imagery (light, Egypt), structure (some preludes, all closures), and, above all, a similar theological and *tāwīl* underpinning. The motivating impulses (religious education, merit in the Hereafter) are similar, as is the audience (Ṭayyibī followers, God, Imam and dā‘ī) and the function (ritual liturgy, religious education).

Only two major changes have come to al-Mu‘ayyad’s Fatimid da‘wa poetry tradition upon the concealment of the Imam: the addition of a new and significant object of praise in the person of the dā‘ī, and, due to the inward focus of the da‘wa in the absence of a state and of ambitions for one, the redundancy of proselytization,⁵¹ except for a couple of poetic heresiographical refutations of seceding groups such as the Zaydīs, the genre of disputational poetry focused on proselytization is generally absent in Ṭayyibī poetry.⁵²

When taken individually, many of the motifs used by the Ṭayyibī poets—and indeed, by al-Mu‘ayyad before them—are seen to be those common to the Shi‘ite and sometimes even the non-Shi‘ite corpus of Arabic poetry. It is only when they are used in a systematic manner, infused with the *tāwīl* ethos, and combined with the other distinctive features of Fatimid da‘wa poetry, that they may be said to be characteristic of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī da‘wa poetic tradition.

⁵¹ Cf. B.S. Qutbuddin, *The Political History of the Fāṭimid-Ṭayyibī Da‘wa in Yemen*, chap. on “Politics of Survival,” pp. 198–222.

⁵² An example is the *urjūza* by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan (d. 823/1420, Yemen), titled *Qaṣīda Fī al-Radd ‘alā al-Zaydiyya* (lost? *Biobibliography*, p. 168). Examples of Ṭayyibī authors of non-disputational didactic *urjūzas* (in chronological order) are ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 554/1159, *ma’dhūn* of 2nd dā‘ī), *al-Qaṣīda al-Tis‘uniyya fī ithbāt imāmat Mawlānā al-Imām al-Ṭayyib* (ms., *Biobibliography*, p. 140), Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 596/1199, 3rd dā‘ī), *Qaṣīda mutadammīna li-uṣul al-ma‘ānī wa mubayyina li-uṣul al-wujūd allatī ‘alayhā al-mabānī* (lost? *Biobibliography*, p. 154), ‘Alī b. Ḥanzala (d. 626/1229, 6th dā‘ī), *Simt al-ḥaqā‘iq* (ed. ‘A. al-‘Azzāwī, Damascus, 1953), al-Ḥasan b. Dā‘ūd (d. 11th/17th century), *Urjūza Fī Asmā’ al-du‘āt* (in his *Dīwān*, ms., *Biobibliography*, p. 189), and ‘Abd al-Qādir Ḥakīm al-Dīn (d. 1142/1730, *ma’dhūn* of 38th dā‘ī), *Urjūza Fī Bayān mā fī al-sunna min sunan al-ṣalāh wa al-ṣiyām* (in his *Dīwān*, ms., *Biobibliography*, p. 198).

The following examples of poetry composed through the centuries in the Ṭayyibī da'wa demonstrate the continuity of the Fatimid da'wa poetry tradition. Note that many of the *Dīwāns* culled for this analysis remain in manuscript form and are preserved in the Ṭayyibī da'wa library.

In Yemen, half a century after al-Mu'ayyad's death, we find that the *Dīwān* of the first Ṭayyibī *mādhūn* (a rank in the spiritual hierarchy immediately following *dā'ī*) named al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥasan (d. 533/1138) displays elements of the Fatimid da'wa poetic tradition. In the following verse from al-Khaṭṭāb's well-known elegy for the Ṣulayḥid queen al-Ḥurra al-Malika (his milk-sister) he picks up on the recurring motif of light in al-Mu'ayyad's poems.⁵³

*Our mistress! O you, who,
by the radiance of her light
has removed the many
darknesses from our eyes.*

أَمُولَاتِنَا يَا مَنْ بِيَاهِرِ نُورِهَا
تَجَلَّيْنَ عَنِ أَبْصَارِنَا الظُّلْمَاتُ

And in the following opening verse, al-Khaṭṭāb bemoans his stay in this corporeal world.⁵⁴

*I am tired of my long stay
in the abode of the senses,
my imprisonment and torture
in it, my troubles.*

مَلَلْتُ بِدَارِ الْحِسِّ طُؤْلَ تَوَائِبِي
وَسِجْنِي وَتَعَذِّبِي بِهِ أَوْ بِلَايِي

This is strikingly similar to al-Mu'ayyad's lines.⁵⁵

*My soul—by God!—is
tired of my self,
and—by God!—my comfort
from life is little.*

مَلَلْتُ وَأَيْتُمُ اللَّهُ نَفْسِي نَفْسِي
وَقَلِيلٌ وَاللَّهِ بَعِيشِي أُنْسِي

*O how good will be the day
I am set in my grave,
for that will be the day of
my escape from my prison.*

يَا حَبْدًا يَوْمَ حُلُولِي رَمْسِي
فَذَلِكَ يَوْمٌ مَخْلَصِي مِنْ حَبْسِي

Like al-Mu'ayyad, al-Khaṭṭāb has portrayed his disillusionment with the physical world in a combined theological-personal tone. He has

⁵³ *Dīwān al-Khaṭṭāb*, titled “*al-Sultān al-Khaṭṭāb: Ḥayātuhū wa shī'ruhū*,” ed. Ismail Q. [Poonawala], 2nd ed., Beirut, 1999, p. 225; see my chap. on “Motifs”.

⁵⁴ *Dīwān al-Khaṭṭāb*, p. 212.

⁵⁵ *Dīwān al-Mu'ayyad*, #35, p. 276, vv. 1, 3.

also copied al-Mu'ayyad's opening phrase "My soul is tired" (*mallat nafsi* vs. *malaltu*) and his word "prison" (*ḥabs* vs. *sijn*).

Fifty years later came an important milestone in the history of Ṭayyibī da'wa poetry with the advent of the literary brilliance of the fifth Ṭayyibī dā'ī 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 612/1215),⁵⁶ the themes and style of whose poetry adhered closely to al-Mu'ayyad's. In addition to reinvigorating the Fatimid da'wa poetry tradition, 'Alī b. Muḥammad added an important element to its panegyric configuration, viz., praise for the Imam's vicegerent, the Dā'ī of the Age, in the very mold of al-Mu'ayyad's praise for the Imam of the Age. Just as al-Mu'ayyad's *Dīwān* had come to form a summa for Fatimid belief regarding the Imam, 'Alī b. Muḥammad's *Dīwān* came to form a summa for Ṭayyibī belief regarding the dā'ī, and his poetry as well as his prose works became immensely significant for Ṭayyibī literature and doctrine.

The following are some verses by 'Alī b. Muḥammad very famous in the Ṭayyibī heritage establishing the high position of the dā'ī al-muṭlaq. In terms he had used elsewhere (and al-Mu'ayyad had used before him) to praise the Imam, 'Alī b. Muḥammad (before he himself became dā'ī) praised the dā'ī Ḥātīm b. Ibrāhīm. The *tawīl* index that is the hallmark of al-Mu'ayyad's Fatimid da'wa poetry is clearly observable here, as are the same *mathal-mamthūl* metaphors (e.g., Ka'ba = Imam/dā'ī) that al-Mu'ayyad used so persistently:⁵⁷

<p><i>O proof of God, O peerless one, O Ka'ba towards whom worshippers pray.</i></p>	<p>يَا حُجَّةَ اللَّهِ يَا مَنْ لَا نَظِيرَ لَهُ يَا كَعْبَةَ نُحُوهَا صَلَّى الْمُصَلِّينَا⁵⁸</p>
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⁵⁶ An article on 'Alī b. Muḥammad's presentation of early Ṭayyibī doctrine is by Binyamin Abrahamov, "An Ismā'īlī Epistemology: The Case of al-Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 41/2 (1996), pp. 263–73. Selected poems have been published in various collections by the Ṭayyibī da'wa institutions in Mumbai and Surat, e.g., an anthology of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī literature titled *Nasīm rawḍat al-adab al-fāṭimī*, Mumbai, Jāmi'a Sayfiyya publication, 1380. A study of his poetry is Hamiduddin, *The Qaṣīdah of the Ṭayyibī Dā'wah*.

⁵⁷ *Nasīm rawḍat al-adab al-fāṭimī*, p. 63. The opening line of the poem is "līm lā nuḡibū 'ala t-taḥqīqī dā'īnā * biḥī wa naḏ'ūhu bi t-ghaybi t-ladhī finā". And he goes on to explicitly emphasize the absolute representation of the Imam by the Dā'ī in the verse "We do not say that the Imam is concealed * when you, O mercy of the Merciful, are our Dā'ī".

⁵⁸ The mss. have *muṣallīnā*, but *muṣallūnā* in the nominative is grammatically correct. Perhaps *muṣallīnā* is an early corruption of the text by a copier who was unaware of the rules of metrics permitting an *ūnā/inā* rhyme.

O *Hātim* of goodness! O
lamp for this Yemen!
You have established [your]
proofs over all creation.

يا حاتمَ الحَيِّرِ يا بُرَّاسَ ذِي يَمَنِ
عَلَى الخَلَائِقِ أَوْصَحْتَ البَرَاهِينَا

The divine secret is you,
the secret of the divine
secret is you, and there
is nothing
for the divine secret other
than you—admission
suffices us!

الْغَيْبُ أَنْتَ وَغَيْبُ الْغَيْبِ أَنْتَ وَمَا

Religion is you, the meaning
of religion is you, and
there is nothing
for religion other than you,
so make all of us religion!

لِلْغَيْبِ غَيْرُكَ وَالْإِقْرَارُ يَكْفِينَا

الِدِّينِ أَنْتَ وَمَعْنَى الدِّينِ أَنْتَ وَمَا

لِلدِّينِ غَيْرُكَ فَاجْعَلْ كُلَّنَا دِينَنَا

Truth is you, the house of
Truth is you, and there
is nothing
for Truth other than you,
so take note how you
expound to us!

الحَقُّ أَنْتَ وَبَيْتُ الحَقِّ أَنْتَ وَمَا

لِلْحَقِّ غَيْرُكَ فَانظُرْ كَيْفَ تُفْتِنُنَا

In the above verses, we see examples of all three types of *mathal-mamthūl* metaphor used earlier by al-Mu'ayyad: the *dā'ī* is the Ka'ba towards whom worshippers bend down in ritual prayer (first type, the spiritual counterpart of a religious object); he is the divine secret, religion and Truth (second type, the physical embodiment of theological concepts); and he is the lamp of Yemen, the one who establishes God's proofs on earth (third type, the metaphysical quintessence of a seemingly non-religious object).

In another poem, 'Alī b. Muḥammad uses Jesus as referent, stating that just like Jesus, the Imam al-Ṭayyib too gives life to the dead and sight to the blind. This comparison is in the line of al-Mu'ayyad's frequent comparisons of his Imam al-Mustaṣir to Jesus.⁵⁹ The *tāwīl* index here is indicated by the use of the words "ignorance" and "error" in the context of death and blindness—the reality of life and of sight, according to the Ṭayyibī *Dā'ī*, is knowledge and wisdom.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ See "Motifs" section.

⁶⁰ *Nasīm rawḍat*, p. 60. The opening line of the poem is "*Nuhūdu l-maṭāyā hayyaja d-danīfa ṣ-ṣabbā * wa ṣabba mina l-ajfāni admu'uhū ṣabbā*".

*He revivifies with God's
permission those dead
from ignorance
and he gives sight to those blind
from error when he cures.*

وَيُحْيِي بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ مَوْتَى جَهَالَةٍ
وَيُبْرِئُ عُمَيَانَ الضَّلَالَةَ إِنْ طَبَّأَ

In another set of verses, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad praises the Imam al-Ṭayyib and his descendents, using several *mathal-mamthūl* metaphors connected with *hajj* rites and several other key Fatimid-Ṭayyibī beliefs earlier propounded by al-Muʿayyad in his poetry, such as the reality of the Imams as ships of salvation, springs of God’s knowledge, and temples of light:⁶¹

*[They are] the origins of
the Old House, of
Ẓamzam,
Minā, Marwa, Ṣafā and
the Mashʿar,*

وَمَنَابِتُ الْبَيْتِ الْعَتِيقِ وَزَمْزَمٍ
وَمِنَى وَمَرْوَةَ وَالصَّفَا وَالْمَشْعَرِ

*Those who suckled the milk
of revelation, brought up
in the lap
of Gabriel the Trusted, sāqīs
at the spring of Kawthar,*

رُضَعَاءُ دُرِّ الْوَحْيِ نُشَأُ حُجْرِ جِبْرِيلَ
الْإِمِينِ سُقَاةُ نَهْرِ الْكَوْثَرِ

*Descendents of prophethood
and legacy, those who
have obtained
the honor of the Imamate
and the luminous station,*

خَلْفُ النُّبُوَّةِ وَالْوَصَايَةِ حَائِزِي
شَرَفِ الْإِمَامَةِ وَالْمَقَامِ الْأَنْوَرِ

*Ships of salvation, signposts
of tawḥīd, banners
of right guidance, intercessors
on the day of resurrection,*

سُفُنُ النِّجَاةِ مَعَالِمُ التَّوْحِيدِ أَعْلَامُ
الْمُهْدَى شُفَعَاءُ يَوْمِ الْمَحْشَرِ

*God's proofs for people, His
witnesses
among them, springs of His
gushing knowledge*

حُجَجُ الْإِلَهِ عَلَى الْوَرَى شُهَدَاؤُهُ
فِيهِمْ مَعَادِنُ عِلْمِهِ الْمُتَفَجِّرِ

*Companions of the Book of
God, the strong handle of
His religion,
descending places for His
flowing holiness*

قُرْنَا كِتَابِ اللَّهِ عُرْوَةُ دِينِهِ
الْوُتْقَى مَهَابِطُ قُدْسِهِ الْمُتَعَجَّرِ

⁶¹ *Nasīm rawḍat*, p. 65.

Temples of light, so
magnificent that
the majesty of their worth is
not comprehended by
thought.

وَهَيَاكِلُ السُّورِ الَّتِي عَظُمَتْ فَلَمْ
تُدْرِكْ جَلَالَهٗ قَدْرَهَا بِتَفَكُّرٍ

‘Alī b. Muḥammad’s son, the eighth Ṭayyibī dā‘ī al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī (d. 667/1268), also composed poetry in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī da‘wa tradition. Addressing the Imams in a verse used in ritual liturgy by the Ṭayyibīs to this day, he says:⁶²

Because of your love, our
[good] deeds if accepted
are accepted,
and sins if forgiven are
forgiven the sinner.

بِحُبِّكُمْ تُقْبَلُ الْأَعْمَالُ إِنْ قَبِلَتْ
وَيُغْفَرُ الذَّنْبُ لِلْعَاصِيْنَ إِنْ غُفِرَا

The motif (Imam’s love is reason for God’s acceptance of a believer’s deeds, fasts and ritual prayer) and vocabulary (*tuqbalu*) replicate those in al-Mu‘ayyad’s verse addressing the Imam al-Zāhir.⁶³

O elect of God, O you
because of whom
our prayers and fasts
are accepted.

يَا وَلِيَّ الْإِلَهِ يَا مَنْ بِهِ تُقْبَلُ
مِمَّنَّا صَوَّلَاتُنَا وَالصَّوْمُ

The next *Dīwān* in the Ṭayyibī da‘wa, towards the end of the Yemen period, is that of ‘Abd Allāh Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 886/1481), *mādhūn* of the twentieth dā‘ī and a nephew of the nineteenth, Sayyidnā Idrīs. His *Dīwān* again exhibits signs of al-Mu‘ayyad’s poetic influence, as in these verses:⁶⁴

⁶² *Dīwān ‘Alī b. Muḥammad* (sic). This verse is from a poem by dā‘ī al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad which is transcribed at the end of his father’s *Dīwān*, where the poem is explicitly introduced as al-Ḥusayn’s. Perhaps the fact that the poem is in ‘Alī b. Muḥammad’s *Dīwān* is the reason this verse and the section containing it are ascribed to him, rather than to al-Ḥusayn, in the Ṭayyibī manual of prayer, the *bihōrī nī haftī* (*Khazā‘in barakāt al-du‘ā*’, p. 100).

⁶³ #12, p. 234, v. 36.

⁶⁴ *Dīwān ‘Abd Allāh Fakhr al-Dīn*, ms. in Ṭayyibī da‘wa library, 1327 H, copied by Mulla Ghulām ‘Abbās b. Mulla Amīr al-Dīn, p. 12. Note that this *Dīwān* contains 29 poems in praise of the Prophet in the form of a “*rawḍa*”: 28 poems each begin and end in one of the 28 letters of the alphabet (*maḥbūk al-ṭarafayn*), and one more, beginning and ending in *lām-alif*. Many of these poems contain a love prelude, and the true beloved is asserted to be the Prophet. Cf. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 176, and Zayn al-Dīn, *Risāla*, cited in Fyzee, “Study of the Literature,” p. 247.

God's prophet Adam
received, when
his foot slipped, words from
his Lord.

تَلَقَّى نَبِيُّ اللَّهِ آدَمُ إِذْ هَفَّتْ
بِهِ قَدَمٌ مِنْ رَبِّهِ كَلِمَاتٍ

The proof of Muḥammad's
excellence became manifest
in it,
that in him is salvation
from perishing.

تَجَلَّى بِهِ بُرْهَانٌ فَضَّلِ مُحَمَّدٍ
وَأَنَّ بِهِ الْمُنَجَّى مِنَ الْهَلَكَاتِ

Here, the motif (the word of God received by Adam = Prophet Muḥammad/Imam), the vocabulary (*talaqqā*, *Ādam*, *kalima*, *najā*), and the Qur'anic allusion (Qur'an 2:37) and interpretation reproduce those in al-Mu'ayyad's verse addressing the Imam al-Mustaṣir⁶⁵

The one whom Adam
received and was saved—
Verily, you are that word.

وَمَنْ تَلَقَّاهُ آدَمُ فَفَنَجَا
إِنَّكَ قَدْ كُنْتَ ذَلِكَ الْكَلِمَا

After the transfer of the Tayyibī da'wa headquarters to India, the first Arabic *dīwān* comes two centuries later, from the pen of the thirty-eighth dā'īs *mādhūn* 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥakīm al-Dīn (d. 1142/1730). Not surprisingly, given the intense adherence to al-Mu'ayyad's tradition by past Tayyibī poets, Ḥakīm al-Dīn's poetry also deliberately emulates al-Mu'ayyad's. For example, in the opening line of a poem, he says:⁶⁶

May God give victory to the
party of our master 'Alī!

اللَّهُ يَنْصُرُ حِزْبَ مَوْلَانَا عَلِيٍّ

This nearly duplicates al-Mu'ayyad's line:⁶⁷

May God give victory to the
banner of al-Mustaṣir!

اللَّهُ يَنْصُرُ رَايَةَ الْمُسْتَصِيرِ

In another poem by Ḥakīm al-Dīn, eighteen consecutive verses begin with "Greetings of peace upon . . ." the Tayyibī dā'īs,⁶⁸ which meticulously imitates al-Mu'ayyad's "*salām*" poem, in which nine consecutive verses begin with "Greetings of peace upon . . ." the prophets and Imams.

⁶⁵ #19, p. 249, v. 7.

⁶⁶ *Dīwān 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥakīm al-Dīn*, ms., Tayyibī da'wa library.

⁶⁷ #7, p. 221, v. 1.

⁶⁸ *Dīwān 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥakīm al-Dīn*, maṭla': *salāmum 'alā sādātīn fī l-yaman*.

The reign of the forty-third Ṭayyibī dā'ī 'Abd 'Alī Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1232/1817) saw an intense focus on regaining mastery over the Arabic language. He and the many scholars in his reign composed much poetry and a large number of prose works in Arabic, triggering a veritable renaissance in Ṭayyibī da'wa literature. The scholars of his age called him “*Mu'ayyad-i aṣghar*” (al-Mu'ayyad the Younger), in homage to his learning and erudition. His *Dīwān* closely emulates al-Mu'ayyad's. In the following verse, he addresses the Imam of the Age begging his favor:⁶⁹

<p><i>I came with your pure door as my objective, seeking the rain of favor, so be one who rains [it] down.</i></p>	<p>أَتَيْتُ قَصْدًا بِأَبْكَ الطَّاهِرًا مُسْتَمَطِرَ الْفَضْلِ فَكُنْ مَاطِرًا</p>
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This verse paraphrases al-Mu'ayyad's verse addressing the Imam al-Mustanṣir:⁷⁰

<p><i>[Your] servant has come to your door, seeking rain from the abundant clouds of your mercy.</i></p>	<p>أَتَى الْعَبْدُ بِأَبْكَ مُسْتَمَطِرًا سَحَابِ رَحْمَتِكَ الْعَامِرَةِ</p>
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In another verse, Sayf al-Dīn addresses the Imam of the Age in a plea for succor:

<p><i>Help me, help me, O my Imam and my support! Take my hand by your benevolence, for I stumble.</i></p>	<p>أَعْنِي أَعْنِي يَا إِمَامِي وَعُمْدَتِي وَأَخُذْ بِيَدِي لَطْفًا فَإِنِّي عَائِرٌ</p>
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Here, the two opening phrases of both hemistichs are identical to the ones in al-Mu'ayyad's verse addressing 'Alī:⁷¹

<p><i>Help me, help me, O son of the prophet's uncle! Take my hand O my master, may my life be ransom for yours.</i></p>	<p>أَعْنِي أَعْنِي يَا بَنَ عَمِّ مُحَمَّدٍ فَأَخُذْ بِيَدِي مَوْلَايَ رُوْحِي لَكَ الْفِدَا</p>
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⁶⁹ *Dīwān 'Abd 'Alī Sayf al-Dīn*, ms. Note that the favor sought is not monetary (he is, after all, addressing a concealed Imam), but rather, spiritual. A study of the poetry of this dā'ī, is Abdeali Qutbuddin, *The Meaning of Love in the Poetry of Syedna Abdeali Saifuddin*.

⁷⁰ #41, p. 287, v. 28.

⁷¹ #39, p. 282, v. 14.

The next Ṭayyibī *Dīwān* is that of the forty-seventh dā‘ī ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (d. 1302/1885). Its focus, like that of al-Mu‘ayyad’s *Dīwān*, is on praising the Imam and dā‘ī, and though short, it clearly shows al-Mu‘ayyad’s poetic influence, as in the following verse:⁷²

<p>[They are] the True Imams, the lords of perfection, who have become the ends for the people, and reasons for their creation.</p>	<p>أئِمَّةُ الْحَقِّ أَرْبَابُ الْكَمَالِ غَدَوْا لِلْخَلْقِ غَايَا وَفِي تَكْوِينِهِمْ عَلَا</p>
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The theme in this verse (Imam purpose of creation) is the same as that of al-Mu‘ayyad’s verse:⁷³

<p>[The Imams] are God’s purpose for [creating] every person He has created, the end[s] of His creation and [its] well-being</p>	<p>هُمُ نِهَائِيَّاتُ كُلِّ مَنْ بَرَأَ اللَّهُ وَغَايَاتُ خَلْقِهِ وَالسَّلَامُ</p>
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Like al-Mu‘ayyad’s *ṣalawāt* (invoking blessings) closures, the *ṣalawāt*-verse is a constant segment of closure in Najm al-Dīn’s poetry and in all Ṭayyibī poetry. In the following verse, Najm al-Dīn, invokes *ṣalawāt* on the Prophet and his progeny:⁷⁴

<p>[May] the most exalted <i>salām</i> from Allah and His <i>ṣalawāt</i> [be showered] upon the shining pure ones from the progeny of Aḥmad.</p>	<p>اجل سلام الله ثم صلواته على الغرر الاطهار من آل أحمد</p>
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‘Abd ‘Alī ‘Imād al-Dīn, dā‘ī Najm al-Dīn’s *mukāsir* (a rank in the spiritual hierarchy following the *mādhūn*) and designated successor⁷⁵ was an eminent scholar and the mentor of three dā‘īs; he composed poetry in praise of the Imam and dā‘ī in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī da‘wa poetry tradition, in Arabic and in the Indian languages Gujarati and Urdu. In a 171-verse Arabic *qaṣīda*, ‘Imād al-Dīn juxtaposes a long *nasīb* section chastising a fickle beloved with praise of his dā‘ī Najm al-Dīn as the true and loyal beloved, following al-Mu‘ayyad’s posi-

⁷² *Dīwān ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn*, ms.

⁷³ #12, p. 233, v. 16.

⁷⁴ *Dīwān ‘Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn*.

⁷⁵ ‘Imād al-Dīn died in 1271/1854 before he could become dā‘ī.

tioning of the Imam as the true beloved. His motifs too are taken from al-Mu'ayyad's *tāwīl* tradition (Imam/dā'ī = sustainer of da'wa; person holding high da'wa rank = angel):

*If the True da'wa is sustained
through him,
it is sustained, without doubt,
in the truest manner.*

وَلَوْ أَنَّ دَعْوَةَ الْحَقِّ قَامَتْ بِهِ
قَامَتْ بِغَيْرِ الشُّكِّ حَقِّ قِيَامِهَا

*For he is its sustainer, and
among the sayings [of the
Arabs] is:
"Nothing sustains a thing like
its sustainer."*

فَهُوَ الْقَوَامُ لَهَا وَمِنْ أَقْوَالِهِمْ
مَا قَامَ بِالأَشْيَاءِ مِثْلُ قَوَامِهَا

*[Being] in a rutba whose
consequence is the
consequence of the angels,
so it brought forth what it
could of exaltation [of the
angels].*

فِي رَتْبَةٍ قَدْرُ المَلَائِكِ قَدْرُهَا
فَأَنْتَ مَا اسْتَطَاعَتْهُ مِنْ إِعْظَامِهَا

In a lyrical Bohra Gujarati (*lisān al-da'wa*) panegyric often recited in Ṭayyibī liturgy today, 'Imād al-Dīn again praises the da'ī with Fatimid-Ṭayyibī theological motifs (dā'ī calls towards Imam, he is part of the divine mission, the master, the beloved). In fact, in addition to panegyrics in Arabic, many praise poems composed in *lisān al-da'wa* as well as Urdu are influenced by the da'wa poetry tradition:

*You are a rose and tulip in
the garden of the Imam
of the Age.*

تَمِيسُ بَاغِ اِمَامِ الزَّمَانِ نَاكُلٌ لِأَلِهِ چَهُو

*You are a branch of the tree
of the divine, eternal
knowledge.*

اِنِّے فَيْضِ اَزَلُّ نَادِرْخَتْ نَاتَمِيسِ دَا لا چَهُو

...

*This 'Abd 'Alī is a servant,
and you the master.
You are the beloved of
all the believers.*

آعْبِدِ عَلِي چَهُے غُلامِ نِے تَمِيسِ مَوْلَى چَهُو
تَمِيسِ سِگْلا مَوْمِنِ مَرْدِ نَامِنِ وَآ لا چَهُو

In modern times, the *Dīwān* of the fifty-first Ṭayyibī dā'ī Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1385/1965) is one of the best reflections of al-Mu'ayyad's poetic heritage. In Bohra Gujarati, he has been called *Mu'ayyad sī mu'ayyad* or "the one aided by al-Mu'ayyad." In his "Poem on the

Intellect” (*qaṣīdat al-ʿaql*), he uses al-Muʿayyad’s extended simile (translated earlier)⁷⁶ stating that the intellect needs an outside source of light (divine knowledge) to perceive, just as the eye needs an outside source of light to see:⁷⁷

*The intellect is the most
sublime jewel in the
human being,
gleaming in his soul like
the sun.*

العَقْلُ فِي الْإِنْسَانِ أَعْلَى الْجَوْهَرِ

مُتَلَالِيٌّ فِي نَفْسِهِ كَالْأَزْهَرِ

*The intellect in the human
being is in need of
light that illuminates from
the shining station.*

العَقْلُ فِي الْإِنْسَانِ مُحْتَاجٌ إِلَى

نُورٍ يُبَيِّرُ مِنَ الْمَقَامِ الْأَزْهَرِ

*Like the eye, until it is
coupled with light, with
a brilliance that illumines
darkness, it does not see.*

كَالْعَيْنِ مَا لَمْ يَقْتَرِنِهَا النُّورُ مِنْ
ضَوْءٍ يُنَوِّرُ ظُلْمَةً لَمْ تُبْصِرِ

*By the brilliance of the sun
of revelation—may its light
shine forth!—*

بِضِيَاءِ شَمْسِ الْوَحْيِ أَشْرَقَ نُورُهَا

*O human being, illuminate
your intellect.*

يَا أَيُّهَا الْإِنْسَانُ عَقِّلْكَ نَوِّرِ

Sayf al-Dīn begins another poem in praise of the dāʿī Ḥātim Muḥyi al-Dīn by exhorting the East wind to convey greetings to him in Yemen.⁷⁸

*O East wind, betake yourself
to the courtyard of the
Ḥātim of generosity,
the sea of magnanimity, the
fulfiller of hopes, the
granter of wishes.*

نَسِيمَ الصَّبَا يَمِّمُ ذَرَى حَاتِمِ الْجَدْوَى

حِضْمَ النَّدَى مُعْطِي الْمُنَى مُسْعِفِ الرَّجْوَى

*Convey my greetings to
him, laying
your cheek in the dust of
that abode.*

وَبَلِّغْ تَحِيَّاتِي إِلَيْهِ مُعْفَرًا

لِحَدِّكَ ذُلًا فِي ثَرَى ذَلِكَ الْمَثْوَى

⁷⁶ #1, p. 191, vv. 6–9.

⁷⁷ *Diwān Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn*, titled *Jawāhir al-balāgha al-ladunniyya*, Dubai, 1414 H, vol. 1, p. 400.

⁷⁸ *Diwān Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn*, vol. 2, p. 386. And numerous poems by him begin with “greetings of peace” (*salām*), like al-Muʿayyad’s poem #41, p. 286, v. 1: “Greetings of peace to the Pure Progeny.”

This opening paraphrases one of al-Mu'ayyad's, in a poem that begins by exhorting the East wind to convey the poet's greetings to his loved ones in Fars:⁷⁹

<p><i>O East wind, go to Fars in the morning, And convey my greetings to the good people I love.</i></p>	<p>نَسِيمَ الصَّبَا أَلِمُّمُ بِفَارِسَ غَادِيَا وَأَبْلِغْ سَلَامِي أَهْلَ وُدِّي الْأَزَاكِيَا</p>
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In a verse that uses Egypt-centered imagery like that of al-Mu'ayyad's, Sayf al-Din declares:⁸⁰

<p><i>They are the Fatimids, the river of whose knowledge is the Nile, the Nile of Truth; their da'wa is Egypt.</i></p>	<p>هُمُ الْفَاتِمِيُّونَ الْاُولَى نَهْرُ عِلْمِهِمْ هُوَ النَّيْلُ نَيْلُ الْحَقِّ دَعْوَتُهُمْ مِصْرُ</p>
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Based on al-Mu'ayyad's earlier usage, Egypt had come to symbolize in subsequent Ṭayyibī poetry the sanctuary of the da'wa, and the Nile, the knowledge of the Imams. Interestingly, the earlier Fatimid capitals of al-Mahdiyya and al-Manṣūriyya, as well as the lands of the Maghrib ruled by them, did not become significant da'wa symbols, perhaps because of al-Mu'ayyad's role in founding da'wa poetry, and the fact that he lived in the Egyptian phase of Fatimid hegemony. The fact that Egypt is the burial place of all the pre-concealment Fatimid Imams may also play a role in this symbolization.

Sayf al-Din also composed a large number of *munājāt* in al-Mu'ayyad's tradition.⁸¹ The following are the opening lines of one such *munājāt*:

<p><i>O listener of prayers, O one in whom are [our] hopes,</i></p>	<p>يَا سَمِيعَ الدَّعَوَاتِ يَا وَكِيَّ الرَّغَبَاتِ</p>
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⁷⁹ #17, p. 245, v. 1.

⁸⁰ *Dīwān Ṭāhīr Sayf al-Dīn*, vol. 1, p. 394.

⁸¹ The composition of *munājāt* poetry in the Ṭayyibī tradition appears to have been sporadic upto the time of Sayf al-Dīn's dā'ī-ship. An early poet to compose at least one *munājāt* is Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Yazīd, who probably lived in the sixth/twelfth century (for more information on his identity, see my Introduction, n. 37; his *munājāt* is included in the *Dīwān* of the fifth dā'ī 'Alī b. Muḥammad, towards the end. Sayf al-Dīn's father, the 49th dā'ī Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn also composed at least one *munājāt* (in the treatise composed in his name, *Ḍiyyā' sirāj al-ʿuqūl*, being the *Risāla Ramaḍāniyya* of 1313 H., ms.).

*Given of every petition.
Solver of difficulties.*

...

*O Lord forgive my sins
and erase my bad deeds
from me.*

مُعْطَى كُلِّ سُؤَالٍ
كَاشِفْنَا لِلْكَرْبَاتِ

رَبَّنَا اغْفِرْ لِي ذُنُوبِي
وَامْحُحْ عَنِّي سَيِّئَاتِي

Translated next is a substantial portion of Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn's sixty-one verse *qaṣīda* in praise of the Imams. This *qaṣīda* exhibits many of the diverse features of Fatimid da'wa poetry, and thus is a prime example of Ṭayyibī poetry composed under the influence of al-Mu'ayyad's *Dīwān*.⁸²

1. *The radiant, magnanimous
sons of Muṣṭafā are our
masters.*

*Because of them, our
exalted [banners] have
shone forth in all the
worlds.*

بَنُو الْمُصْطَفَى الْعُرُ الْكِرَامِ مَوَالِينَا

بِهِمْ لَأَلَاتُ فِي الْعَالَمِينَ مَعَالِينَا

2. *They are the joy of
al-Murtaḍā's heart,
and sweet basil for
al-Muṣṭafā.*

وَالْمُرْتَضَى كَانُوا سُرُورَ فُؤَادِهِ

وَالْمُصْفَى الْمُخْتَارِ كَانُوا رِيَاحِينَا

3. *Their father, the pure
'Alī al-Murtaḍā is
the one who
prompted Gabriel when
he faltered.*

أَبُوهُمْ عَلِيُّ الْمُرْتَضَى الطُّهْرُ مَنْ أَتَى

يُلَقِّنُ جِبْرِيْلًا إِذَا عَيَّ تَلَقِّيْنَا

4. *They are the Fatimids,
whose clay has sprouted
from the Light, the Divine
Light—what a fragrant
clay it is!*

هُمُ الْفَاطِمِيُّونَ الْأُولَى اشْتَقَّ طِينُهُمْ

مِنَ السُّورِ نَوْرِ اللَّهِ أَطْيَبَ بِهِ طِينَنَا

5. *They were not brought
into existence but as
temples of His light,
and they were not created
but as sultans for the
people.*

فَلَمْ يُبْدَعُوا إِلَّا هَيَاكِلَ نُورِهِ

وَلَمْ يُخْلَقُوا لِلْخَلْقِ إِلَّا سُلْطَانِينَا

⁸² *Dīwān Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn*, vol. 2, pp. 365–69. I have numbered the verses here for the sake of the following extended analysis.

6. *They did not become manifest as anything but pulpits of Truth, and they were naught for religion but wise men.*
- وَلَمْ يَظْهَرُوا لِلْحَقِّ إِلَّا مَنَابِرًا
وَلَمْ يُصْبِحُوا لِلدِّينِ إِلَّا أَسَاطِينَا
7. *They are the elect of God, they are His chosen. Their enemies, without a doubt, are devils.*
- هُمُ أَوْلِيَاءُ اللَّهِ هُمْ اصْفِيَاؤُهُ
وَكَانَتْ عِدَاهُمْ لَا مِرَاءَ شَيَاطِينَا
8. *They are the reason for [all] beings; their Lord brought all these beings into being for them.*
- هُمُ عَلَّةُ الْأَكْوَانِ كَوْنَ رَبُّهُمْ
لَهُمْ هَذِهِ الْأَكْوَانُ أَجْمَعِ تَكْوِينَنَا
9. *They are God Almighty's proofs, and the Lord of the people is not wanting a proof from among them at any time.*
- هُمُ حُجَجُ اللَّهِ الْجَلِيلِ وَلَمْ يُخَلِّ
رَبُّ السَّوَرَى مِنْ حُجَّةٍ مِنْهُمْ حِينَنَا
10. *They are the companions of the Remembrance they explicated its meanings clearly, distinctly, and lucidly.*
- هُمُ قُرَنَاءُ الذِّكْرِ قَدْ بَيَّنُّوا لَهُ
الْمَعَانِيَ إِضْرَاحًا جَلِيلًا وَتَبَيَّنَنَا
11. *They laid out straight paths of Truth, and they made just laws for religion.*
- هُمُ أَنهَجُوا لِلْحَقِّ طُرُقًا قَوِيمَةً
وَهُمْ قَنَنُوا لِلدِّينِ عَدْلًا قَوَانِينَنَا
12. *None but those who discern their light—for they are God's light—are human beings.*
- وَلَمْ يَكُنْ إِلَّا الْمُؤْنِسُونَ لِ نُورِهِمْ
لِأَنَّهُمْ نُورُ الْإِلَهِ أَنَا سِينَا
13. *Their followers will have a great triumph, for the [Lord] of the Throne will make their scales weight.*
- لِشِبَعَتِهِمْ فَوَزُّ عَظِيمٌ إِذَا لَهُمْ
يُثَقَّلُ ذُو الْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ الْمَوَازِينَنَا
14. *Their friend will gain their Paradise of Eden, and will be rewarded and awarded its sloe-eyed, virgin houris.*
- وَلِيَّهُمْ يَحْظَى بِجَنَّاتِ عَدْنِهِمْ
وَيُحْبَى وَيُعْطَى حُورَهَا الْخَرْدَ الْعِينَا

15. *Their enemies will burn,
because of what they
harbored
of enmity for them,
shortly in Hell.*
- سَيَصْلَىٰ أَعَادِيَهُمْ بِمَا أَضْمَرُوا مِنْ
عَدَاوَتِهِمْ عَمَّا قَلِيلٍ بَسِجِينَا
16. *Among them is Imam
Ṭayyib, who came
as an heir
to the treasures of
twenty forefathers who
went before.*
- وَمِنْهُمْ إِمَامٌ طَيِّبٌ جَاءَ وَارِثَنَا
ذَخَائِرَ آبَاءٍ مَضَوْا قَبْلُ عِشْرِينَا
17. *His virtues—their
diffusion is redolent
among the people,
its fragrance is stronger
than rose or jasmine.*
- فَضَائِلُهُ فِي الْخَلْقِ يَعْبِقُ نَشْرُهَا
الَّذِي فَاقَ وَرَدًّا فِي شَذَاهُ وَنِسْرِينَا
18. *And among them is
God's elect, the
Ṭayyib of our Age,
who increased the
might and splendor
of God's religion.*
- وَمِنْهُمْ وَلِيُّ اللَّهِ طَيِّبٌ عَصْرِنَا
الَّذِي زَادَ دِينَ اللَّهِ عِزًّا وَتَزِينَا
19. *He fortified the breach of
of the pure Fatimid
da'wa,
by making streams [of
knowledge] flow.*
- وَحَصَّنَ نَغْرَ الدَّعْوَةِ الْفَاطِمِيَّةِ
السَّرِّيَّةِ إِذْ أَسْرَى الْفُيُوضَاتِ تَحْصِينَا
20. *What a Godly sun he is!
The rays of its light
that flow revivify us to
real life.*
- فَلِلَّهِ مِنْ شَمْسٍ أَشِعَّةٌ ضَوْوُهَا
السَّوَارِي بِمَحْيَانَا الْحَقِيقِيِّ تُحْيِينَا
21. *And what a Godly
master he is, a patron,
giving favor,
he endows us with his
complete, shining
benefactions.*
- وَلِلَّهِ مَوْلَى مُنْعِمٌ مُتَفَضِّلٌ
بِأَنْعُمِهِ الْعُرِّ السَّوَابِغِ يُؤَدِّنَا
22. *The Imam of the Age,
the best guide and
steersman.
To God he calls us, to
Truth he guides us.*
- إِمَامٌ زَمَانٍ خَيْرٌ هَادٍ وَمُرْتَدٍ
إِلَى اللَّهِ يَدْعُونَا إِلَى الْحَقِّ يَهْدِينَا

...

45. *O proof of God, O favor [of God] upon His creation, O Ka'ba for those who pray!*
- أَيَا حُجَّةَ لِلَّهِ يَا نِعْمَةَ لَهُ
عَلَى خَلْقِهِ يَا كَعْبَةَ لِلْمُصَلِّينَا
46. *I am Sayf al-Dīn Ṭāhir, your servant, who has come to you, O son of al-Muṣṭafā, a supplicant.*
- أَنَا سَيْفُ دِينِ طَاهِرٍ عَبْدُكَ الَّذِي
أَتَاكَ أَيَا بْنَ الْمُصْطَفَى الطُّهْرِ مَسْئِلِنَا
47. *Help us [O] elect of God, we are your servants, for whom one glance from the eye of your kindness will suffice.*
- أَعِثِّنَا وَلِيِّ اللَّهِ نَحْنُ عِبِيدُكَ
الْأُولَى نَظْرَةً مِنْ لِحْظِ لَطْفِكَ تُكْفِينَا
- ...
52. *Make long, O my God, the life span of Burhān al-Dīn who has acquired myriad luminous and excellent qualities.*
- وَطَوَّلْ إِلَهِي عُمُرَ بُرْهَانَ دِينِكَ
الَّذِي حَازَ مِنْ غَرِّ الثُّنُؤُونَ أَفَائِنَا
- ...
55. *Muḥammad, the one praised among all the people; the mention of his name suffices us the description of his glory.*
- مَحْمُودُ الْمَحْمُودُ فِي الْخَلْقِ كُلِّهِمْ
وَذَكَرُ اسْمِهِ عَنْ وَصْفِ عُلايَاهُ يُغْنِينَا
56. *We express gratitude to our master, the [Imam] of the Age, the one who revivifies and regenerates us.*
- فَنَشْكُرُ مَوْلَانَا وَصَاحِبَ عَصْرِنَا
الَّذِي هُوَ مُحْيِينَا أَمْتِنَانَا وَمُنْشِينَا
57. *Our Lord, let me and my noble children remain forever in the flowerbeds of your favor.*
- أَيَا رَبَّنَا اجْعَلْنِي وَأَبْنَائِي السُّرَى
مَدَى الدَّهْرِ فِي رَوْضَاتِ نِعْمَاكَ يَا فَيْنَا
- ...
61. *May the God of the world bless Ṭāhā and his sanguine progeny as long as rain revivifies gardens.*
- وَصَلَّى عَلَيَّ طَهَ وَعَثْرَتِهِ الرَّضَى
إِلَهُ الْوَرَى مَا الْعَيْثُ أَحْيَى الْبَسَاتِينَا

Sayf al-Dīn's poem is unmistakably grounded in the Fatimid *tāwīl* tradition. The Imam is portrayed as the companion of the Qur'ān (v. 10), as a sun that bestows eternal life (v. 20), and as the Ka'ba for those who pray (v. 45); his clay is said to be from the Divine Light (vv. 4, 5). The consistent employment of this kind of imagery of light (vv. 1, 4, 5, 12, 20, 52) is also true to the style of Fatimid da'wa poetry. Note, in addition, the absence of poetic hyperbole in the poem, and the absence of an expression of the expectation of monetary reward—all the poet seeks is a kind glance from his Imam (v. 47).

The predominance of Fatimid theological motifs that we have seen earlier in al-Mu'ayyad's poems is evident in this poem. Among the Imamate motifs observed in this poem are the many references to the Imam's descent from the Prophet, and from 'Alī and Fāṭima (vv. 1–4). Sayf al-Dīn also makes several references to the continuity of the Imamate, and calls al-Ṭayyib the heir of the twenty Imams who preceded him (v. 16). Other Imamate motifs he uses are the numerous allusions to the Imam's titles [such as Imam (vv. 16, 22), God's elect (*awliyā'*, v. 7, v. 18), God's chosen (*asfiyā'*, v. 7), Fatimids (v. 4), master (*mawlā*, vv. 1, 21, 56); and God's proof (*ḥujja*, v. 9)]. He recounts the Imam's functions such as guiding (v. 22), making the Truth manifest (v. 6), giving knowledge (v. 21), protecting religion (v. 19), explicating the Qur'ān (v. 10), and bestowing favors (v. 21). He describes the Imam's qualities such as justice (v. 11), wisdom (v. 6), knowledge (vv. 11, 19), and moral virtues (v. 17). Sayf al-Dīn's verses that state that the Imam's followers win Paradise (v. 14) and their enemies burn in Hell (v. 15) are also reminiscent of al-Mu'ayyad's verses in the same vein. Other characteristics of Fatimid da'wa poetry displayed in this poem are the use of Qur'ānic allusions (v. 13), expressions of gratitude (v. 56) and servitude (v. 46) to the Imam, and the uniquely Fatimid closures to praise: plea for succor (vv. 45–47), the signature-verse (v. 45), and blessings upon the Prophet and his progeny (*ṣalawāt*, v. 61). Finally, and also in the Fatimid da'wa poetry style, the poem is completely focused on praise of the Imam.

Ṭāhīr Sayf al-Dīn's son Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn (b. 1333/1915) is the current Ṭayyibī dā'ī of the Age, and a living exponent of poetry in al-Mu'ayyad's Fatimid da'wa tradition. In the following verse, he uses al-Mu'ayyad's *tāwīl* motif (Imam/Imam's da'wa = ark of salvation):⁸³

⁸³ *Dīwān Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn*, named *Abhā zuḥūr riḡād al-'ilm*, 1418 H, Mumbai,

This—his *da'wa*—is his
ark, which
the most worthy *dā'īs* set
in motion according
to his wishes.

وَدَعَوْتُهُ هَذِي سَفِينَتُهُ الَّتِي
كَمَا شَاءَ يُجَرِّبُهَا الدَّعَاةَ الْأَفْضِلُ

In another poem, Burhān al-Dīn expounds al-Mu'ayyad's Qur'anic *tāwīl* interpretation of God's rope (*ḥabl*) to mean the Imam.⁸⁴

He is the rope, God's rope,
so cling to it!
You will win and be saved
from the darkness of
perdition.

هُوَ الْحَبْلُ حَبْلُ اللَّهِ فَاعْتَصِمُوا بِهِ
تَفُوزُوا وَتَنْجُوا مِنْ ظُلَامِ الْمَعَاتِبِ

Burhān al-Dīn's *mādhūn*, Khuzayma Quṭb al-Dīn (b. 1385/1940) is also an eloquent poet in the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* tradition. In the following verse, he declares his indebtedness for right guidance to his *dā'ī* (and father) Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn:

By our Master, hallowed in
[the Paradise of] *al-Nā'im*,
I have received guidance
towards the Straight Path.

بِمَوْلَانَا الْمُقَدَّسِ فِي النَّعِيمِ
هُمِدْتُ إِلَى الصِّرَاطِ الْمُسْتَقِيمِ

And to his *Dā'ī* of the Age (and brother) Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn:

By the *Dā'ī* of the Age, the
one with great merit,
I have received guidance
towards the Straight Path.

بِدَاعِي الْعَصْرِ ذِي الْفَضْلِ الْعَظِيمِ
هُمِدْتُ إِلَى الصِّرَاطِ الْمُسْتَقِيمِ

Both verses reproduce al-Mu'ayyad's verse in which he declares his indebtedness for right guidance to Imam al-Mustanṣir:⁸⁵

By our Master *al-Ma'add*,
Abī Tamīm,
I have received guidance
towards the Straight Path.

بِمَوْلَانَا الْمَعَادِ أَبِي تَمِيمِ
هُمِدْتُ إِلَى الصِّرَاطِ الْمُسْتَقِيمِ

p. 54. From al-Mu'ayyad's poem #2, p. 200, vv. 24–35. Cf., Hadith of the Prophet "mathalu ahli bayti fikum ka-safinati nuhin man rakibaha najā wa man takhallafa 'anhā gharaq," *Da'ā'im*, vol. 1, pp. 28, 80, *The Pillars*, p. 37.

⁸⁴ *Dīwān Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn*, p. 7. From al-Mu'ayyad's poem #2, p. 200, v. 31.

⁸⁵ #52, p. 300, v. 1.

Table B. Salient Features of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Daʿwa Poetry.

<i>life of poet</i>	<i>poetic style</i>	<i>praise of Imam and dāʿī</i>	<i>other genres</i>	<i>motivation</i>	<i>audience</i>	<i>many poems also include</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> intense involvement with daʿwa most major poets dāʿīs or other rank holders in daʿwa hierarchy important for poet, and poet important for daʿwa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> metaphor as manifestation (<i>mathal-mamāthil</i> metaphor): many seemingly figurative images are not figurative at all but considered to be real and true, where Imam or dāʿī is seen as spiritual counterpart of religious objects like Kaʿba, physical embodiment of theological concepts like Straight Path, or metaphysical quintessence of cosmological bodies like moon. hyperbole virtually absent; even motifs that seem hyperbolic usually have <i>āzāʾil</i> context frequent allusions to Qurʾānic verses and concepts, as well as Hadith Egyptian images such as the river Nile utilized extensively, usually symbolizing knowledge or grace of Imam Images of light utilized extensively, usually signifying divine knowledge of Imam or dāʿī conformation to some parameters of Badawī’s “secondary or Umayyad/Abbasid <i>qasida</i>” category, rather than “primary or pre-Islamic” one¹ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> predominant genre praise for Imam and dāʿī clear grounding in Fatimid theology praise motifs from Fatimid <i>āzāʾil</i> tradition preludes to panegyric utilized in special Fatimid way: yearning towards the homeland, old age and youth, love, and censure of Fate all precludes anticipating praise, where Imam is seen variously as consolation for loss of loved ones, refuge in the Hereafter, true beloved, and protector from vicissitudes of Fate special Fatimid closures to panegyric: blessings (<i>ṣalawāt</i>) invoked upon Prophet and progeny, plea for succor verses (<i>iltifāʿ</i>) addressed to Imam, occasional signature-verse (<i>alḥathās</i>), and in Ṭayyibī poetry, prayer for long life (<i>ṭāʾil al-ʿamr</i>) of dāʿī poems originate in poet’s sincere belief in praiseworthiness of patron (<i>mamāthil</i>) based on theological grounds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>munāẓāt</i> genre used to communique with God disputational or instructional verse 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> rendering service for Fatimid-Ṭayyibī daʿwa religio-political: to provide religious education, proselytize, wage verbal holy war, engage in dialogue with Imam or dāʿī religious: to earn religious merit, save souls, pray and commune with God no expectation expressed of monetary reward from patron, contrary to norm for medieval Arabic panegyrists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Imam or dāʿī Fatimid followers daʿwa enemies possible converts God 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> statement of poet’s servitude (<i>ṭabīḍiyā</i>) to Imam or dāʿī statement offering poet’s life as ransom (<i>ḥidāʾ</i>) for life of Imam or dāʿī plea for Imam’s emergence (<i>ṣubḥūr</i>) from concealment (<i>ṣaḥr</i>)² homiletic material

¹ Badawī, “Abbasid Poetry and its Antecedents,” pp. 149–152. Details provided here on p. 145.

² Including a verse by al-Murāyayd (#22, p. 254, v. 16), who, although living in the formal *ṣubḥūr* period, was often excluded from the presence of the Imam.

It is clear from this examination of Ṭayyibī poetry that al-Mu'ayyad's poetry played a nuclear role in its formulation. Al-Mu'ayyad's poetry was fundamentally different from the poetry of the Abbasid poets as well as the earlier Fatimid poets, as it was permeated with the tenets of the Fatimid *tāwīl* canon and displayed radical innovations in genre, motif, style, motivation, and target audience. It came to be held as a doctrinal and stylistic model by the post-Fatimid Ṭayyibīs, who continued to use his poetry for liturgy and religious education and to compose ardently in its mold. Ṭayyibī poetry displays literary and functional da'wa characteristics and, most significantly, a deep *tāwīl* grounding, similar to the da'wa characteristics and *tāwīl* grounding of al-Mu'ayyad's poetry.

Al-Mu'ayyad, being the *bāb al-abwāb* of the Imam, was believed to be immune from error (*maṣūm*), and, as such, in a position of spiritual authority in the Ṭayyibī da'wa. His speech was considered, and is still considered to be, the final word. Thus, al-Mu'ayyad's poems are a *summa* for Fatimid dogma. They are a succinct exposition of the identity and characteristics of the Imam, allegiance to whom forms the heart of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī belief. They have become a part of official Fatimid-Ṭayyibī theology, and have fortified the beliefs of Fatimid-Ṭayyibīs through the centuries. Even individual verses of his poetry, let alone a full poem, or the complete *Dīwān*, have influenced millions of minds, and continue to do so today. A verse by the Ṭayyibī *dā'ī* Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn in praise of the *dā'īs* traces the source of the *dā'īs*' blessings (*barakāt*), and consequently all blessings in the Ṭayyibī da'wa, to al-Mu'ayyad:⁸⁶

*They are dā'īs who have
been aided by the flow
of al-Mu'ayyad al-Shūrāzī's
blessings.*

مِنْ دَعَاةٍ قَدْ أَيَّدَتْهُمْ سَوَارِي
بَرَكَاتِ الْمُوَيَّدِ الشُّرَازِيِّ

Al-Mu'ayyad's poetry is considered one of his many blessings for the Ṭayyibī da'wa. Father of the Ṭayyibī da'wa, progenitor of Ṭayyibī learning, author of the *Majālis Mu'ayyadiyya* and hence originator of Ṭayyibī *wa'z majālis*, al-Mu'ayyad was also the founder of the vibrant "Fatimid da'wa poetry" tradition that has been revered and emulated by the Ṭayyibīs for over nine and a half centuries and continues to be significant today.

⁸⁶ *Dīwān Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn*, vol. 1, p. 423.