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THE RISE OF DRUZISM IN *TĀRĪḤ BIN SA'ĪD AL-ANṬĀKĪ*
ṢILAT TĀRĪḤ UṬĪḤĀ

BY

Hayat EL-EID BUALUAN

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This paper discusses the rise of Druzism¹ as revealed in Sa'īd ibn al-Antākī's book "Şilat Tārīḥ Uṣṣihā"². It will focus on al-Ḥākim's caliphate in Egypt before and after the rise of Druzism, the rise of Naštākīn al-Darazī and Ḥamzah ibn 'Alī in the movement and the mysterious disappearance of a Ḥākim. It will then turn to the caliphate of al-Zāhir and its repercussions on the community and the new *da'wat*.

Al-Anṭākī (died 458/1066) is an eye witness to the events he related. In examining his writing which is one of the basic sources on the history of Fatimid Egypt, we hope not only to get a better understanding of the controversial personality of al-Ḥākim and the rise of Druzism, but also of al-Anṭākī as a Christian Maliki historian and his views on Druzism.

A. AL-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH

Al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh, the sixth Fatimid Caliph (386-411/996-1012) occupies a distinctive place in the Druze faith. A controversial figure depicted as an idealist and reformer, whimsical and violent at the same time. al-Anṭākī seems to vacillate between these varied tendencies in al-Ḥākim's personality giving an image of an enigmatic figure who is awesome and benevolent and a reformer at times – morbid, violent, cruel and distorted at other times³.

Al-Ḥākim is described as a pleasant man with a sense of humour who often attended to the poor exchanging jokes with those he spoke to in the streets⁴. Al-Anṭākī says that no one had heard the like of his justice, his

1) *Druz* (or *durūz*) is the plural of *durzī*, an Arabic corruption of the Persian term *darzī*, tailor and the name of one of the Ismaili *dā'īs*. The real founder of the Druze sect was Ḥamzah ibn 'Alī. The teaching is called *dīn al-tawḥīd* (the religion of *tawḥīd*). The followers are called *muwahḥidūn*. On this subject, see Sadik ASSAAD, *The Reign of al-Ḥākim bi amr Allah* (Arab Institute for Research and Publishing, Beirut, 1974).

On al-Darazī see Antoine-Isaac SILVESTRE DE SACY, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1838), p. ccc lxxx v.; also, Kamal SALIBI (ed.), *The Druze- Realities and Perceptions* (Druze Heritage Foundation, London, 2006).

2) Yaḥyā bin Sa'īd bin Yaḥyā AL-ANṬĀKĪ, *Tārīḥ al-Antākī, Şilat tārīḥ Uṣṣihā*, edited by 'Umar TADMURĪ (Ġarrūs Press, Tripoli, 1990) (cited: AL-ANṬĀKĪ). Abū al-Faraġ, a physician and a historian died after 1028. See Ḥayr-al-dīn AL-ZIRIKLĪ, *Al-a'lām* (Maṭba'at Kūstā Tsūmās, Cairo, 1954) 1954-7, vol. 9, p. 181; Georg GRAF, *GCAL*, vol. II (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican, 1947), pp. 49-51; al-Anṭākī's book is a continuation of the *Tārīḥ* written by Sa'īd ibn al-Baṭrīq, the coptic Patriarch Alexandria (died 939).

3) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 258-260, 269, 309-310.

4) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 250-252, 258, 304-305.

kindness to people and his attention to their pleas⁵. Al-Anṭākī goes on to describe al-Ḥākīm's concern with the minute details of the market and the prices – his attendance to see that school masters did not punish their pupils severely and that owners of animals of burden were humane in their treatment. The author alludes also to al-Ḥākīm's love of scholars and scholarship. He mentions how al-Ḥākīm founded “House of Ḥikmat” and provided it with books on all subjects from his own money. He allowed the scholars to copy manuscripts and get whatever they liked from the different subjects which could be taught to others⁶. Al-Anṭākī then does not hesitate in presenting another aspect in al-Ḥākīm when he adds that after a while he killed some of those scholars⁷.

This is how the two aspects of al-Ḥākīm's are presented without explaining the reason for the reverse actions. At one time al-Ḥākīm supports the Christians and rebuilds their churches, but at other times one sees him imposing restrictions, destroying their places of worship and imposing on them restrictions in clothing while banning wine and music at the same time⁸.

At one time he is a supporter of the Sunnis and trying to reconcile the Sunnis and the Shiis, and then ordering the mosques and places of worship to curse Omar and other Abbasid Caliphs⁹.

Al-Anṭākī mentions how a physician Abu al-Fatḥ Maṣṣūr Bin Sahlān Bin Anastās advised al-Ḥākīm to drink wine – the latter, as a result, allowed drinking of wine and music. People then returned to their previous habit of drinking and leisure and to eating *mulūḥiyyat* and the skinless fish which al-Ḥākīm had also prohibited. When, however, the doctor died, al-Ḥākīm went back to his previous banning of wine and fish. He even forbade selling rai-

5) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 258, 301.

6) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 258. On al-Anṭākī's love for books and libraries, see Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad bin 'Alī AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Al-mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār bi-dīkr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-āṭār* [Known as *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*] (Maktabat al-maliḡi, Cairo, 1906-1908) 4; 158, 2, 334-335. See also Claude CAHEN, “Une chronique Chiite au temps des Croisades”, in *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1935*, pp. 258-269.

7) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 258-259.

8) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 258-259. In the words of al-Maqrīzī, al-Ḥākīm ordered the Christians and Jews to wear black turbans, to wear heavy crosses around their necks, ride wooden carriages and not to hire Muslims. When entering public baths, the Christians should have crosses around their necks and the Jews chains. *Al-nuḡūm al-zāḥirat fī Ḥula al-Maḡrib* (Cairo, 1970), pp. 52-53.

9) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 256.

sins and honey thus throwing into the Nile quantities of these items and causing financial problems to the merchants and all those concerned¹⁰.

Al-Ḥākim as we have seen held the reign of power in his hands. There were external and internal troubles and he had to respond to the different circumstances. In 339/1009 for example he confiscated possessions of the women of the palace when he knew they were intriguing against him¹¹. The destruction of churches, on the other hand, and according to Nejla Abu-Izzeddin, was related to the war with the Greeks and was a popular measure especially in Syria which suffered from repeated Greek invasions¹².

Historians have held different opinions of al-Ḥākim. Al-Anṭākī, as a physician, analysed his psyche giving psychological interpretations for his different and contradicting policy¹³. A Hebrew document of the 6th/12th century considers al-Ḥākim's reign as a golden age and speaks of him as a powerful and just ruler whom God gave victory over his enemies "because he loved righteousness and hated inequity, and set up judges in the land and commanded them to judge and decide in equity and truth"¹⁴. Muḥammad 'Abd-Allāh Anan writes "we are unable to understand the different political enigmas of al-Ḥākim, but it is beyond doubt that the ordinances and injunctions he imposed were not result of whimsical thoughts, but based on the ordinary reformations of the state, therefore, the wisdom and strategy motivated behind them can never be ruled out"¹⁵.

Reinhart Dozy in his turn writes "we fail to know the enigmatic personality of the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥākim, therefore, it is not plausible to draw conclusions that these were outcomes of whimsical thoughts"¹⁶.

10) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 289. This is an indication of al-Ḥākim's moody temperament. He banned wine, then allowed it when his doctor Abū Ya'qūb Iṣḥāq bin Ibrāhīm bin Anistās showed him the benefits of wine. When the doctor died, al-Ḥākim returned to his banning of wine. Al-Anṭākī relates how dry grapes and honey were prohibited and then burnt. The traders lost much of their produce (p. 270).

11) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 279, 307. Al-Ḥākim forbade women from leaving their houses. See also Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad bin 'Alī AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-aḥbār al-a'immāt al-fāṭimiyyīn al-ḥulafā'*, edited by Ḡamāl al-Dīn al-Chayyāl (Dār al-fikr al-'arabī, Cairo, 1948), 2: 102-103. BAR HEBRAEUS, *Tārīḥ muḥtaṣar al-duwal* (Catholic Press, Beirut, 1958), p. 180.

12) On the destruction of churches, see AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 278-279; Nejla Abu-Izzeddin, *The Druzes* (Brill, Leiden, 1984), p. 75. (cited: Abu-Izzeddin, *The Druzes*).

13) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 331.

14) Adolf NEUBAUER, *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 9 (1897), p. 24.

15) Muḥammad 'ABD ALLĀH 'INĀN, *Al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh wa-asrār al-da'wat al-fāṭimiyyat* (Maktabat al-ḥanaḡī, Cairo, 1937), p. 16.

16) Reinhart DOZY, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'islamisme* (Leiden, 1879), p. 18.

As Nejla Abu-Izzeddin states: "To write about Ḥākim is a task bristling with difficulty. His excesses added to the general anti-Fatimid bias of most of the sources, are reflected in a distorted presentation of the caliph and his reign. By sifting the likely and probable from the malicious accounts, and keeping in mind Ḥākim's vehement desire for reform and the pressing need, in the circumstances, for the establishment of order and tranquility, a picture nearer the truth can be constructed"¹⁷.

Al-Anṭākī's record then discrediting al-Ḥākim's personality though it reveals a certain trend at that time, should be treated with caution, since he was aggressive to al-Ḥākim even when the latter changed his policy towards the Christians. Al-Anṭākī was a Christian living in Byzantium. He counts the good as well as the bad behaviour of al-Ḥākim. He was a pious Christian so his attitude towards al-Ḥākim who persecuted the Christians should be taken with care.

B. RISE OF DRUZISM: DARAZĪ AND ḤAMZAH¹⁸

It was during the reign of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh that the Druze *da'wat* appeared. 1016 al-Anṭākī writes about a Persian *dā'ī* called Muhammad bin Ismā'īl al-Darazī who appeared in front of al-Ḥākim and obtained his favour. He called the people to believe that al-Ḥākim is God maker of worlds and creatures. Al-Ḥākim, according to al-Anṭākī did not deny his call¹⁹. Al-Anṭākī affirms that al-Darazī's won high favor with al-Ḥākim asserting that countries and officials had to defer to him, as al-Ḥākim did nothing without his approval²⁰. Al-Darazī's public activity consisted in sending letters to high officials with al-Ḥākim's private but not open blessing demanding that they accept al-Ḥākim's divine position; when objections ensued, al-Ḥākim yielded and denied authorizing the letters but treated objectors so badly that they hated al-Darazī²¹.

Ibn Taḡrī Bardī in *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirat* mentions the appearance of al-Darazī and adds that al-Ḥākim, seeing the objections of the people asked al-

17) ABU-IZZEDDIN, *The Druzes*, p. 75.

18) See Marshall HODGSON, "Al-Darazī and Ḥamzah in the Origin of the Druze Religion", in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82 (1962), pp. 5-20. See also Kamal SALIBI, "Introduction", in Talal Fandi/Ziyad ABI-SHAKRA (eds.), *The Druze Heritage: An Annotated Bibliography* (Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies/Druze Heritage Foundation, Beirut, 2001), pp. 1 ff.

19) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 344.

20) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 340-342.

21) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 338-339.

Darazī secretly to go to Syria and propagate *da'wat* in the mountains²². Abu-Izzeddin refutes this and mentions that al-Darazī did not leave Egypt and that he disappeared at an early stage in *da'wat*²³. Al-Anṭākī, however, mentions that al-Ḥākīm's cult was already important in both Wādī al-Taym and Ğabal Summāq by /1019. and he adds that when al-Ḥākīm saw that the new *da'wat* aroused the Muslims, he denied it and followed a more austere life – rid himself of all titles and started receiving people in an informal manner without letting them bow in his presence²⁴. The people thought that it was al-Darazī who advised him to win the support of the people²⁵. In 1018 al-Darazī was assassinated while he was riding with al-Ḥākīm and his house was confiscated²⁶.

After the death of al-Darazī, al-Ḥākīm allowed only the riders to accompany him – and eleven ministers to meet with him in the palace. He also allowed the scribes, the readers, the physician and callers for prayers to enter the palace and forbade them from meeting with the other people²⁷.

Al-Anṭākī mentions another important, *dā'ī* – Ḥamzah Ibn Aḥmad named al-Hādī who wrote a number of epistles to formulate the new *da'wat*²⁸. Al-Anṭākī writes that Ḥamzah propagated *da'wat* in Egypt and Syria, allowed adultery and disregarded fasting, prayer and pilgrimage²⁹. Marshall Hodgson in his article “Al-Darazī and Ḥamzah in the Origin of Druze Religion” does not agree with al-Anṭākī. He mentions that al-Darazī allowed wine drinking, but there is no indication that he approved incest or that his moral outlook was different from Ḥamzah³⁰.

Al-Anṭākī goes on to describe the split that developed between al-Darazī and Ḥamzah and relates how al-Darazī was besieged with twelve persons in a mosque. After a day's fighting between the two parties, al-Ḥākīm appeared on the balcony. The besiegers, taken by awe, dispersed. The next day al-Darazī was killed³¹. Ḥamzah arranged a group of *dā'īs* in Egypt and

22) Ğamāl al-Dīn IBN TAGRĪ BARDĪ, *Al-nujūm al-zāhirat fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhirat* (Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyyat, Cairo, 1963), 4:184.

23) ABU-IZZEDDIN, *The Druzes*, p. 104.

24) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 339-340.

25) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 340.

26) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 340.

27) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 342.

28) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 342-343.

29) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 342-343; see on this subject AL-MAQRIZI, *Itti'āz*, 2:113.

30) HODGSON, “Al-Darazī and Ḥamzah”, p. 6.

31) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 346; see also Naṣr al-Dīn AL-EID, *Al-durar al-muḍī'at*, private manu-

Syria – prayer and pilgrimage were obliterated. Al-Anṭākī mentions that many people responded to *da'wat*. Al-Ḥākīm would meet with them to be informed about their movement and its propagation³². This is how the cult of al-Darazī spread with sixteen thousand believing that al-Ḥākīm is a God

Al-Anṭākī commenting on the movement, describes al-Darazī as merely making public a doctrine “not far from” what had long been the secret Ismaili faith, which he describes at length beginning with the tenets “that imams were Gods”³³.

The one phrase which he ascribes to al-Darazī personally that al-Ḥākīm was Allāh, maker of the worlds and originator of the creatures does not go beyond this, and in fact describes only the Demiurge and not the ultimate form an Ismaili point of view³⁴.

Al-Darazī and Ḥamzah both believed in making public the cult of al-Ḥākīm and in demanding that all men accept it.

One has to mention here another main figure in the movement namely al-Aḥram³⁵. In 1018 al-Kirmānī³⁶ addressed a letter to him, setting out the doctrine of those who challenged the traditional teachings Ḥamzah. The associates of al-Aḥram may have included al-Darazī, but mostly Ḥamzah and his followers who began their own form of *da'wat*, proclaiming the divinity of al-Ḥākīm in the year /1018. In 1019 they ceased to preach openly and seemed to be more cautious in day to day actions, and in standing policies, thus building a well disciplined organization among al-Darazī's personal following and depending closely upon al-Ḥākīm for his cues. One has to mention here that both Al-Darazī and Ḥamzah used similar means of bringing their cause to the public attention, but al-Darazī created such a stir that his name was affixed to the movement at large, although he himself perished – Ḥamzah survived him to impress his whole system on the movement perma-

script.

32) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 333.

33) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 334-336; al-Darazī, according to al-Anṭākī, asked people to call al-Ḥākīm God and adds that al-Ḥākīm did not contradict him. On Ismaili imamate, see Peter CLARKE, “The Ismailis: a Study of a Community”, in *British Journal of Sociology* 27 (1976), pp. 484-494.

34) See HODGSON, “Al-Darazī and Ḥamzah”, p. 7.

35) Al-Ḥasan bin Ḥaydarat al-Aḥram the first *dā'ī* who began in 1017 to organize a movement to proclaim divinity of al-Ḥākīm. He was assassinated in 1018. See AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 345; also, HODGSON, “Al-Darazī and Ḥamzah”, p. 9, note 31.

36) Ḥāmid al-Dīn al-Kirmānī a Fatimid *dā'ī* and was part of the official Fatimid campaign against *dā'īs* who proclaimed Fatimid divinity; died /1021.

nently”³⁷.

The Egyptians, then, became aware of al-Ḥākim’s desire to leaving them to Al-Darazī’s call. They started writing poems against al-Ḥākim calling him an apostate. As a result, al-Anṭākī reports, their houses were burnt and their money confiscated³⁸. Al-Anṭākī records the presentation of some sort of mission by a delegation to the chief Qādī Aḥmad Ibn al-Awwam in the Mosque of Miṣr which roused the Qādī’s ire so that all the delegation was killed by the crowd. Al-Anṭākī supposes the delegation to be sent by Ḥamzah (40) Al-Anṭākī goes on to report about al-Ḥākim taking vengeance on the scale of ten to one afterwards, but with different numbers seventy for seven, from what Ḥamzah refers to as a grace from al-Ḥākim³⁹.

C. THE DISAPPEARANCE OF AL-ḤĀKIM

About the year 400/1000 as al-Anṭākī relates al-Ḥākim renounced the outward glory and magnificence of his office: The gold throne, the jewelled turban with the unique gem fixed over the brow... He exchanged the gold caparisoned horse for the ass with a plain saddle and bridle of silver or iron. With a simple turban on his head, the Caliph rode on this lowly animal to the mosque and made his visits to the suks and his rounds among the people⁴⁰.

In 1012 he ordered that no one should bow to the ground before him or kiss his hand and that in saluting him no more should be said than peace be upon the prince of the faithful and God’s mercy and blessing⁴¹.

Al-Anṭākī interprets this ascetic behaviour as a desire by al-Ḥākim to be called by God and he resembles him to Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babel who was mentioned by the prophet Daniel as he roomed in the wilderness after his destruction of the church in Jerusalem. Al-Anṭākī goes on to describe al-Ḥākim’s unstable and changing behaviour⁴².

In 1021 al-Ḥākim left his palace at night riding a donkey to the hills al-Muqaṭṭam near Cairo. Al-Ḥākim did not return and vanished without trace. Al-Anṭākī reports that his shirt was found still buttoned but no traces of his

37) HODGSON, “Al-Darazī and Ḥamzah”, p. 10; see also ASSAAD, *The Reign of al-Ḥākim bi amr Allah*, pp. 166-167.

38) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 349.

39) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 350-351.

40) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 300.

41) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 330.

42) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 360-362.

body. The donkey that he was riding was located with its limbs severed. Al-Anṭākī reports that seven men intercepted him to ask for money. Al-Ḥākīm referred them to the treasury house. Al-Ḥākīm's sister enquired about the matter it was reported that he must have been killed by those men that he had encountered on his way⁴³.

Al-Anṭākī mentions a certain official Ḥusayn ibn Dawas al-quṭāmī as a culprit who was caught and executed with his companions by Sitt al-Mulk, al-Ḥākīm's sister, after finding the knife with which he killed al-Ḥākīm in one of his boxes⁴⁴.

This is an enigmatic ending for an already enigmatic personality there were many explanations as to this disappearance. One is that he did not die, but retreated to a place somewhere in the Indian continent to dedicate himself to spiritual pursuits away from responsibility of government and tribulation of daily life⁴⁵.

While al-Anṭākī is content in relating the story of al-Ḥākīm's argument with the seven men while on his way to the mountain other have provided assumptions to clarify that mystery, but as Assaad, in the *Reign of al-Ḥākīm* said a satisfactory explanation has never been established⁴⁶.

At the time of al-Ḥākīm's disappearance it was believed that al-Ḥākīm opened the doors of the call supported by the wisdom of God. 38 This *daʿwat* was initiated by al-Ḥākīm and then as al-Anṭākī affirms was entrusted to Ḥamzah to execute⁴⁷.

In an excerpt from the charter found posted on the walls of the Mosques on the occasion of the disappearance of al-Ḥākīm was written: "But, beware lest any of you should try to trace the steps of the Commander of the Believers (may Allāh's blessing be upon him) or should attempt to discover any information whatsoever"⁴⁸.

43) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 373-374. See on this subject SILVESTRE DE SACY, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, pp. 84-85.

44) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 373.

45) ASSAAD, *The Reign of al-Ḥākīm bi amr Allah*, p. 37.

46) See the chapter on the end of al-Ḥākīm in ASSAAD, *The Reign of al-Ḥākīm bi amr Allah*, pp. 182-192. Ibn al-Ġawzī in *al-Muntaẓm* accuses his sister Sitt al-Mulk, 7: 289-300.

47) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 365-370.

48) Philip HİTTI, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion with extracts from their sacred texts* (Saqi, London, 2007), p. 102.

D. AL-ZĀHIR AND THE DRUZE MIḤNAT

After the disappearance of al-Ḥākīm, as al-Anṭākī indicated, his sister Sitt al-Mulk waited forty one days to announce his death and proclaim his son Abī al-Ḥasan "Alī called al-Zāhir to honor God's name" as the Caliph. He was seventeen years old and under the tutelage of his aunt⁴⁹.

Al-Zāhir was called *mawlānā*, our Lord, with people kissing ground while saluting him. Al-Anṭākī goes on to say that the new Caliph was just giving Christians and Jews the choice to either keep their faith or profess Islam⁵⁰. People then went back to their previous custom of drinking and singing. Al-Zāhir, as this source, indicates frequented the house of *ra'īs al-ru'asā'*, chief leader Hazim al-Mulk 'Ammār bin Muḥammad the thing which aroused the fear and suspicion of his aunt lest al-Zāhir be a victim of treachery and the like. As a result she killed Hazim al-Mulk and replaced him by another prince Šams al-Mulk⁵¹. The Christians in their turn resumed their religious activities with al-Zāhir's support and encouragement. He encouraged the building of churches and gave them back the *awqāf* which al-Ḥākīm kept from them. In addition, the Christian dress distinction was confined now only to two things: A black belt and a turban⁵².

Al-Zāhir then issued an official *manšūr*, decree calling for the extermination of what he called the extremists from Antioch to Alexandria and Egypt. Al-Anṭākī related how in 1021 Ḥamzah fled and was killed later. He adds that his companions were to choose either to renounce the cult of al-Ḥākīm or to perish⁵³.

It seems that for seven years after the disappearance of al-Ḥākīm the followers of *tawḥīd* were hunted down like criminals. *Tawḥīd* doctrine stipulated that the era of the imamate ended with al-Ḥākīm and Ḥamzah, thus by definition the new faith did not recognize the imamate of al-Ḥākīm's successor and son 'Alī al-Zāhir and al-Zāhir responded.

Under the al-Zāhir, as we read in al-Anṭākī, the Druzes were persecuted and their belongings confiscated. (53) This phase of persecution lasted seven years during which all the activities of *da'wat* were suspended. The commu-

49) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 365.

50) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 374-375.

51) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 429-430; see also AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Itti'āz*, 2:132.

52) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 429-430; see AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Itti'āz*, 2:181 where he mentions that in 425 H. Druze *da'wat* appeared in Jabal al-Summāq calling for al-Ḥākīm bi amr Allāh.

53) See AL-ANṬĀKĪ, pp. 429-431.

nity had to resort to secrecy and discretion. Bahā' al-Dīn the only one left of the luminaries, *dā'ī*, was the only one to remain active after the disappearance of al-Ḥākīm and had to exercise great discretion during the administration of al-Zāhir⁵⁴.

Al-Anṭākī ends his story in 425/1034 without mentioning Bahā' al-Dīn. It was only after the death of al-Zāhir in 1036 that Bahā' al-Dīn was appointed to a high position in the state and this enabled him, a man, as the sources indicate, of great intellectual power to carry the burden of the community for another 8 years. After 1043 Bahā' al-Dīn was heard of no more. After Bahā' al-Dīn all overt activity to *tawḥīd* came to a halt. It was believed that the call for *tawḥīd* was given sufficient opportunity to enrol between 1017-1043.

The Druzes refer to *miḥnat* as the tragedy or catastrophe that was visited upon them for adopting a religious path that harassed no one and did not seek to convert anyone by force. Even when *miḥnat* ended after seven years the Druzes continued to be harassed and persecuted for another fifteen years until Bahā' al-Dīn retired in 1043. It was believed that *miḥnat* was one of the main events that contributed to the solidarity and altruism among members of the Druze community to this day.

CONCLUSION

Al-Anṭākī accuses al-Ḥākīm of insanity and analyses his eccentric conduct⁵⁵. Needless to add, he calls the Druzes apostates⁵⁶. He also credited al-Ḥākīm with mystical behaviour as he, al-Ḥākīm, often retired to the mountain for solitude to ask God to show up and speak to him in the same way he did to Moses. He even, as said before, compares al-Ḥākīm with Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon who was punished by God for his destruction of the holy Temple of Jerusalem. Bar Hebraeus, a Christian chronicler, says that Jesus appeared to al-Ḥākīm and reprimanded him for his treatment of Christians, so al-Ḥākīm adopted Christianity and became a monk⁵⁷. Sāwīrūs Ibn al-Muqaffa' develops this idea and adds that towards the end of his

54) One of the five superiors, Hudud; on the Druze *da'wat* and Bahā' al-Dīn, see ABU-IZZEDDIN, *The Druzes*, pp. 101-113.

55) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 332.

56) AL-ANṬĀKĪ, p. 372.

57) Gregory ABŪ AL-FARAĠ (known as BAR HEBRAEUS), *Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj Bar Hebraeus Political History of the World*, translated by Ernest A. WALLIS-BUDGE (London, 1932), p. 189.

reign, al-Ḥākim became a great admirer of Christianity and spent hours with the monks eating their simple food and praising their religious life⁵⁸.

This story circulated especially at the time of Bar Hebraeus in the thirteenth century who says: "I, the feeble one, heard from Egyptian 'lawyers' when I was living in Damascus, that at the time when al-Ḥākim was persecuting the Christians, Christ, our Lord, was revealed unto him as unto Paul, and from that moment he departed secretly to the desert"⁵⁹.

This is how the mystery surrounding al-Ḥākim's end fascinated the chroniclers and writers in Muslim history. One school of thought suggests that al-Ḥākim disappeared of his own will; the other maintains that he was murdered. The first is found in Druze writings and in the works of some Christian chroniclers, the second in the version of contemporary chronicles writings.

Writing in the eleventh century, al-Anṭākī seems to consider Druzism as one of those episodes in history that engender a phenomenon in conflict with the usual Muslim trend which sooner or later will vanish without leaving a trace. Whether al-Ḥākim was killed, or he disappeared, the Druzes survived to prove themselves as a distinct Muslim group in the history of the area.

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58) Sāwīrūs IBN AL-MUQAFFA', *Tārīḥ baḥārīkat al-kanīsat al-miṣriyyat*, edited by 'Azīz Suryāl 'ATIYYAT / Yassā 'ABD-AL-MASĪḤ / Oswald Hugh Ewart KHS-BURMESTER (Société d'archéologie copte, Cairo, 1948), pp. 135 ff.

59) BAR HEBRAEUS, *Chronography*, p. 189.

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